

COBBETT'S



POLITICAL REGISTER.

.....

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FROM JULY 3, TO DECEMBER 25, 1830

INCLUSIVE.

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"I shall, I am sure, convince you, that it is much easier to *purchase* victories than to *pay* for them. When they cost nothing but *mere blood*, they are paid for on the nail; but when purchased with borrowed money they are like dances and music parties; they leave the borrowers *nothing to show* for their money; and the payment comes as you will find, like drops of blood from the heart."—REGISTER, 16th Feb., 1829.

TO THE PRINCE OF WATERLOO.

Malmesbury, 20th June, 1830.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

WHEN you took to your present office, I warned you of the difficulties that you had undertaken to encounter. I had previously made an offer of *my services* in the same office; and that offer having been rejected, or at least, not responded to, it only remained to me to *warn you*, which I did, in *three lectures*, dated on the 16th and the 23d of February, and on the 1st of March, 1828. My main object was to convince you, that you would never be able to keep *this system* afloat, and that there was no possibility of carrying on the concern for any length of time *without a reform of the Parliament*. In the course of my observations and arguments, I warned you not to rely on your *military fame* for carrying you safely along in this new career; I recommended to you to get, as soon as possible, the din of the Waterloo-shoutings out of your head; I told you that you would now have to do with an affair, wherein *success* would be attended with *no éclat*, and wherein *defeat* would bring on you reproaches general, bitter and lasting. In the way of preface to the matter of my lectures,

I addressed you in the following words, of which I, in justice to myself and my readers, remind you.

'Before I enter on my lecture; before I describe to you the state of your concern, and foretell, for about the thousandth time, the upshot of it, unless you follow that advice which I have given to your nine predecessors, and which I am about to repeat to you: before I do this, let me remind you, 1. That there is no danger, no difficulty, that you now experience, which was not foretold by me years ago; 2. That I have never been in error upon this the greatest of all subjects; 3. That, therefore, it has been proved to the whole nation, and, I may say, to the whole civilized world, that I understand this matter better not only than you, but than any other man; 4. And that, therefore, I ought to be in the office that you are in, or, at the least, that you ought to listen to me with all possible attention and docility. To this I will add, that, as you have had *you*. victories, I am resolved to have mine; and, think of it what you choose, the GRIDIRON as a badge of renown, will, I am persuaded, be looked at with delight by millions of men, long after all your stars and garters. and collars and crosses will have been totally forgotten. In your other career, I had no chance with you: you had the stare and the bawl of the empty-headed million: they did not perceive that the 'glories,' which you got for them, cost them any thing. You, therefore, as long as you stuck to the sword, were an object of their unmixed admiration. Now I have you more upon a level with me. I could not deal in 'glories'; but you and I are now *both financiers*; you by your office, and I by taste and talent. We are at *issue* too; and the whole world; aye, the whole of the civilized world, is *looking on*. Or two things must be: you must be one of the most concealed and

"of mankind; or, you must be one of the most generous: for, as a soldier, you were not only *safe*, but on the very pinnacle of earthly glory; and, therefore, to venture on this troubled sea of finance, and to take to such a concern too, argues one or the other of the qualities of which I have just spoken. You may, perhaps, think, that you can fail in this new character without prejudice to your renown in the other character. Sad error, if you adopt it! On the contrary, your failure here would take from you that portion of fame which you may really merit as a general! You would hear men like Sir JOHN SEARIGHT sing to quite a different tune; and, in short, it was *generous* in you to hazard your reputation thus; to *pledge* it for the full payment of the interest of the Debt, and that, too, not in assignats, but in gold. This is what you stand *pledged* for: if you accomplish it, if you pay for the 'glory' in full tale and in gold, I, *even I*, will join the well-dressed rabble in extolling your deeds; but if you *fail*; if you come to *assignats*; if you come to *deductions*; then I shall keep my extollings to myself."

If, *Monsieur le Prince* (for I really do not know how to address you in *English*), you read this *now*, you must begin to think that I was right. Turn which way you will, difficulties stare you in the face. So ne call for an abrogation of the East India Company's charter; others for an end to negro-slavery; Russia, France, and America, are gently shoving you out of the Levant; the French have invaded Africa, and evidently aim at Egypt; Spain is in close league with France to effect your exclusion from the former, and, *tout-doucement*, from Portugal; Jonathan is in the Floridas and Mexico, and has his eye steadily fixed on Cuba; the Bourbons are in a state of botheration; Ireland is in a state of half-starvation and half-uproar; Bro O, by his mere proclamation, is causing the prices to fall thirty per cent; England is in a state of deep and general distress, in many cases, unto actual starva-

tion; the Beer-bill, the Sugar-bill, the Irish Poor-law Bill, seem dying in their birth; and, from one end of the country to the other, all men are looking for some great and sweeping change in the whole system of sway, while your ministry seem to be brought to a stand-still, not knowing which way to turn themselves, what to do, or what to say, and finding themselves wholly unable to propose any remedy for any one part of the people which remedy shall not ruin some other class! This is a mere outline, an imperfect sketch of the state in which you are; and in this state it is that a real opposition seems to be rising up against you even within the walls of the Parliament itself; and your old colleague, your "*dear* FLUSKISSON," of whom we shall see more by-and-by, seems to be resolved to share the good things with you once more, or, to impede and expose you at every step. This is your situation, produced by your contempt of the warning given you by me. Now then, read, if you never did before, the consequences which I predicted as certain to be the result of such contempt.

"The difficulties which you will now have to encounter, are not to be overcome by that promptitude in *decision* which it has now become fashionable to praise: they are of a slow, a tedious, a tormenting character, and such as no courage, personal or moral, can make to bend to the will of the possessor of that quality. Your victories, if you be fortunately destined to gain any here, are followed by little *éclat*, and elicit but a very moderate portion of gratitude and admiration, even amongst the thinking part of mankind; while they will be completely overlooked, and probably never heard of, by that description of persons who followed shouting at your heels, upon your return from Waterloo. Not thus with your DEFEATS, if you should be so unfortunate as to experience any. It is not here, as in war: it is not a mere story dressed up for the Gazette, all the disadvantages mollified; while, as a balance against discomfiture, round

"assertions of superior force to contend with, and of undaunted valour, are, at pleasure, opposed. You have not here the national pride, the patriotism of the good and sensible, and the vanity of fools, to make the best of the matter. It is not here a thousand or two of men, more or less, killed or wounded, a score or two of wagons or pieces of cannon, more or less, accidentally and by unexpected circumstances, captured by the enemy: it is not here a town lost (and a foreign town too) by the heedlessness of a bombardier blowing up a bastion unwittingly, or, as at New Orleans, the army finding, when it marched up to storm the lines, the fascines forgotten to be put into the ditch. It is not, here, any of these; but it is millions of people of property, millions of families, made to suffer from one erroneous word or stroke of the pen. Fail in any point of this sort; adopt any measure that shall extensively affect the community, let that effect be deeply mischievous, and at once all the admiration of your Generalship is swept away for ever, except amongst those who make no noise; away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts."

There, Monsieur le Prince! There is your doom, unless you make a reform, a real, radical reform of the Parliament. Your friend HUSKISSON, whose measures are fast transferring the manufacture of woollens from England to France, Germany, and America, has taken advantage of the difficulties, created, in part by himself, and of the distress arising from that enormous weight of taxes which no one more than he has helped to augment; he has taken advantage of these to make against you and your colleagues the charge of *unfitness to manage the affairs of the country*. Such a charge, made in ordinary times, might have been laughed at, and would have brought, and as a reward to the accuser, nothing more than the usual observation, that he wanted loaves and fishes himself; but this charge, coming from whomso-

ever, made at a time like this, when every man, not living on the taxes, is sighing for a change of some sort, is eagerly listened to; and the general observation is, that your Ministry is *unfit*, and that it ought to be changed. You will, therefore, in all probability, either come to a *stand-still*, as CALONNE and his people did, and as HUSKISSON well recollects; or you will be *obliged* to let him, once more, come in with his group, flushed with triumph, to take a share in the powers, honours, patronage, and emoluments of the concern; and have another meal before the mangled joint is snatched away. He has made his attack very judiciously; he has hit a tender place; he has begun in a part where his triumph is *certain*; and that is a *great thing*: a thing well begun is *half done*; aye, and much more than half. Fairness would say, that the embarrassments amidst which you are, arise from the measures of others, and particularly from that very measure, the Small-note Bill of 1826, of which HUSKISSON was one of the authors; *fairness* would say, that *you* were not the author of this bill which is producing the *ruck-system*, the sweeping away of manufacturers, the ruin and the starvation which pervade the kingdom from one end of it to the other; but from HUSKISSON you had not to expect fairness. His long experience in the details of finance enabled him to lay hold of the poor feeble things that you have about you, and to shake them half out of their senses; and this he did in the *ugar-debate*, so completely, that no man expects that with them you will be able to proceed. The conclusion of his *sermon*, as Dr. BLACK calls it, was, as the Doctor says, "*hard hitting*." To be sure, it was rather harsh for a *sermon*; and especially the conclusion: I implore the right honourable Gentleman," he said, "to consider the consequences which result from these discussions, and from this continual alteration of opinions; its effect has been to suspend all trade at this, the most active, period of the year. I am now standing here as the representative of, I admit in a general case, all

"the interests of the country; but I am also the immediate representative of the second great commercial town in this empire; and I speak the opinions of the great portion of the extensive and important interests of that great emporium of commerce, of all those closely bound in connexion with the West Indian colonies, when I say, that this system of indecision and of experiment produces the greatest alarm, inflicts serious injuries on commerce, and is calculated to unsettle all the transactions between man and man. Only look at the spectacle which has been produced by the way that Government have proceeded with the spirit duties. (Hear, hear.) When the right honourable Gentleman proposed to lay a duty of one shilling on British spirits, orders were of course sent out to the West Indies to make more rum and less sugar. Is it nothing to those interests to have declarations emanating from a Government like this, taken up and abandoned without system, foresight, or consideration? Look at the course that it pursued with regard to other articles. Three months ago it was announced that the growth of tobacco in this country would be encouraged under certain regulations. Orders were of course sent out to America to stop the importation of tobacco in anticipation of this change. Now, however, comes a determination that tobacco shall not be grown in this country? We cannot manage the extensive and complicated transactions of Government in the same manner as we would manage an army, and put forth a law one day as a kind of advanced guard, which may be ordered to draw back the next."

If such be his preachings, you, I dare say, would wish him to "implore" a little more, and preach less. Though he has some mercy, too; he signifies his hope; he, like the Scotch Presbyterian parson, does not condemn to absolute destruction. "Tak 'em, gude God, and shak em, shak em, o'er the moorh o' heel; but dinna ye let em fa' in!" No; for if you fall in, it

is all over with him too; he is in the same boat, but at present you have the helm, your crew is revelling in luxury, while he's getting only a plain meal on an obscure bench. He is hardly fool enough to imagine, that he can get to the helm; but he may get better fare, and this he means to have.

But will you let him into the crew? Will you, after resolving that it "should be no mistake," take him back? There was a time when a man in your place would, in case of such an attack, have taken away the assailant's pensions, and have ousted him from his seat. That time, however, is gone; and it really does seem, that you must take him in, or go out yourself, of which two it is difficult to say which would be the most mortifying, not to say disgraceful. If you take him in, especially after he has cast this staring ridicule upon you; if you thus bend down before this farmer's son and old *Membre du Club quatre vingt neuf*, you are gone in the estimation of all those who have hitherto cried you up as a man of decision, of nerve, of firmness of purpose; and if the thing can be kept going for any length of time, he will daily rise above you, and will, at last, render you a mere cipher; if you go out yourself, your fate is still more certain, or at least your fall will be more rapid; for then all the press will burst forth upon you at once; all the evils of the country will be ascribed to your blunders; military statesmen and financiers and princely Premiers, will become a standing jest; those who have been in the habit of extolling you, will join in the laugh; people will begin to count the immense sums you have received, and are still receiving, out of the taxes; and just as I predicted, away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts."

Such really appears to be your choice; and difficult it is for you to choose. The high aristocracy hate HUSKISSON; but they get little rent under you. In France they hated CALONNE; but he fed them with hope. That hope was soon found to be false, and this would be the case with our CALONNE; but they begin to

despair of you! And as to the people at large, they sigh for a *change* of some sort or other, hardly seeming to care what it is. Nothing could Huskisson and his group do, any more than you, for the real relief of the country. They could not carry into effect even the measure about the *truck-system*. They could do nothing without a *radical reform*; and that they will not adopt. But their failure would not restore your reputation; like BRIENNE you would be reckoned as *one* of those who had brought the country to ruin. It will not now require much time to show you, that you acted unwisely in taking on you your present office; that you ought to have kept where you were; that this was an office for which you were not fit; that you ought to have reformed the Parliament, and placed the people at your back; in short, that you ought to have followed the advice of

WM. COBBETT.

BIG O's PROCLAMATION.

I ALWAYS said, that BIG O, with his "true Irish accent," would do nothing *in Parliament*; but I knew he could do something *out of it*, and he was advised and begged to do it *many years ago!* Let us, now, first see the proclamation, and then the debate, which took place respecting it in Sir JAMES GRAHAM'S "*noblest assembly on earth.*" The proclamation, consisting of three paragraphs, is in the form of a letter to the Editor of the WATERFORD CHRONICLE; and is dated at London, on the 7th of June, 1830.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You are quite right; the time is come when Ireland should one and all rouse itself to fling off the administration of the Duke of Wellington. He is, in my judgment, totally unfit for the office of Minister. A portion of Ireland, organized by the Catholic Association, of whom fourteen hundred were Protestants, forced him to grant emancipation; but he granted it with the worst grace possible. He

added to it the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, the suppression, or rather attempt at suppression, of the monastic orders, and the insult to our bishops; add to these that despotic law which has authorised the Lord Lieutenant to issue his late Proclamation. In the annals of legislation, there never was so unconstitutional a law. How he was compelled to emancipate is well known; but he threw as much bitterness into the cup as he possibly could. I really think that he hates or despises Ireland. His powers, too, of reasoning, appear to me to be of the lowest class. He is quite the Commander-in-Chief of the Ministry, and rules the men who have the littleness to act with him with a sway almost despotic. I think his foreign policy of the worst possible description, and that the tendency of his public measures is all towards arbitrary sway. It is, in short, essential to the peace and prosperity of these countries that we should have another Minister.

"As to Ireland, the insulting and insane attempt to increase the taxation at such a period of deep distress as the present, is a proof of utter, total ignorance of our real situation, or total disregard for our wants. The hour, therefore, is come, when every effort should be made to press on the administration of the Noble Duke. This is the very time to attack his Government in every legal and constitutional way. I very much approve of your system of securing a gold currency for Ireland. If gold be good for England as a medium of exchange, it ought to be equally good for the Irish. Indeed, it is a very formidable advantage that the English have over us in this, that their currency is of actual value as an article of commerce, being gold, and that we Irish should have no other currency than mere paper, in itself, as an article of commerce, of no kind of value whatsoever. It is too bad that the welfare of Ireland should be thus postponed, as it were, to serve England. It seems, therefore, a duty to rouse the people

"to effectuate the necessary change, *by calling for gold for every pound note*. A man who has a pound note may surely as well have a sovereign. A thousand accidents may make the pound note *not worth 1½d.* There is nothing which can possibly render the sovereign *worth less than 26s.*, and let me tell you that it may *again become worth 30s.* of the then currency. Call, therefore, on the people, the honest, unsophisticated people, *to send in the bank-notes of every description, and to get gold*. Take this as a measure of precaution every where; let it spread far and near, and then at least we will be so far on a par with England.

‘Believe me to be, most sincerely,

Yours,

“DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

Well said, BIG O ! A little uncharitable, to be sure, towards the poor Prince of Waterloo ; but good and sound advice ; and it seems with excellent effect ; for the “*noblest assembly*” seems to have been most furiously enraged at it. This is a most interesting matter ; it seems to bid fair to produce, and it must produce, *great good*. Compared with this, what are all the measures of the “*noblest assembly*,” vulgarly called the Collective Wisdom of the empire ! But before I proceed further, I must refer to, and make some extracts from, the *debate* in the “*noblest assembly*.” This debate took place on the 25th of June, on the presenting of a PETITION from the Rev. Sir HARCOURT LEES, Bart., by Mr. TRANT, an Irishman and a Member for Dover.

“Mr. TRANT presented a petition from Sir Harcourt Lees, complaining of the agitation which was still kept up in Ireland by the *machinations of certain persons*. A run had lately been made on the banks of Ireland, in consequence of those machinations, the tranquillity of the country had been disturbed, and the people seriously injured by a *great fall in the price of butter*. The Hon. Member, in presenting the petition, called upon the Hon. Member for Clare to *abstain* from doing any-

“thing which might *keep up agitation* in Ireland, and which might make the Catholic Emancipation Act less productive of good than its friends anticipated.” What had this to do with Catholic or with Protestant ? It was an affair of *money* ; and what right had any one to dictate to BIG O what he should, or should not, recommend as to this matter ! BIG O was not so indignant and scornful, in his answer, as I should have been ; though it would have been very difficult for me to abstain from *laughing*. He did, however, but in a manner too tame, assert his right to publish the proclamation ; and in the course of his speech said, that “Since he had been in the House he did not find much encouragement to address it on the subject of Ireland. He had brought under its notice the Subletting Act and the Vestry Act, and had found only apathy for what concerned Ireland. The honourable and learned Member complained with some bitterness of *the apathy of the people of England on the subject of Parliamentary Reform*. Finding this apathy, he thought he had a right to make use of the constitutional means that were in his power to promote the good of Ireland. He had convinced himself *that a gold currency would be as advantageous for Ireland as England* ; being conscientiously convinced of that, he had called on the people of Ireland to obtain for themselves a gold currency. He would not shrink from avowing his opinions, or his actions, though he disclaimed the authority of that House to call him to account for his conduct out of the House. The honourable and learned Member also referred to an expression of Mr. Shiel’s at some public dinner, who had complained that the *manners of patronage* fell on no Catholic head, and said that complaint had been attributed to him. He disclaimed it ; he wanted no patronage from the Government ; he had never sought it, though there were some *Gentlemen at the Irish bar who were injured, because the Government would not give them silk gowns while they passed*

"over him." Curse these *silk gowns*! Why mention *them*, when he had so excellent a *case* without them? As to the *people of England's apathy about Parliamentary Reform*, the charge is groundless; they want it; but never will they again rely on *Burdett*; no, any one that sneaks about at the heels of that *sham reformer*. Next after *Big O* came Mr. DOGHERTY, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, who complained most bitterly of the proclamation. He said, "The honourable Member had addressed a letter to the people of Ireland, telling them that gold was better than paper; that a sovereign was sure to be *always worth twenty shillings, and it might be worth thirty shillings*; and telling them, therefore, *to demand gold*. The people had taken the *alarm*; and what, he asked, were likely to be the effects on the country? He called on the hon. and learned Member to recollect what was the condition of Ireland in 1821. He reminded him what was the state of England in 1825, and he would perceive what would be the consequence of his letter. No longer ago than Saturday last, the people were in a state of consternation. Their produce in the Waterford market fell three or four pounds in the hundred; it fell from 30 to 40 per cent. in some instances; the result of the panic that was produced by the letter of the hon. and learned Member. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and learned Member complained of the apathy of the House with regard to the people and the affairs of Ireland, but without any reason. For himself, he felt from his heart for those sufferings *approaching almost to famine*, which it was perhaps *impossible to avert*; but he did not think that the evils of famine could be remedied by *adding to them those of panic, confusion, and anarchy*." Here was a *complete justification* of *Big O's* letter; a better could not be. What! here is Ireland with a currency, with so base a currency, that when put to the *test* against the legal coin, it at once tumbles down *thirty or forty per cent.*; here is Ireland with a currency, which may, at any moment, plunge the country into "*confusion and anarchy*"; and *Big O* is to be reproached for having endeavoured to rid his country of this instrument of constant danger and of tremendous mischief; he is to be arraigned as a sort of culprit, for having endeavoured to cause the lawful money to supplant this instrument of ruin; his countrymen are in a state "*approaching to starvation*," under a system so long upheld by this base paper, and he is to be called all that is bad, because he, at last, resorts to the most likely means of putting an end to this cruel system!

This was the answer which he ought to have given to this O'DOGHERTY. He did, however, very well observe, that they had, amongst them, taken the most effectual way of extending the advice that he had given; and this they have done; and I thank them for it. He said, that "the Hon. Gentleman complained of the injurious tendency of the letter, and expressed regret that it had been published; but what would be the consequence of this attack? Why, that the letter would be published in every paper in the kingdom, and a greater publicity given by the means taken to suppress it. He had been taunted with writing letters to the people of Ireland; but at the moment he was so taunted, was he not also reminded of the existence of that most unconstitutional law, made by the power of a Lord Lieutenant's proclamation, which rendered it impossible for any man publicly to address his fellow-citizens, unless through the medium of a letter? He had taken that course. He did it at his peril, and he knew the consequences. He was unable to deliver his sentiments in any other manner." It did not surprise him that those who made attacks on him were cheered, and that his defence was received with silence. He knew he was no favourite with any party. He had never supported any. He had not supported the oligarchy of that House, and both sides, of course, united to applaud those who opposed him." Very good!

This is all right. I like to see a man lay on upon them, and punish them for their insolence. A good way of answering the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation. This is their *soft place*, Big O: you have done a thousand times more good by this proclamation than you have ever done before. BURDETT'S RUMP used to have a toast: "The liberty of the press; like the air we breathe, if we have it not, we die." The THING may say the same by the paper-money; it was created by it, and will die with it. And this I always told the bawling BURETT; I always told him that reform was impossible, as long as one-pound notes would pass; and he might have put them down ten years ago. But he never wished to do it; and, in his heart, he never wished for reform.

Lord Howick is reported to have characterised the course recommended "by the honourable Member for Clare, as the most *mischievous* that could be devised for Ireland and its people. He would call it *wantonly mischievous*, but that he believed the honourable Member was not *fully aware of the consequences* it would produce. (Hear.) Oh, yes! Big O was *fully aware of the consequences*! and he will, if he have common spirit, follow up his blows, until there be not a single piece of paper-money left in Ireland: that is the true way to make the great House, the "*noblest assembly*," attend to him. But what does the Lord mean? Does he mean to say that it is *mischievous* to prefer the *legal coin* to bits of *mere paper*? Oh! how they let out the secret! And this O'DOGHERTY is a *deep* man, to be sure he is! To let it out, that Ireland may, *any day*, be plunged into "*panic, confusion, and anarchy*," by the people calling for payment in the *legal coin*! and why, Mr. O'Dogherty? "Why! how can you ask that question?" COBBETT: How can demanding gold payments produce such effects; seeing that all that the holder of paper has to do is to go to the bank and get the gold. PADDY: Yes, COBBETT, but suppose the banker *not to have the gold*? COBBETT: Ah! I did not think of that!

Aye, aye, PADDY, run and get what you can, then, and thank Mr. O'DOGHERTY for bringing this fact out; and for making us understand it so well! Aye, Lord Howick, it must be "*wantonly mischievous*" to induce people to demand gold for paper, when the issuer of the paper *has no gold*; "*wantonly mischievous*," indeed, to put an end to a fellow's getting five per cent. for the use of bits of dirty rags, and causing these to be supplanted by the *legal coin*; most "*wantonly mischievous*," beyond all doubt, to advise thoughtless people against running the manifest risk of being ruined by what the ministers themselves call "*worthless rags*;" and so, Lord Howick, I bid you farewell!

Very wisely "Mr. HENRY GRAT-TAN deprecated the *continuance* of "*discussions* on subjects already disposed of, and entreated the hon. Member for Dover (Trant) *not to press the the printing of a Petition so mischievous in the principal details*." But, alas! it was *all out*! Whether the "*noblest assembly*" printed the petition, or not, did not now signify a straw: the facts are now gone all over the world; that a demand for gold caused prices to fall from *thirty to forty per cent.*; and that a general demand may, at any time, plunge Ireland into "*panic, confusion, and anarchy*!" Go on, Big O; you have hit them in the *tender place*; you have got a *raw*; keep on upon it. They did not *laugh* at you this time: BROUGHAM did not cast *sarcasms* upon you; keep on, you will make them *listen*, I warrant you! Why is Ireland to have "*worthless rags*" more than England? If the poor working people be *clad* in rags, is that any reason why they should have them *for money*? Go on: you have, in this case, for this great service, the thanks of every good and sensible man in England. The produce and the transactions of Ireland are great; the quantity of paper there is great; if that paper be put down, *gold must go from England to supply its place* to a great extent; that *will take away gold*, and compel the mother bank to *draw in paper at the*

same time. Go on then, BIG O; leave not a single *rag* in circulation; for be you assured, that never will you see *reform* of any sort, as long as those rags are in circulation. The "*noblest assembly*" will hate you; but can they treat you *worse* than they do now? They have *despised* you until now, because, until this act, you have done nothing for the people. They hated BURDETT 'till he slunk out of the tower, and *lost the people*; and ever since that they have despised him and laughed at him. *Go on*, and you will have the very great honour of being *hated* by them.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq.

Highworth, Wilts, 30th June, 1830.

SIR,

ACCEPT of my thanks, together with those of thousands upon thousands of the good and sensible part of the people of England, for your letter of the 7th of June, addressed to the Editor of the WATERFORD newspaper, recommending to the Irish people to *get gold* instead of "*worthless rags*," so called by ROBINSON himself, when debating on the bill of 1830. When we see the proud and insolent oligarchy assail you for having done your duty towards the people, it is the duty of the people to rally round you, and to stand by you; and this you will find the people of England do by you, as long as you proceed in this course.

What! you see your country brought to an "*approach to starvation*;" you hear a law-officer confess, that that is its state; you see its wealth drained away to this country; you see (as I did at Bristol the other day) *droves* and *flocks* and *herds* without end, and hundreds of ship-loads of corn and *meat* and *butter*, you see these coming into England; and, while you see this, and see those whose labour creates this wealth and all these masses of food, in a state "*approaching to starvation*;" and while you see on the anvils of

Downing-street, new and heavy burdens forging for the backs of these your miserable countrymen; while you see all this, you, the representative of an Irish county, are to sit and hear schemes coolly propounded for *effectually keeping the poor Irish out of England*, lest, by coming hither, they should get into their stomachs some of the orts that are left of the food raised by themselves; you are to sit, and to see and hear all this; you are to hear them, to hear your own constituents, spoken of as if they were beasts of burden; you are, when they apply for the smallest portion of sustenance, to see them seized and sent back to starvation, in precisely the same manner as criminals are sent to the hulks; you are to see and hear all these things; you are to have the thorough conviction, that nothing that you can do, where you are, in the way of *persuasion*, will have any effect; you are to know that this horrible state of your country has been produced and perpetuated by the *system of paper money*; you are to remember that the birth of this system was the death of Irish freedom and happiness; you are to remember, that *Protestant ascendancy* and the *Bank* and the *debt* arose all together in the same reign, so fatal to Ireland; you are to know that your country can never again know freedom or tranquillity, as long as *this system* shall last, and you are to know that it rests wholly and solely on the "*worthless rags*;" and seeing, hearing all these things, you are to sit and *hold your tongue*, or *speak* and be scoffed at; and you are not to *write advice* to your constituents, lest you should incur the displeasure of those who are the upholders of this system because they profit by it!

And, looking at the matter in a narrower point of view, what have you done beyond your *bounden duty*? you saw the effects of the panic in Ireland in 1821, and those of that in England in 1825. You saw hundreds of thousands of industrious, and virtuous, and frugal fathers and mothers bereft, in a moment, of the means of providing for children, to be able to make provision for whom had been the hope of their laborious

lives. You had seen that the breaking of only one bank, in Hampshire, had caused, to use the words of the papers of that county, "as much anguish and lamentation as if there had been a dead corpse in every third house." You had seen the poor, hard-working man, with body wasted to the bone for the sake of keeping a cot over his head, stripped, in a moment, of the means of paying his rent, and compelled to go to the poor-house for shelter; and this in thousands upon thousands of instances, while the bankrupt devastator continued to wallow in luxury. You had seen all this; you had every reason to believe that these desolating scenes must again occur in Ireland, if the extension of the paper-money were not checked: and, having seen all this, and entertaining this opinion as to the future, you were to hold your tongue, lest your poor country should take warning in time, and *save themselves by legally* demanding payments in gold; or, if you gave the warning, were to be brow-beaten, bullied, and almost menaced with punishment!

But, above all things, what had you heard and seen in the Parliament itself; and in that very house of "noblest assembly," wherein you were reprov'd for your conduct? You had, in that House, heard it stated by the minister; 1st, that the small paper-money had been the cause of the panic, and the ruin in 1825; 2nd, that, as long as this paper lasted, there was no safety for property, and no security for the peace of the country; 3rd, that it was *absurd* to suppose, that paper, of the same denomination with gold, would circulate at par with gold; 4th, that such a paper could, in such a state, exist only by mere chance; 5th, that any little accidents might destroy it in an hour; 6th, and that, therefore, no government, having any regard for the safety of private property, or for the preservation of the public peace, could tolerate such a paper-money. All this you heard in that house; and you saw the Chancellor of the Exchequer come into the House, hold some of the notes in his hand, and heard him call them "*worthless rags!*"

And then you saw the House pass an act to put an end to those injuries and dangers, in England, and to leave Ireland still *exposed to them all!* And you are to be reviled and menaced, because you endeavour, by legal means, to guard your country, while yet there is time, against these perils!

The facts, mentioned by DOGHERTY, prove, beyond all doubt, the soundness of your advice to the people of Ireland; for, what do those facts prove? Why, that there is *not gold in Ireland* wherewith to discharge the debts which the rag-issuers contract to pay. Every note *promises* to pay, in gold, to the bearer, on demand; and if the issuers of the notes have the gold to pay *with*, what inconvenience can arise from demanding payment? Dogherty says, that the demand, occasioned by your letter, caused prices to fall thirty or forty per cent.; and he further says, that a general demand would plunge Ireland into "*panic, confusion, and anarchy.*" Why? Because the issuers *have not the gold to pay with*; for there *can* be no other reason. To be sure they have it not; for, if they had, your letter they would laugh at. Well, then, if this be the case, is it not necessary that the people of Ireland should *know it*? Is it not right that they should be told it by a man to whom they have entrusted their interests? And, seeing no hope that the Parliament would remove this danger from Ireland, was it not your duty, your bounden duty, to warn the people through the only channel remaining open to you?

You tell the people, and very truly, that a sovereign *may* be worth thirty shillings in paper. It *may* be worth a bushel basket full of paper; and, if an attempt be made to put out the paper-money again *here*, a sovereign will soon be worth a hundred pounds in paper. Is it not the interest of every man to get *some gold*, if he can? Canning, in the rag-debate of 1826, said that "*every man ought to have a piece of gold in his pocket, and a fowl in his pot.*" As to the fowls, and even the eggs, of poor oppressed Ireland, *they* come to be eaten in England; but, surely, you might be

permitted to advise your countrymen, to get each "a piece of gold in his pocket;" you might, surely, be allowed to do this, without being accused of "*wanton mischief*;" and that, too, by Lord *Howick*!

When an act is so good as this of yours, we are not to be too fastidious with regard to the *motive*, and especially when there is, as in your case, no attempt made to disguise that motive. In your two speeches, you plainly enough say that you have been unfairly treated by the House; that they cheer all who attack you, and hear with silent disdain all that is urged in your defence; that *both parties* dislike you, and that every art is resorted to for the purpose of destroying your public character. All this is true, and you do not disguise that your *gold proclamation* arose, in part at least, from the resentful feelings created by this accumulation of scorn and contempt. Ah! O'Connell, if you had followed my advice, and had observed my example, you would have made them tremble instead of scoff. I have lived and been happy and become famous for ages, under their *deadly hatred*; but never one moment under their *contempt*. My first words to you, under my roof, were these: "Mr. O'Connell, I hope you are aware that you are come into hell, and that you have, of course, devils to deal with." I then proceeded to observe, "that every art, every blandishment, would be made use of to *seduce* you; and that if these failed, then every effort would be made to *crush* you. So that, the only safe course was to keep aloof from them; to set them at defiance; to make up your mind to be *hated* by them (for hate you they always would), and to keep the people firmly at your back."

"Alas! they succeeded, not in *corrupting* but in *deluding*: there were *Dukes* for you to *dine* with; there was *Brougham* for you to sup with; and there was *Burdett*, the *great reformer of all*, to bait you *day after day*, to sacrifice the forty-shilling freeholders! Hence all your wanderings from the right path I lamented them, but they did not sur-

prise me. Now, the object is to *degrade* you, that you may no longer have any power with the people. This you see at last, and, therefore, you are inflicting punishment on the false and insolent and haughty crew, in a manner that shows you ought to have done it long ago. Even the *Catholic oligarchs*, who owe their restoration solely to you, join with the rest, adding the basest *ingratitude* to the most cowardly malignity and the most disgusting insolence.

Do I *blame* you for thus acting on your *resentment*? By no means; we all act in such cases, from *mixed* motives; self-love is necessary to self-preservation; and this is necessary to the very existence of mankind. Were there no *resentment*, there would be no justice; the good would be confounded with the bad; fools and knaves would rule the wise and the virtuous, and the earth must soon be depopulated. The *resentment of men of talent* has been provided as a corrective of haughtiness, ignorance and insolence. It has frequently corrected the English aristocracy, and in a remarkable manner, by the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, which was occasioned by the *resentment* of two men of great talent, FRANKLIN and PAINÉ. Franklin, who had been a printer, was, when the *dispute* began, a *post-master* in Philadelphia. He was sent to England *humbly to remonstrate* on the part of the colonies; but being treated with great insolence and disdain by WEDDERBURN, then Attorney-General, I believe, and by the House of Lords, he, from that day, sought the separation which finally took place. At a time when the dispute had not attained any very great height, PAINÉ induced the colonies to declare themselves *independent*. He had been an EXCISEMAN in England; he had complained of his treatment in his district; he had got no redress; he had humbly sought a hearing from the Board of Excise; they had instructed their *clerk* to insult him; and away he went to Philadelphia. So clearly was he the great immediate cause of the *declaration of independence*, that when he

published the famous paper, calling upon the country to declare it, there was a special meeting of their Congress, held to consider of the manner in which they should DISAVOW the intention to do what he had recommended. But before the meeting took place, so loud was the general voice for the measure, that instead of *disavowing*, they, when met, determined to adopt it!

Thus was that insolent aristocracy punished, in that memorable instance; and now it is that they are beginning to receive the due reward of their insolence. Paine and Franklin were animated to the great deed by a motive partly composed of their just resentment; they inflicted on haughtiness and ignorance and insolence, the punishment due from talent and spirit. And did any one ever hear me pretend to be free from this mixture of motive? On the contrary, I have been constantly avowing it. I know my talent, I know what is due to me, I know the place allotted me by nature, by industry, by knowledge, by character; and, being kept out of it, I *resent the wrong*. It signifies not whether I can or can not put my finger upon any particular individuals, nor do I want to do it: the whole body do me wrong, and against the whole I have a right to direct my resentment in any lawful way, provided my efforts tend, besides, *to the good of my country*. It would be unjustifiable to pull down a minister; for instance, if, by pulling him down, you injured the country; but if, in pulling him down, you did good to the country, you would have a right to value your triumph more *highly*, if the minister were a man who had treated you with haughtiness. The whole of the *oligarchy* have thus treated you; and, therefore, you are fully justified in making your resentment a part of the motive to this act, which is so clearly good in itself.

And now, O'Connell, if a *change of Ministry* take place, are you to be again *cajoled*? You have found them all, *Whigs* and *Tories*, however divided in other respects, cordially united in endeavours to muzzle and degrade you? Will a little palavering, a few dinners,

a squeeze of the hand now and then, and now and then an artful appeal to your vanity; will these soften you; will these, or will a silk gown, or a judgeship, make you abandon the people? If they do, you are extinguished for life, and beyond it will be no more remembered than a cat. Can these men; can this Marquis of Lansdowne, this Lord Holland, this Brougham, this Huskisson, and the others that are talked of; can they cause sixty millions of taxes a year to be paid in gold? Can they cause assignats to lighten the load without blowing up the whole affair? Can they work miracles any more than the Duke? Can they go to war with taxes constantly diminishing; or can they uphold this system, and not pay the interest of the Debt? Answer these questions to yourself, before you even hear the sound of their cajolery. And if you do this, you will resolve to set them at defiance, and still to have the honour of the hatred of the whole crew, whether in power or out of it.

The Duke, or, rather, Prince, will, if he have only a little common sense, now *slip out*, and leave the concern to its *real authors*; he will leave the "remedies for distress" to be discussed in those coteries of cleverness, Holland and Lansdowne Houses. This will be great generalship; and the occasion really seems to have been providentially offered him; and that his old friend, *Luck*, means to stick to him to the last.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

DEATH OF GEORGE IV.

I HAVE room for nothing, on this subject, beyond the mere formal documents, relating to the death of the King, and to the proclaiming of his successor; but, disclaiming and reprobating the base maxim, that we are "to say good or nothing of the dead;" that is to say, that we are to *praise* them, or *not to say any thing about them at all*; holding

in abhorrence this base maxim, as the enemy of truth and virtue, and of all that ought to be held dear amongst men; I cannot, even now, let this occasion pass, without observing, that, as a son, as a husband, as a father, and especially as an *adviser of young men*, I deem it my duty to say, that, on a review of his whole life, I can find no one thing to speak good of, in either the conduct or character of this King; and that, as an Englishman, I should be ashamed to show my head, if I were not to declare, that I deem his reign (including his regency) to have been the most unhappy, for the people, that England has ever known, since it first bore that beloved and formerly-honoured name. In the next Register I will attempt a sketch of the transactions of his reign, and of the part which he, as Prince and King, took in those transactions.

The following letter was sent to the Lord Mayor on Saturday morning :

“Whitehall, June 26, 1830.

“MY LORD,—It is my most painful duty to inform you, that it has pleased Almighty God to release his Majesty from his sufferings. His Majesty died at about a quarter past three o'clock this morning.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient and faithful seervant,

“ROBERT PEEL.”

The Lords of the Privy Council assembled at St. James's Palace, and gave orders for proclaiming his present Majesty, who made a declaration to them, and caused all the Lords and others of the late King's Privy Council, who were then present, to be sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council.

PROCLAMATION OF HIS MAJESTY.

Monday being appointed for the proclamation of His Majesty William IV., the heralds and other persons whose duty it was to officiate on the occasion, assembled at an early hour at St. James's Palace.

* In the course of the morning the court of the Royal residence became crowded with carriages of the nobility and Ministers of State, and the adjoining streets were filled with spectators.

The weather was extremely favourable, and a prodigious multitude thronged the streets through which the cavalcade was expected to pass. It is seldom that such an immense mass of people is seen collected together.

Shortly before 10 o'clock His Majesty arrived at the Palace, from Bushy-park. The King was attired in deep mourning, and wore a blue sash over his left shoulder. His Majesty was received by the Dukes of Cumberland, Sussex, and Gloucester, Prince Leopold, the Duke of Wellington, &c. •

Every avenue and situation in the neighbourhood of the Palace was crowded with individuals desirous of witnessing the approaching ceremony. Seldom or never has so vast a concourse been congregated in the Park and immediate vicinity of St. James's.

Precisely at ten o'clock the Park and Tower guns having been fired by signal, Sir George Nayler, Garter King at Arms, read the proclamation, announcing the accession of His Majesty.

During this ceremony, His Majesty, surrounded by his illustrious relatives, and all the great officers of State, presented himself to the view of his subjects at the Palace window. As soon as he was recognized, the air was rent with acclamations. The King appeared greatly affected by this spontaneous and unanimous burst of enthusiastic loyalty and attachment, and acknowledged the attentions of his people by repeatedly bowing. Those who were fortunate enough to secure a position near the Palace observed that the King was affected even to tears. •

The gates of the Palace having been thrown open, the procession moved forward, the life guards who accompanied it brandishing their swords, and the ladies in the balconies and windows of the houses contiguous waving their handkerchiefs, amidst a tempest of cheers from the multitude, who took off their

hats and shouted, "Long live King William IV."

At ten o'clock the procession began to move amid the roar of the Park guns, and the scarcely less noisy acclamations of the multitude.

On its arrival at Charing-cross, the procession moved in the following order :

Mr. Lee, High Constable of Westminster, with a number of Officers to clear the way.

Two Horse Guards.

A single ditto.

The Farrier of the Horse Guards.

Four Pioneers with their Axes.

The Beadles of St. James's and St. Martin's Parishes, in their full dresses, and with their staves of office.

A posse of New Police Constables.

The Band of Horse Guards in their State uniforms.

Eight Marshals on foot.

The Knight Marshal and his Men.

The Household Troop.

State Band, Kettle-drums, and Trumpets.

Pursuivants on Horseback.

Heralds.

The King-at-arms, supported by Serjeants with their maces.

Troop of Horse Guards.

It is difficult to conceive any thing more imposing than the appearance of Charing-cross and its immediate vicinity on the approach of the procession. The streets were lined with spectators in thousands, coaches and vehicles of every description choked the way, and the houses from basement to roof were crowded with persons anxious to witness and offer the tribute of their cheer to the passing pageant. The ringing of the church bells, the discharge of ordnance, and the shouts of the multitude, added greatly to the excitement of the occasion. From the Opera-house to Charing-cross every position that afforded the chance of a view of the cavalcade was occupied by clusters of human beings, and the whole scene presented an extremely animated appearance, the gay dresses of the females not having been as yet superseded by the sombre garb of mourning.

The procession having halted, the following proclamation was read :—

"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy our late Sovereign Lord King George the Fourth, of blessed memory, by whose decease the

Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince William, Duke of Clarence; we, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this realm, being here assisted with those of his late Majesty's Privy Council, with numbers of other principal gentlemen of quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, do now hereby, with ope voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim that the High and Mighty Prince William, Duke of Clarence, is now, by the death of the late Sovereign, of happy memory, become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord William the Fourth, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith (and so forth). To whom we acknowledge all faith and constant obedience, with all humble and hearty affection, beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Prince, William the Fourth, with long and happy years to reign over us.

"Given, &c.

"God save the KING."

At the conclusion, the air was rent by cries of "Long live King William," and handkerchiefs were waved in a manner the most loyal and enthusiastic.

The procession then moved slowly along the Strand towards Temple-bar, the gates of which were closed, according to custom. On a herald demanding admission in the name of King William IV., the gates were opened by the City Marshal, who conducted the herald to the Lord Mayor, who, attended by the Sheriffs and other municipal authorities, awaited in their carriages the approach of the cavalcade. At the end of Chancery-lane, the proclamation was again repeated, and the dwellers east of Temple-bar afforded satisfactory evidence that their lungs and loyalty were as strong as those of the inhabitants of the court end of the metropolis.

At Wood-street, Cheapside, the proclamation was also read, and again at the Royal Exchange, under circumstances precisely similar to those already

described. The last proclamation took place at Aldgate. At the conclusion of each proclamation, "God save the King" was played by the state band, and the assemblage displayed the utmost enthusiasm.

Throughout the whole of the fine of road, the windows and tops of the houses were filled with spectators: every spot that commanded a bird's-eye view of the procession was crowded, and the streets presented an immense mass of living matter. The procession was splendid without being gorgeous or extravagant. The assemblage attracted by it was immense, the Strand from Charing-cross to Temple-bar presented the appearance of a sea of heads; and we may say that few public ceremonies within the memory of the present generation have been received with more distinguished marks of enthusiasm and interest.

TOUR IN THE WEST.

JUST as I was closing my third Lecture (on Saturday night), at Bristol, to a numerous and most respectable audience, the news of the above event arrived. I had advertised, and made all the preparations, for lecturing at Bath on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; but, under the circumstances, I thought it would not be proper to proceed thither, for that purpose, until after the burial of the king. When that has taken place, I shall, as soon as may be, return to Bath, taking *Hertfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire* in my way; from Bath, through *Somerset*, *Devon*, and into *Cornwall*; and back through *Dorset*, *South Wilts*, *Hants*, *Sussex*, *Kent*, and then go into *Essex*, and, last of all, into my native county of *Surrey*. I shall then have seen all England with my own eyes, except *Rutland*, *Westmoreland*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*; and these, if I have *life and health till NEXT SPRING*, I shall see, in my way to *SCOTLAND*. But never shall I see another place to interest me, and so pleasing to

me, as, Bristol and its environs, taking the whole together. A good and solid and wealthy city: a people of plain and good manners; private virtue and public spirit united; no empty noise, no insolence, no flattery; men very much like the Yorkers and Lancastrians. And, as to the seat of the city and its environs, it surpasses all that I ever saw. A great commercial city in the midst of corn-fields, meadows and woods, and the ships coming into the centre of it, miles from any thing like sea, up a narrow river, and passing between two clefts of a rock probably a hundred feet high; so that from the top of these clefts, you look down upon the main-top gallant masts of lofty ships that are gliding along!

COBBETT'S

TWO-PENNY TRASH;

OR,

POLITICS FOR WORKING PEOPLE,

EXPLAINING

How it is that the People are made Poor.

The first No. (price 2d. of course) was published on the 1st of July, and one Number will be published on the 1st of every succeeding month. It will be in the *Duodecimo* form; and the twelve Numbers of the year will make a nice little book, to be read by the scholars in the *Lancaster* and *National Schools*. Better far than ALLEN's tracts!

Just published, No. XII. of

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE *Twelfth Number* of this work is now published; and the two Numbers that were out of print, are re-published. I intended to conclude the work in Twelve Numbers; but there must be Fourteen; so that it will be completed on the 1st of September.

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed, relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentleman, or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for many years to read and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that the newly-published **EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA** says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supersede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its plainness, its simplicity. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian.*" Price 6s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "*Introduction*" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself; and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, "showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen." This is the Title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of *Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries*, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom.—Of this Work there are two Editions, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in *Royal Octavo*, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off: the Price 11. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

A SET of the Register, complete, from the First Volume up to the present time, is to be sold at No. 183, Fleet-street.

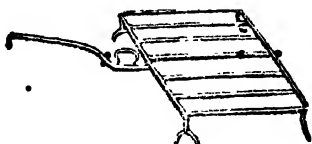
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 70.—No. 2.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 10TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



"History is the most profitable study that men of leisure can apply themselves to, because it contains examples of all sorts: in faithful history good men stand as marble statues, erected in the temple of immortality; and bad men hang as malefactors upon gibbets, exposed to the public view of the world to all posterity."—HERON.

HISTORY

KING GEORGE THE FOURTH.

Barn-Elm Farm, 4th July, 1830.

On the anniversary of the memorable and ever-glorious day, when, on the other side of the Atlantic, the descendants of Englishmen resolved to perish rather than be taxed by men not chosen by themselves, I announce my intention to write and to publish a *history of the life and reign of the King that now lies dead*. I shall do this in about eight or ten *Monthly Numbers*, beginning on the First day of SEPTEMBER next; so that the First Number of this work will go forth on the same day with the Last Number of the *ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN*. The *form* will be the same; but the numbers of the History will be larger, contain more paper and more print, and will be sold for *eight-pence* instead of *sixpence*. I make the numbers larger for the purpose of getting the work out the more *quickly*, and that it may have some *practical effect*. It is my intention to write and to publish, in the same form and manner, a complete HISTORY OF ENGLAND, for the doing of which I have long been possessed of the materials. My intention was to begin this in September; but this event having occurred, I shall begin with this *last reign*; and I am

the more disposed to do this, as it is high time that *justice be done to the memory of the unfortunate WIFE of this King George the Fourth*. In their conduct towards that generous and brave QUEEN, the people of England did themselves immortal honour; and now when they are called upon to mourn for the death of her husband; now is the time to give them the *true history* of her treatment by that husband and his Ministers; and to give them the true history also of the life and reign of that same husband. This, therefore, God giving me life and health for the purpose, I am resolved to do, at the time and in the manner that I have above described.

But I shall not let the present month, nay, nor the *present day*, pass without exposing the impudent falsehoods with which the newspapers teem respecting this King, and the transactions of his reign. The *Morning Chronicle* of the 30th of June, I find, has the following passage; and base indeed should I be to let it pass without a mark of my scorn for the authors. It is on the subject of Peel's praises of the late King.

"Sir ROBERT PEEL, in moving the address in the Commons, *alluded to the blessings* we had enjoyed under the reign of his late Majesty, observing that in the course of a considerable portion of that time during which his late Majesty reigned over the country, *we enjoyed the highest blessings which are conferred by peace*, and he believed that much of the benefits we have derived from the *mild and beneficent administration of the laws* during that period, were owing to the *mild and generous character of his Majesty himself*; that 'we have lived too near the period of these occurrences, to be able to estimate in their full force all the benefits we have derived from the *mild and beneficent Government of the late King*'; and that, 'whether in peace or in war, during the whole

“course of his delegated power, whether as Regent or as King, he never exercised, or expressed any wish to exercise, the prerogatives of the King, except for the relief and the advantage of his people.”

Thus far the flattery of PÆL, who, though *not excusable*, is, nevertheless, not so very impudent, he speaking *ex-officio*. But where are we to find words to express suitable indignation at the words of the Scotch *feelosofer*, who proceeds thus: “Sir ROBERT PÆL could not with propriety have introduced into his portrait of his late MAJESTY, the shade as well as the light; but it must be admitted that in what he did state, he *did not depart far from the truth*. The character of the late reign *certainly was mild and beneficent*; the chief defect, perhaps, in the late KING was his profusion and extravagance. A great deal too much has, we think, been said as to *his private relations*. With the exception of the proceedings against the late QUEEN, when he allowed his private feelings to disturb the tranquillity of the nation, we *do not well see that the public have anything to do with the private life of the King more than with the private life of any other individual*. LEOPOLD, of Tuscany, afterwards Emperor, has been *celebrated throughout Europe as the model of Sovereigns*, and yet his mistresses were almost as many in number as the wives of King SOLOMON, and his offspring in proportion. *Great allowance ought to be made for the situation of the Royal Family of this country, under the tyrannical act which imposes such cruel restrictions on their marriage; and as far as example goes, conjugal correctness is such a strong point in the national morality, that there is very little to be apprehended on that score from the influence of the Sovereign*. The Sovereign who is a good husband may, in this country, dispense with many virtues; but, if he be a *bad husband*, from his unpopularity on that score, *his example will serve rather as a warning than an encouragement*.”

If this fawning *feelosofer* had lived in the times of *Caligula*, *Nero*, or *Helioabals*, he would, I’ll engage for him, have praised them. It is not here a question, whether the late King were a *bad husband*, or otherwise; it is the *general principle* laid down by this sophisticating *feelosofer*; it is the *principle*, the hellish principle, that a King who is a *bad husband is better than one who is a good one*; because “*his example will serve rather as a warning than an encouragement*.” So, then, a King who should be a black-leg, a spendthrift, a gambler, and a cheating gambler too, a notorious liar, a false friend, a breaker of pledges a drunkard, a glutton, and, in short, famed for every vice, would, according to this Scotch *feelosofer*, be the best of all possible Kings; “because his example would serve rather as a *warning* than as an encouragement”! Bad *fathers*, then, must be better than good ones, “because their example will serve as a *warning*.” Bad mothers, *adulteresses* above all things, are the best of mothers; “because their example will serve as a *warning* to their daughters.” The way to have chaste daughters is to let them know that they have a strumpet for a mother; aye, and to hear their strumpet mother praised at her death. This is Brougham’s broad-sheet; this is his “*best possible public instructor*.” SARDANAPALUS, or HELIOGABALUS, would have given a bushel of jewels for a *feelosofer* like this. Such a writer is capable of attempting to justify every crime known amongst men, not excepting even that of murder.

“Oh”! says the Doctor, “but I say, that his example will become a *warning*, because *people will dislike a King that is a bad husband*.” And will not *people dislike* a man for being a bad husband? Will they not *dislike* a mother for being an adulteress? And does not the principle apply as well to these cases as to the case of a King? If it be good to have a King who is a bad husband, he will be better if he be also a *bad son*, and best of all if, in addition, a *bad father*! Because, then, he will be so very “*unpopular*,” and afford his people

such a constellation of *warnings*. "A King", the sophisticating Scotch feelosofer says, "may, if he be a good husband, *dispense*, in this country, with many virtues." That is to say, if he be but a *good husband*, he may safely be a bad "King." Now in the first place, Doctor BLACK may know of *good men* who are *bad husbands*; I never yet knew one, in the whole course of my life. But do we find, has it ever been found, that a man's being a *good husband* has been an apology for any offence that he may have committed? Do we sell to a good husband cheaper than to a bad one? We deem his character better; we deem him more worthy of trust and confidence; and so we ought; but as to all matters in which we have concerns with him, we judge him by his acts. To say that men will suffer quietly oppression from a king *because he is a good husband*, is to say that they do not mind the bite of the viper, because it is fond of its mate. In short, the position is false; and there is no foundation for the assertion, that a man's being a good husband has a tendency to enable him to be, with impunity, bad in other respects.

If this doctrine of the Scotch Doctor were true, what a shame that for so many ages writers and orators have been abusing poor Heliogabalus, for instance. This man, or, rather, this monster; this beast-like Emperor, used balm in his lamps, filled his fish-ponds with rose-water, wore the most costly garments, never wore any garment but once, and changed his women pretty nearly as often as his dress. His feasts were the most expensive: being near the sea, he would have no fish in his house; being far from it, he would have every variety of fish; his buildings, his furniture, were of the most costly kind; he made himself a high tower, having the boarded floor covered with cloth of gold, and bordered with precious stones; he passed his time in all sorts of effeminancies and vices; he used, says the historian, "to prefer to the best advancements in the commonwealth, the most worthless persons, such as bawds, minstrels, players,

"and such like." At the end of about two years and eight months, this wretch, was killed by his own soldiers, dragged through the city and cast into the Tiber, like a dog. How cruel and unjust! For, according to Doctor BLACK, he was the very man of all men to be an Emperor, giving so many warnings to his people, and those warnings so very striking. The people must necessarily detest him; he must necessarily be unpopular; and, therefore, his example must necessarily operate as a warning to his people; and yet, SEXTONIUS calls him a monster.* Again, therefore, I say, that to Heliogabalus, Doctor BLACK would have been a perfect treasure. The Romans had, apparently, no "best possible public instructor," and, therefore, poor Heliogabalus has been cursed instead of praised for so many generations.

But if bad example in a King is to have such an excellent effect upon the morals of his people; if his being a bad husband have a tendency to make him a better King, what a blessing it must be if all the parsons were bad husbands! What a fine thing to see every parson of a parish kicking his wife out of doors and sending fellows to hunt her about the country! This would certainly make the parson unpopular; and then his "example would act as a warning to his parishioners." If good in the parson, good to a certainty in the heads of families in the parish. The father of each family being a bad husband, must be a prodigious blessing; for it would make the children hate him to a certainty, and therefore his example would act as a *warning*. So that, we come to this at last; here we have the upshot of the Doctor's doctrine, if I had a son addicted to drunkenness, the way to cure him would be, to let him see me, daily, beastly drunk myself. I remember the time when the feelosofer *actually praised stuttishness and filthiness in houses*; he has several times put forth things nearly as contrary to common sense; but his present doctrine is truly damnable: disgraceful to the press and disgraceful to the country in which the sentiments are printed and published.

The Doctor chooses to say, that the Emperor LEOPOLD was regarded throughout Europe as a model of Sovereigns, though he was a very bad husband. I question the Doctor's authority. It is very easy for him to say this of the Emperor Leopold. I have lived in the world as long as the Doctor, and I never in my whole life heard this profligate fellow's name mentioned with honour. So that this argument of experience is not worth a straw: we know nothing about this Emperor Leopold; all the Sovereigns that we do know any thing of, and who are of this character, afford us no reason for believing, that the Emperor Leopold was a model to be imitated.

There is another position of the Doctor, the truth of which I deny; namely, that the public have "nothing to do with the private life" of a king any more than with that "of other men." Suppose I were to grant that we have nothing to do with it *more* than with that of other men? The Doctor would not gain much by such assent on my part; for the public have a great deal to do with the private character of every man, if that man be to be kept by the public. Have the public nothing to do, pray, with the private character of magistrates, judges, parsons; and, in short, with that of all persons employed and paid by it. Shall a man sit upon the bench and punish people for drunkenness, swearing, bastardy, when he is a notorious drunkard, swearer, and bastardizer himself, and shall the public be said to have nothing to do with his private character; or, is his bad character, like that of a king, to act as a *warning*, and, therefore, to be deemed a good to the community? This is monstrous doctrine, indeed. What! here we have a king maintained at an expense truly prodigious; we are to deem his person *sacred*; we are to deem every word that comes from his lips *gracious*; he is to issue a proclamation enjoining on us to abstain from vice and immorality; he is to call on all who are in authority under him to punish us for our immoralities and vices; and yet we are to be told that we have nothing at all to do with his private life!

The Doctor, ingenious in finding excuses, says, that "*great allowances*" are to be made for the English Royal Family, on account of the "*cruel law*" which restrains them as to free choice in marriage. Now, in the first place, what is that cruel law? It is this: that they cannot marry, legally, without the consent of the reigning king. This applies to all persons whatsoever who are under age; and, in every case where there is considerable property, we know well that, in effect, the father has a control over his children in regard to their marriage; and that if they marry against his will, they suffer for it in one way or another; and yet, I believe, that few persons are to be found so destitute of sense and of principle as to attempt to justify a profligate life in woman or in man, merely because the father or the mother has exercised their power either in refusing or assenting to the marriage of the parties. We do not make these "*great allowances*" in common life; and still less ought we to make them with regard to the children of kings, who are maintained at the public expense, and whose duty it is to restrain themselves from doing any thing injurious to the public morals. They are maintained in a life of ease, splendour, honour, enjoyments of every description: they have no cares, either for the present or the future. Bad seasons, loss of trade, none of the changes and chances of life affect them; if they have children, they are at once provided for on the moment of their birth; free from taxes, free from tolls; free to go whither they like; the whole country lies open before them, and all its good things are at their command; and, is it too much in return for all this, that they refrain, by compulsion, if not otherwise, from contracting matrimonial alliances, the effect of which might be to disturb the peace of the country; and are they, merely because they are thus restrained, to lead a life of profligacy and prostitution; and are there to be found best possible public instructors to apologize for their leading such life? The Doctor always forgets one thing, and that is, that princes and princesses are *not compelled*

to continue to be princes and princesses! There is no law (for that would be a *cruel law* indeed) to compel them to continue to be princes and princesses. If they do not like the law that interferes with their matrimonial affairs, there is no law to compel them to remain under its power. They may become citizens of other states whenever they choose. There is, therefore, no force. While they remain they tacitly give their assent to the conditions on which they are treated as princes and princesses. Therefore, there are no allowances to be made for them more than for the rest of man and woman kind. I am not saying or insinuating that they themselves put forward a claim to such allowances, or that they stand in need of any such apology as that which the Doctor offers; but I object to the principle which he lays down, and which no man can attempt to maintain without using arguments the result of which must be that, in order to maintain the morality of the nation, you must get rid of every thing belonging to royalty. If the Doctor have this conclusion in view, that is another matter; only it would be better were he frankly to avow it.

But there is another part of this eulogium of PEEL, and this seconding of the Doctor, which we must by no means overlook. Peel tells us that we have enjoyed great blessings during the reign of the late King; that that reign, including the Regency, was *glorious*, with regard to affairs abroad, and *mild and beneficent* with regard to the people, and this mildness and beneficence was owing to the mild and generous character of the King. BROUGHAM, upon the same occasion, said that which I must give in his *own words*; for nobody can express his meaning so well as himself, or rather twist up a meaning in such a manner as for it to look three or four ways at once. He is reported to have said, "that the reign of his late Majesty had been one of *uncommon brilliancy*; and he begged leave to say, in his humble opinion, that according to his sense of that reign, in as far as regarded the *prosperity of the country*, and the long maintenance of peace, that his Majesty

"had presided with a *firm and well-regulated and salutary mind* over the important duties he had to discharge, in relation to the *internal policy and condition of the country*."

What he may mean by a *salutary mind* I cannot tell, unless it mean to express at once a hope of being Lord Chancellor and a fear of not being it. However, if this mean any thing, taking it altogether, it means that the King's reign, including the Regency, was brilliant with regard to foreign nations and the reputation of the country, and that it was prosperous with regard to our domestic concerns. These are the two propositions expressed by this great mouthful of words; and every man of common information must know, that they are both FALSE; and, as old Ellenborough said in his place in the House of Lords, *false as hell*. Doctor Black backs the falsehoods of Peel, and asserts that "certainly his Majesty's reign was mild and beneficent." The best way to put down falsehoods like these is to recite, just to state shortly, a few of the transactions of this reign and Regency. The Regency began, in fact, in 1810. So that we have had just twenty years of this mild and beneficent government, mildness and beneficence, Peel says, arising from the mild and generous character of his Majesty; in great part, at any rate: doubtless a part of the mildness and beneficence must have been ascribable to those kind souls Ellenborough, Gibbs, Percival, Jenkinson, Canning, Addington, the Scotts, Castle-reagh, and so forth; but Peel insists that the mildness and beneficence of the reign ought chiefly to be ascribed to the mild and generous character of his Majesty. Suppose, then, we state a few facts, which even Peel and his desperate Scotch backer-on will not attempt to deny. Suppose we state a few of such facts; suppose we call up before us some of the proofs of the mildness and beneficence of the reign, just stepping back a little into a few years before the reign began. In short, let us put upon paper, without much regard as to the order in which they stand, some notorious facts relative to the life

and reign of this King,* beginning at the time when he became of age; and let us number these facts or propositions, so that we may refer to them, if necessary, another time.

1. That, when he became of age, in 1783, he had an allowance from his father out of the Civil List, of fifty thousand pounds a year, more than eight times as much as is allowed to the chief magistrate of the United States of America.

2. That, in 1787, his father applied to the Parliament to pay off debts which the son had contracted; that his Majesty the then King told the Parliament that he had a well-grounded expectation that the Prince would avoid contracting any debts in future; and that the Prince had given him the fullest assurances of his determination to confine his future expenses within the income.

3. That, hereupon, the Parliament voted the sum of one hundred and sixty-one thousand, one hundred and nine pounds, to pay off the debts, the King having assured the Parliament that this should be the last application of the kind.

4. That, in 1795, another application was made to Parliament to pay off another mass of debts, amounting to six hundred and thirty-nine thousand, eight hundred and ninety pounds; and that this sum was voted also; but in connexion with, and making part of, a *marriage settlement*.

5. That he was married in the month of April, 1795; and in the next year, his wife and he lived in separate houses, and had separate establishments.

6. That, in 1820, his wife was prosecuted by a bill of pains and penalties, the proceedings in and the result of which Peel and Doctor Black include, doubtless, amongst the instances of the mildness and beneficence of the reign.

7. That one million and a half of money has recently been voted out of the taxes for the purpose of building and of altering palaces, while the nation is in a state of the deepest distress, while the Irish people are in a state approaching to absolute famine, and while several persons have been actually

starved to death within a very short distance of these palaces.

8. That with regard to *mildness*, the jails have seldom been, until very lately, without containing scores of men shut up for imputed libels on the King or his Government; that many men have suffered most severely for imputed libels *on himself personally*; that amongst these, Messrs. Leigh and John HUNT were imprisoned for a long period; had each a heavy fine on his head, and being two brothers, and it being necessary for them to communicate together in order to carry on their business, they were shut up during the whole time in separate jails, as a proof, no doubt, of the mildness and generosity of the reign.

9. That, during this reign, including the Regency, the new Treason-law was re-enacted; the law making it death to seduce soldiers was re-enacted; the Corn-bill, that odious monopoly was enacted; the law making it transportation for seven years for being in the night in pursuit of game was enacted, and most rigidly enforced, giving to the magistrates themselves the power at the Quarter Sessions to transport men for seven years for this offence.

10. That, during this mild and beneficent reign, the new *trespass-law* was passed, enabling any justice to send a man to jail for merely setting his foot on another man's land; but if a trespasser came with dogs, horses, guns, being a qualified man, the injured party could not touch him, no justice had power over him, and the suffering party must seek redress by an action at law.

11. During this reign, an act was passed to make it felony to take an apple from a tree, and to make the party liable to all the pains, penalties, and infamies of felony. Very *mild* and *beneficent*, to be sure!

12. That, in 1817, a mild and beneficent law was passed to empower the Ministry to seize on whomsoever they chose to suspect of treasonable intentions; to shut them up in what jail they pleased, and in what dungeon they pleased, and to keep them there as long as they pleased, debarred of the use of

pen, ink and paper, and of the sight of parents, children, relations, and friends; and this, too, without being confronted with their accusers; without being informed of the nature of their offence; and without being allowed to be brought out by a writ of Habeas Corpus; that scores of men were thus shut up, after being dragged from their homes and from their families by force; that many of them lost their health in the horrid dungeons, some of them their lives, and that all of them were ruined, finding when they were turned out of the jails their business gone and their families starving.

13. That none of these men were ever brought to trial, nor ever informed of the cause of their imprisonment and sufferings; that amongst these men, was Mr. OGDEN, a printer of Manchester; a man of spotless character and life; a man who was upwards of seventy years of age, and who by his own industry and care had brought up a family of twenty children; that this man was forced from his home, had heavy irons put upon him, was, thus ironed, jolted upon the coach to London; was tossed from the coach with such violence as to cause his bowels to descend below their proper place; that in this state he was crammed into a dungeon; that when found in the morning by the keeper after a night of inexpressible sufferings, a surgeon was sent for; that the surgeon opened his body; that he actually had his intestines in his hands; and that by a sort of miracle his life was preserved. That after this he was kept in jail for a year; never made acquainted with his offence; and when, at last, turned out to find his way two hundred miles to his ruined home, he heard CANNING, then one of the Ministry, and since a Prime Minister in this reign, call him, by way of jest (in the House of Commons), "the revered and ruptured Ogden"; at which, as the reporters of the debates of the mild and beneficent House say, the House burst out into a loud and general roar of laughter.

14. That, when these imprisoned men complained of their treatment; when they went to seek redress, they found

that a law had been passed, a beneficent law, to bear harmless who might have overstepped even the imprisonment law itself.

15. That, in 1819, the people assembled at the town of Manchester, petition for a Parliamentary Reform; that they had committed no act of violence whatsoever; that they were totally unarmed; that they consisted in part of women and children; that they were attacked by soldiers, under the direction of justices; that some were killed and some wounded, amounting in the whole to about five hundred persons; that no redress was ever obtained by any of these persons; that Sidmouth thanked the soldiers, in the name of the King for their conduct on that day; and that the parson-justice who was the head magistrate on the occasion, soon afterwards got the living of Rochdale, worth about two thousand pounds a-year, in addition to a great living which he already had in Yorkshire.

16. That, in the same year, 1819, six Acts were passed: one for disarming a part of the people; another to prevent them from assembling together in certain cases; but the main object of these Acts was to suppress the free circulation of thought by the means of printing. The detail of the provisions will come another time. Suffice it here to say, that one Act provides that before a man begins a periodical publication under the name of a newspaper, or under any other name, if published daily or weekly, he shall *give bail* for the payment of any fine that may be imposed upon him for any libel that he may write or publish. The other Act empowered the judges to *banish for life* any one who might publish any thing having even a tendency to bring any of the royal family or either house of Parliament, into contempt.

* 17. That, thinking that this may do for the present with regard to the mildness and beneficence of the reign; not omitting, however, to mention the mild and beneficent Act by which the Irish are transported *without judge or jury*, if found out of their houses for fifteen minutes at one time between sunset and sun-rise; not forgetting this in-

present, with regard to the late King and his reign I will do full justice to both before I have done with them. PEELE says, "we are *too near* to the " blessings enjoyed under his Majesty's " mild and beneficent sway to enable " us duly to estimate them"! What, *too near*? Why then, a man can judge best of a bottle of wine, I suppose, a year or two after he has drunk it. Poor Ogden, for instance, was, while in the dungeon in Horsemonger Lane, *too near* to Sidmouth's blessings to be able duly to estimate them. The starving Irish are *too near* to the blessings of beneficent sway; and the poor Queen was a great deal *too near* to the mild and beneficent treatment which she received to be able duly to estimate it. She should have lived thirty or forty years longer and then she would have been better able to judge of the real character of the proceedings against her. A trial of any sort in a court of law must be much more likely to end in justice when the transactions to which it relates have all taken place many years before. In short, this is the old cant of the rascally rabble of mercenary writers who are hired to keep silence while the facts are fresh in the minds of the people. "*Too near*," indeed! How can the narrator of transactions and the describer of character be *too near* to the transactions and the actors? this is monstrous! When a witness swears in reference to a written memorandum, he ought to be told that, to make it good for any thing, it must have been written long and long after the occurrences took place. *Too near*, indeed, to write a *false* history, and make it pass for truth; but not *too near* to write a true history. There is something so monstrous in the idea that those of one generation are to write the history of those of another generation. I will dissipate all this cant: if it please God to give me life and health, I will drive this cant out of use; this lying, cheating, this base cant; I will let the nation see that we are not a bit *too near* to the blessings conferred by this King, to be able to estimate them. We shall have lies enough about him: plenty of histories in praise of him; but from me, his memory will get that which will

stick to it: and so for the present, I bid this subject farewell. .

WM. COBBETT.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

ON Thursday, the 29th of June, the following message was delivered to the two Houses of Parliament from the King:—

" WILLIAM, R. .

" The King feels assured that the " House of Lords entertains a just sense " of the loss which his Majesty and the " country have sustained by the death " of the late King, his Majesty's lamented brother, and that the House " of Lords sympathises with his Majesty " in the deep affliction in which his " Majesty is plunged by this mournful event. The King having taken into his serious consideration the advanced period of the Session, and the state of the public business, feels unwilling to recommend the introduction of any new matter, which, by its postponement, would tend to the detriment of the public service. His Majesty has adverted to the provisions of the law which decrees the termination of Parliament within an early period after the demise of the Crown, and his Majesty being of opinion that it will be most conducive to the general convenience and to the public interests of the country to call, with as little delay as possible, a new Parliament, his Majesty recommends to the House of Lords to make such temporary provision as may be requisite for the public service in the interval that may elapse between the close of the present Session and the assembling of a new Parliament."

Upon the address in answer to this message, there was a good deal of debating in the House of Lords, and in other place too; and, finally, divisions took place in both Houses in favour of the Ministers. I should have been puzzled to know what this message meant; for why should the matter, if introduced, be postponed? why might not the Parliament sit till it had decided on the matter? why not sit for a couple of months longer? I have known it sit

till nearly the end of August ; and the weather is not so very hot, I am sure.

The truth is, the Minister had two great questions to bring forward, which must have been brought forward if the Parliament had continued to sit ; namely, the Civil List and the Regency ; for, if this King were to die to-morrow, there would be neither King nor reigning Queen ; but an infant, and she, too, without a Regency. The Parliament must be dissolved within six months and, for the purposes just mentioned, it must be called together again as soon as re-elected. Our Prime Minister, therefore, pretty closely pressed by his antagonists, whose patience in waiting for good things seems to be nearly worn out, thought it better, I suppose, to stand his chance with a new Parliament than with this old one ; and then, he gets rid of his Irish stamp duties and of all the difficulties ; of all the motions and lotions and potions that the divers doctors were preparing for him and friend GOULBOURN.

To the public this is a matter of no consequence at all ; not the least in life. It is of far less consequence to this nation than is the weather of this one day, for that is wanted to be fine, in order that I may have the weeds killed in a field of mangel-wurzel, and that killing is of a vast deal more importance to the whole English nation, than is this matter of speedy dissolution or deferred dissolution. But there is a matter connected with this ; namely, the REGENCY, which is of real importance to the country, and respecting which the people ought to make up their minds decidedly, and as speedily as the nature of the case will admit.

We have only to look back a little to be satisfied that the party that used to call themselves the Whigs, but that now appear to have formed a sort of coalition with all sort of partisans, had this Regency in view when they made such a fuss and such a blustering, some weeks back, in eulogizing the conduct of the Prince of Saxe Coburg, and whom, for brevity-sake, I will call Coburg. I read all that correspondence with great care, and the result, in my mind, was, that he had been prevailed upon, by the opponents of the Ministry,

to remain in this country, in order to be made Regent, or to be placed at the head of a Regency, in case of the death of the late King ; for, observe, there was no objection on his part to go to Greece, until it was discovered that the late King was seriously ill. When that was discovered ; and when it was daily to be expected that there would be but one life, and that a tolerably aged one, too, between the reigning King, and an infant not twelve years of age, it would become absolutely necessary to appoint a Regency. All at once we saw a formidable opposition arising against the Duke of Wellington, amongst those who had been rather friendly to him than otherwise.

It is manifest that this party, which we must still call the whigs, were confident that the present King would have nothing to do with the Duke and his Ministry ; but they had still a dread in their minds with regard to the feeling towards them of the Duke of Cumberland, who would naturally be at the head of the Regency, if not the sole regent, in case of a second demise of the crown, during the infancy of the Princess, who is at present the presumptive heiress. Therefore, they were preparing beforehand for the security and durability of that power and those emoluments after which they had been hungering and thirsting so long. The King has disappointed them : he keeps the Ministry as he found it ; and here let us have a word as to the prudence of so doing. It was thought that the Duke of Wellington must have given him mortal personal offence, previous to his resigning the office of Lord High Admiral. Now, in the first place, the public really knows nothing about that matter ; but, supposing it to be that which was believed by many persons, and supposing the King to have been greatly offended at the time ; it is not for kings nor for any men having the interests of others in their hands, to yield to their passions to the injury of those interests. The question is, whether it were wise in the King to keep the present Ministry or to take in their rivals ; and here I have no hesitation in saying that to do the former was the wise thing. As to a regard for the in-

terests of the people ; as to a feeling respecting Parliamentary Reform ; as to every thing in which the rights and liberties of the people are involved, the parties are upon a perfect equality. Then, as to the management of the nation's concerns, and particularly its pecuniary concerns, what is there of unfitness in the one which we do not find in the other ? The Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Holland, in short, the whole of them, have been as much engaged in producing the mischievous measures as any of those that are in power. There is not a man of them who has not had his share in all the blunders and in all the mischiefs. So that, as far as relates to these things, one set was just as good as the other.

But the Whigs are committed to certain things to which those in power are not committed. I am aware that the best-constructed skiff that ever swam upon the waves cannot tack about more suddenly and with less ceremony than they can ; but they were pledged to several things distinctly : amongst others, the Retford disfranchisement Bill ; the making of a partial reform in Parliament ; the taking off the malt-tax ; the making of real reforms in the laws ; the bringing to account the holders of public charities ; the abolition of the law inflicting death for the crime of forgery ; the interfering to prevent Spain from making war on Mexico : to these things they stood pledged, and they stand pledged ; and one of two things would have taken place ; they would have acted upon these pledges, and would thereby have loosened several screws of the system ; or they would have broken their pledges, and have rendered the country still more disgusted than it now is with the conduct of men in power. Either way they would have given the system a blow ; a fresh and heavy blow, which, by lying quiet under the present Ministry, it escapes.

But over and above these considerations, the present King, if he (as I think is likely to have been the case) saw that the Whigs had in view the forming of a Regency to the exclusion of his brother from that Regency, would naturally cling to the present Ministry ; for, could it be imagined that he could pa-

tiently endure the thought of seeing his own family set aside for the purpose of introducing a stranger, a total stranger, to the blood of that family at any rate, and wholly unconnected with the country, except by marriage which death has dissolved long ago ? Aye, and if his Majesty did act from this motive, it is one that must receive the approbation of the people. By possibility the Regency might exist six years, or thereabouts ; and would this nation be content to see a foreigner placed at the head of the Government for that space of time, or even for a single day ? In what light would this nation be viewed with such a person at its head ? What would other nations think of us ? Every man will figure to his own mind the state of degradation in which he would feel himself were a measure like this to be adopted ; and especially while there are three brothers of the King still alive, and all able to fill the office of Regent.

I should like to be informed what are the *pretensions* of this German Prince. He is the brother of the mother of the heiress to the throne ; and that is all that he is. He has a pension, indeed, of fifty thousand pounds a-year in this heavy money, though settled upon him in the light money of 1812 ; and, if fitness for being Regent is to be measured by the amount which a man receives out of the public purse, he certainly is much fitter than either of the King's three brothers ; for he receives more than any two of them, I believe, and nearly three times as much as the Duke of Sussex. We read in the newspapers, the day after the late King's death, that this German was to be made an English Duke, in order that he might have a seat in the House of Peers. This might be a mere conjecture of some unauthorized person ; but, certainly, there was something hatching for the exaltation of this man, and for the putting of power into his hands. Such a person would have *exactly suited the Whigs*. A German by birth, totally distinct from all connexion with the people ; having no part of the nation attached to him ; not regarded as a son of the old King, and compelled to rest solely for support on the greedy faction in whose hands he

would have been ; this would have been the very thing for the old, hungry, paper-money-making, debt-making, Septennial-Parliament-making, Church-property-grasping, and Crown-land-hunting Whigs : it would have been a sort of a second " glorious revolution for them," and if the thing would have held together, having before stripped us of our shirts, they would now have stripped us of our skins. It is said that when St. Louis, King of France, was advised (by some French Whig, I dare say) to lay a new and heavy tax upon his people, he said, " No : we may *shear* the flock ; but we have no right to *skin* them." The Whigs are skimmers, and I pray the Lord to keep me out of their reach.

It is about six weeks since the Whig newspapers were throwing out hints that it was necessary for Coburg to remain here in order to *take care of the interests of his niece*. He take care of her interests, indeed ! While she has the King and his three brothers, all of whom are more nearly related to her than he is ; they being the brothers of her late father, and he being but the brother of her mother ; and besides this, they being natural-born subjects of the King, and will probably be natural-born subjects of herself ; they being the countrymen of the people of England, and he being of foreign birth. The relationship in which he really stands to *England*, we may see by looking at the Act passed in the 12th and 13th years of William the Third, cap. II., entitled " An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better securing of the rights and liberties of the subject ;" which Act transferred the Crown from the House of STUART to the House of Hanover ; and in the third section it is provided, that " after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, (although he be naturalized or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents,) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grants of lands, tenements,

or hereditary honours, or any other emoluments from the Crown, to himself or to any others in trust for him."

Now, Coburg was not born in these kingdoms, or in any of the dependencies belonging to them ; he was not born of English parents out of the King's dominions. To be sure, at the time of his marriage, an Act was passed to repeal the above-mentioned Act, as far as related to him. This Act gave him all the rights, immunities, and privileges of a natural-born subject of the King ; but, this does not sanction any violation of the principle : those privileges were given him because he was the husband of the Princess Charlotte, and was expected to be the husband of the reigning queen. For those reasons it was thought proper to put him, as far as law could put him, upon a level with Englishmen ; but, the wife being no more, the motive for this surprising act of generosity having wholly ceased, he reverts in principle, and in the eye of reason, to his former state, with regard this country, except, indeed, that there is an Act of Parliament which gives him fifty thousand pounds a year of our money, and gives him the estate of Claremont for life, without power, however, either to sell or to mortgage. And what ground do these form, I should be glad to know, for giving him a claim to political power in England, and particularly to the placing of him in a Regency ?

Besides, over and above all this, where is the man who would not be ashamed to call himself an Englishman, if he were to give his assent to a measure that would put this foreigner at the head of affairs, while the King who is upon the throne has three brothers alive, all born and bred in England, and all more nearly related to the young Princess, the maintenance of whose rights must be the chief object of the Regency ? What ! with these three uncles alive, are we to bring in this foreigner, and thus, by implication, acknowledge that the English Royal Family, the Peers and gentlemen of England, and that all the people of England put together, are not worthy of being trusted with the guardianship of the rights of this young Sovereign !

These writers may have had no authority at all for what they said ; it may

have been the froth of their own brains that they put forth; but if the curious discussions about Coburg and Greece; and if the violent attacks upon Lord Aberdeen (the justice of which I could never see); if these really had this scheme of Regency in view, the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, in this respect, and the conduct of the King in keeping in the ministry, must receive the approbation of every man of sense.

STATE OF IRELAND.

THE following was the state of Ireland at the very moment when PEAR and Dr. BLACK were extolling the prosperity of the "mild and beneficent reign" of George the Fourth, who even then lay dead and unburied.

(Further particulars from the *Limerick Chronicle*.)

This title conveys but a very faint idea of the alarming crisis which has unfortunately arrived, or, more clearly speaking, of the frightful state of disorganisation in which this city was plunged, from an early hour yesterday morning, until three or four o'clock in the afternoon. Life and property seemed equally insecure under the reckless dominion of an infuriate multitude.

All our readers are sensible that the great mass of the population of Ireland exists almost exclusively on the potato root, and its scarcity at this season of the year usually adds to the distress of the labouring classes. The general substitute then is oatmeal, and the increased demand for this article of consumption was sure to cause an advance of price to the buyer. In this instance the rise drew forth loud and indignant murmurs from the populace. Symptoms of an eruption, too plain to be mistaken, were soon manifested, and the first indication of actual violence was an attack upon five ear-loads of oatmeal, in Castle-street, coming in to Mr. Caswell, of George's quay.

The carts were surrounded in an instant by a furious mob of men, women, and children, who seized and carried off every bag of oatmeal. The tocsin was now sounded, and the signal was caught up like magic in the most remote quarters of the city. Every distant or obscure lane and alley poured forth in overwhelming masses, almost half-naked, their dense population. Thus congregated in thousands, they were seen flying through the streets with shouts and huzzas in all the ardour of boundless enthusiasm. Business was, of course, suspended in their route, and all shops closed up at once. The most active in this outrageous multitude were females, and the most eager, too, in the attack of property. After the plunder in Castle-street, a furious

mob rushed over the New Bridge towards Arthur's-quay, where a sail-boat was loading oatmeal for Kilrush, in which district the poor were also suffering from want. They plundered a great part of the cargo, but the police, who had been out at an early hour, succeeded in protecting four ear-loads of it for the proprietor. A countless multitude now made for Mr. Hogan's mills, on the canal, which they took by storm, after smashing to atoms every pane of glass in the windows. A scene of the most profligate waste was here witnessed, upwards of 200 bags of flour having been destroyed or carried away, besides some hundred loaves of bread from the bakery.

Even the very dough was taken off, and more trampled upon and totally spoiled. The flour was distributed in the females' aprons, gowns, and even caps, the men and boys filled their hats with the plunder. Not satisfied with completely gutting this extensive concern, in mere wantonness they broke and destroyed the extensive machinery of the mill, thus rendering the establishment perfectly useless for many days. The army would vainly attempt to stem the torrent, yet so desperate were the rioters, as to render any effectual check wholly useless, except at a dreadful sacrifice of human life. About this time a numerous party forcibly boarded a sail-boat from Askeaton at the Long-dock, and carried away every bag of flour the vessel contained. While the plunderers worked away on the quay side, row boats from the North Strand pulled up to assist the attack, and in half an hour all the property had vanished. The number of bags was 60.

General Sir Edward Blakeney had the Dragoons, Rifles, and the 56th Regiment out in detachments, early in the day, placing guards upon the banks, public offices, and merchants' stores. The Mayor was likewise indefatigable, moving every disposable force he could employ to the points of attack, and exposing himself in many situations of danger. The immense crowd of rioters, in order to facilitate their operations, soon divided their forces, and separated in various directions, to elude the vigilance of the military. A violent assault was made upon Mr. P. Gabbett's store, on Sir Harry's Mall, though happily it did not succeed, sledges and stones having been employed without success. At this place, and at Mr. Hogan's mills, the military were pelted; and some of the dragoons' helmets struck off. The loss, however, was only momentary, and though such gross provocation was used, the forbearance of the military was admirable. The notice of the mobs was now directed to several shops and cellars in the Old Town, which they robbed of bread, pork, and other provisions. They attacked the stores of Mr. John N. Russell, in Henry-street, but without effect; they were vigorously defended. They likewise surrounded the bacon stores of Mr. Matterson in Roche's-street, and thundered away at the gates for some time, until the arrival of a military party. Then the rioters struck off in another direction. In fact, it would be a difficult task to follow them in all

their disorderly acts, or to enumerate the variety of outrages upon private property. Suffice it to say, the large bakeries of Mr. Roche, in Brunswick-street, Mr. Erson, in Catherine-street, Mr. Lyons, in Thomas-street, and Mr. G. T. Hill, in Catherine-street, were plundered of their contents, and the loaves flung into the street. In addition to this, the bread carts, which supply the retailers, were arrested on their way, and forcibly emptied of their burden. A violent rabble of all sexes and ages rushed into the Butter Weigh-house, the only emporium for that great article of export, and carried off, in spite of every obstacle, at least 50 firkins of butter, the property of different persons. Most of this was recovered soon afterwards by the laudable exertions of individuals. Mr. Shea's store, near the Ordnance barrack, was taken possession of; and to prove it was not altogether food the rioters were in search of, they removed the coarse salt out of the concern.

Mr. McNamara's store in Denmark-street, and Mr. Shea's bacon store, William-street, were burst open, and a great quantity of provisions, including pork heads, hams, and fitches of bacon and lard, swept away by the invaders. Mr. Pannatyn's store was also plundered of its contents. A provision store of a person named Cusack, in Pump-lane, was robbed by the mob, and a store of Mr. Nash, in Sexton-street, of several firkins of butter. An attempt to break in the provision stores of Mr. John Kelly, in Mardyke, besides those of other merchants, did not succeed. Towards three o'clock the popular tumult began to subside, the precautions of the Mayor, Magistrates, and General Blakeney having met the rioters in almost every quarter of their route. About this hour a small party of the 60th Rifles were dreadfully pelted with stones on George's-quay; after making a prisoner, they fired upon their assailants, and a simple country fellow who brought potatoes into town in the morning was shot through the knee. One of the balls struck the front of Mr. Burrough's house, exactly opposite our office. He was immediately removed to the County Infirmary. This unfortunate man has since suffered amputation of the limb above the knee.

A special meeting was now convened by the Mayor at the Exchange, resolutions were passed reprobating the disturbances, and a liberal sum of money subscribed to purchase oatmeal for sale to the people at a reduced rate. This seemed to allay the popular agitation, but while the meeting was being held, powerful mob attacked the Ballyclogh mills, and plundered the concern of every thing valuable, sweeping the lofts of even the raw grain.

We subjoin a list of the casualties that occurred during the day: Patrick Kelly, John Enright, and Michael Molony, gun-shot wounds, dangerous; Michael Day, severe contusion; Patrick Walsh and Michael Flinn, ditto; these are in the hospital. The first three were wounded by shots fired in defence of merchants' stores.

Should these dreadful outrages be repeated,

add private property again be submitted to the grasp of the spoiler, we tell the respectable inhabitants it can only occur through their own culpable apathy, want of union, and manly energy. The Mayor is most anxious to have the support of a strong civil power, and for that purpose swore in a number of special constables yesterday. Let the citizens in their own defence co-operate with the authorities, extremities may be then avoided, and the effusion of blood prevented; otherwise, they may assure themselves, the consequences will be of a most disastrous character, for these outrages cannot be repeated with impunity. Forbearance will but invite insult and aggression.

Let it not be forgotten that all this devastation will eventually fall upon the city and liberties, and that heavy presentments for the losses already sustained will be sent before the Grand Jury next Assizes. The military are harassed, and the garrison were under arms all last night. The Riot Act was read yesterday, but no shots were fired by the army, unless in the solitary case above noticed. Several charges with fixed bayonets were made on the crowd, but no injury resulted. All public-houses were closed up at nine o'clock last night, by order of the Mayor, and notice given for all persons to be in their houses before that hour. The evening and night passed over in tranquillity, may we hope it will not be interrupted this day! A patrol of cavalry paraded the streets until an advanced hour this morning. Some persons were detected last night offering for sale part of the meat and butter taken from the stores.

The victuallers in Denmark-street Market behaved with great resolution, and stopped a large part of the provision which was being abstracted from the concerns of Mr. McNamara.

The figure and aspect of the women in emerging from the stores were of the most ludicrous character. So bedaubed were they with flour, head, face, and clothes, so ridiculous was the plight in which they ran through the streets, and so disordered their dress, as to resemble, in truth, rather a horde of wild Indians than a number of civilized beings.

The Guard on the Dublin Mail from hence yesterday was doubled by the postmaster here.

The bread carts from the various bakeries drove through the town this morning, escorted by small detachments of military.

It is a remarkable circumstance that no rioting whatever took place in the streets after the military party had fired and wounded the countryman on the New Bridge.

Several ruffians took a most unworthy advantage of the disordered state of yesterday. They had the audacity to enter some grocery and spirit shops, carrying away whisky, cheese, and other articles, which the owners did not dare refuse them.

The loss of property resulting from this wholesale pillage is estimated at 5,000*l.*, a very moderate computation.

Guards were fixed upon all the merchants'

stores, the public bakeries, and pawn-offices, last night.

The Mayor remained up all night, regardless of all personal comforts, while the property of his fellow-citizens was in the slightest danger.

The Relief Committee have this morning for the sale of oatmeal, at the reduced rate of 3d. per pottle to the poor; a most seasonable resource.

The Mayor and the General have this day made such wise dispositions of military force on all the public roads, as will afford every facility to the safe conduct of provisions coming into market from any part of the country.

We cannot leave this disagreeable subject without noticing the judicious arrangements of Major-General Sir Edward Blakeney in every quarter of the city; the mild but firm demeanour of this gallant officer in the most trying situation won golden opinions even from that class of persons whose excesses he was fortunate in subduing, while the alacrity he evinced to co-operate with the Mayor and civic authorities in all matters affecting the welfare and security of the inhabitants demands the warmest acknowledgments. The citizens of Limerick are sensible of the obligations they owe to Sir Edward Blakeney. It is not flattery to state that the *summi in modo* and the *fortiter in re* were rarely found in such happy combination. The sentiments avowed by General Blakeney, on various occasions during the tumult, were such as to reflect honour on the character of a British soldier and a gentleman. Sir E. Blakeney was the first to suggest a subscription for the relief of the distressed classes, in order to deprive them of every pretext for violence or plunder, and thereby warrant the Magistrates in resorting to coercive measures, should those be unavoidable.

In June 1827, thirteen years this month, the mob broke out and plundered the merchants' stores of flour and oatmeal.

Saturday, 12 o'clock.—Up to this hour all continues tranquil; no fresh disturbance, nor any appearance of crowds in the streets.

Advises are just received in town of a furious mob having attacked the mills of Mr. Paul Erson, at Askeaton, thirteen miles hence, and plundered the concern of a vast quantity of flour and oatmeal, leaving the entire building a mere ruin.

The price of potatoes in the market of Ennis is now 8d. the stone. The poor would be without provisions were it not for John Macnamara, Esq., of Moher, who bought a large quantity of potatoes, and had them sold out by single stones. The price of meal also has been increased to 6d. a pottle. These prices have placed provisions almost beyond the reach of the trades-people, who are seldom employed, and the distress is very great.

We learn that at a meeting of the inhabitants and neighbouring gentry of the town of Ennis, held yesterday, subscriptions to the amount of 500*l.* were entered into, of which O'Gorman Mahon subscribed 100*l.*, the announcement of which was rapturously re-

ceived by the meeting. The subscriptions are to go towards purchasing oatmeal for the distressed population of that town and suburbs, for which purpose Mr. Charles Mahon (brother to O'G. Mahon) has arrived in town this day.

The greatest distress prevails in the neighbourhood of Rathkeale, where typhus fever has made its appearance.

The state of the poor in Tralee is lamentable. The quantity of potatoes exposed for sale in market on Saturday, or on any day since, did not average a fifth part of the usual necessary supply. A supply of meal has been sent for to Limerick. Major-General Sir George Bingham has contributed 5*l.* to the fund for the relief of the poor of the town.

The most strenuous and active exertions are making to ward off famine in Killarney. A number of gentlemen have given their horses and carts gratuitously, to draw home a cargo of potatoes which arrived at Castlemain for the relief of the poor. On Saturday potatoes were up to the enormous price of 8*s.* per peck of ten stone, and an ounce of bread was not to be had for sale in that town on Sunday last. The flagging of Killarney was commenced on Monday last, and the employment it will give must afford some relief.

In a few days will be published,

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

From Paris, through Lyons, to Avignon and Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Rome, Naples, Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Baie;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Foligno, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and condition of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

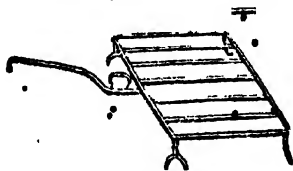
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[Price 7d.]



"Kings and princes never take warning; power listens to any thing but that which would persuade it to lessen itself; it is totally blind to the past, or, if it see it, only thinks of saving itself by additional rigour. Thus, the fall of Louis the XVI. was, by the royalists, ascribed, not to the oppressions of his government and the profligacy of his court, but to his want of rigour in punishing the disaffected."—*History of the French Revolution.*

TO

KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

Barn-Elm Farm, 12th July, 1830.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I HAVE frequently addressed, in this same publication, letters to *two kings* before you, and to *ten successive prime ministers*. For nearly *twenty-nine years*, with the exception of the twelve weeks that it required to convey me across the sea, out of the reach of Sidmouth, Castlerengh, Oliver, and their like, I have written and published one of these Registers; during which time, I, the writer of them, have passed *two years in a felon's jail*, for expressing my indignation at the flogging of Englishmen in England, under a guard of Hanoverian bayonets; I have paid a *thousand pounds in fine* to your father, it being received by your brother, in his behalf; and I have been held in heavy bonds for seven years. I have been *two years and a half in exile*, to avoid Sidmouth's dungeons, under the operation of a total suspension of all the laws protecting the freedom of our persons. *Two acts* have been passed, manifestly intended to put down this publication; and, my belief is, that in various ways, a *million of money* has been expended for the

same purpose. Still it lives, and its author lives; and while, from the goodness of God, he has health and strength, he has seen his powerful persecutors fall one after another, and in almost every instance, in a manner out of the usual course; one by the *pistol* of an enraged individual; one by his *own knife*; others in a manner not a great deal less signal; and here am I still, blessed with health to witness their fall, and with vigour and talent to record their character and their deeds, and to send the record down to our children's children.

With regard to your Majesty, I owe you obedience as the lawful sovereign of my country, and that obedience I cheerfully acknowledge, and render without grudging, together with that respect which is due to your high office, and the rendering of which is a duty, because it is necessary to the support of the authority which you lawfully possess for the good of us all. But I owe you no *flattery*; I owe you no *adulation*; I owe you no slave-like *crawling*: on the contrary, a just sense of my own undoubted rights, my duty to my children and my country, and even my duty towards you, the sovereign of the commonwealth of which I am a member, all command me, in addressing myself to you, to use the language of *truth*, and with becoming respect to give you such information, and to offer such advice, as I think likely to be useful to yourself and family, and particularly to the *millions* over whom it is your lot to bear the sovereign sway.

Happy would it have been for this nation, and for your family, if your brother, the late King, had listened to my advice, instead of suffering his authority to be used in the various measures intended to crush me; and as the mention of some of the instances in which that advice was given and rejected, may now operate as a warning to you, I will here, first, advert to them. They are not now matter of *opinion*, but matter

of *history*; and *true history* is the book for kings to read in. And here let me beg you not to estimate my letter by the *rank* of the writer; but to be pleased to bear in mind, that it was not a *lord* that discovered the Western world; that it was not a *lord* that invented the mariner's compass; that it was not a *lord* that discovered the solar system; that it was not a *lord* that discovered gunpowder; that it was not a *lord* that invented the power-loom; that it was not a *lord* that invented steam-boats. Let me request you to bear in mind, that it was not a *lord* that commanded the armies that gave independence to America; and that *he* is not a *lord* who is *now* at the head of that great and happy nation. The bare recollection of these facts will, I hope, convince you, that in estimating advice offered to you, the *rank* of the party offering it ought to pass for nothing.

Another preliminary remark is, that though great efforts are made by parties interested to inculcate the notion, that the king can *do no wrong*, and that let what will be done, he is still to be thought the best man in the world, these efforts fail. The world is no longer in the *humour* to put up with such a notion: men think, that if things can *do no harm*, they can *do no good*; and that if they can *do no good*, it were as well not to have them at all, and especially at *so high a price*. My doggerel commentary on the "courtly commentator," BLACKSTONE, very well expresses the decision of common sense upon the subject.

That if a king no harm can do,
To do not good he's able, too;
And if a king can do no good,
'Twere well to have a king of wood,
Or else of iron, brass, or stone,
Less costly far than flesh and bone.

But this foolish and base notion has long been discarded. We have seen that they can *do harm*; we have a *right* to expect them to *do good*; we have a right to look to your Majesty for good; we anticipate such good, and I trust that we shall not be disappointed. I now come to some of the many in-

stances in which I warned your brother, the late King; and I mention them in order to induce you to condescend to listen to my advice. I not only know more than you about the state and interests of the nation, but more than all your Ministers and Peers and "faithful Commons" put together. I say not this in disrespect towards your office or character or talent; for it is *impossible* that you should have the knowledge as to these matters, which I possess. It is my duty to endeavour to communicate this knowledge to you; and I have a right to hope, that you will pay attention to me.

The first instance in which I offered advice to the late King, was that relating to the late war *against the United States of America*, than which, on our part, no war was ever more unjust in its grounds, insolent in its pretensions and avowed objects, more disgraceful in its result, and more fatal in its distant consequences. The details of the grounds and transactions of that war belong to the history of his *calamitous* reign and regency; but as to the result, the pages of my Register will show that I forewarned him; that the insolent threat to *depose James Madison* would be retorted by defeat; by discomfiture on water as well as on land; by a disgraceful peace; and by the *creating of an American navy*, which would *wrest from us our maritime dominion*, or plunge us into wars without end. The defeat and disgrace took place; the American navy is created; and this nation now tremblingly waits for its fate as a maritime power; *sure* to have taken from it the *right of search*, or to have to fight for it against every ship of war in the world. This unjust war against America arose out of the insolent principle which had produced the French war; but, at bottom, it came from the hatred of this aristocracy to *freedom*, and to its *very name*. The Americans had a government *without lords*; and that was enough; they had, besides, a *cheap government*; that was more than enough. However, freedom defeated the undertaking; England suffered disgrace in attempting to crush it; she has

a *Debt of seventy millions*, owing to that attempt; but the seat of freedom was preserved; and there stands the *cheap government*, an example for all the burdened and enslaved part of the world.

When, in 1814 and 1815, Napoleon had been put down by a *million of bayonets*, paid for in English money, endeavoured to persuade your brother not to gratify the aristocracy by *humbling the French people*; and when the base newspapers, and baser men elsewhere, were crying aloud for the *sacking of the museums at Paris*, for a *surrender of the frontier towns*, and for a *tribute to be paid by the French*, I besought him to reject the advice; for that either these degrading things would be rejected by the Bourbons, or, if assented to, *cause them to be detested by the French people*, detested as the cause of this degradation to France. I represented to him, that we had *purchased* the "*conquest of France*," but that we had *borrowed the money* to purchase it with; that we *owed* the money still; that this *Debt* would hang about our necks like a millstone; that the French, not so encumbered, would revive; that, seeing us weighed down and unable to stir, they would avenge themselves on us; and that, *if thwarted in this by the Bourbons*, would put aside the Bourbons again, *and, perhaps, for ever*.

And is not all this, except the closing scene, already verified? It is manifest, that the French people detest the Bourbons; that is now proved: and for what? Because they have a ministry which, they say, has been *chosen by our Government*. That the French people hate the English is notorious; that this hatred is deadly; and who that reflects can say, that it is *unnatural*? Can they refrain from hating the sackers of their museums; the imposers of a tribute on them; those who forced from them their fortified towns; those who stripped them of their valuable colonies; those who founded a "*Waterloo Bridge*"; those who erected "*triumphal arches*" to commemorate "*victories*" over them, won by the use of Bank notes? Oh, no! The hatred is so natural, that though, amongst others, I am the ob-

ject of it, I should be ashamed to say that it is not laudable.

How stands our case with regard to the French people? On what ground can we complain of their hatred of us? On what ground could we complain, if they were, in this our day of embarrassment, to lay on upon us, and to do us all the mischief in their power? Let us state the case fairly, and then we shall be able to judge with sense and justice.

We had been told, for 300 years, that the French King was a *tyrant*; that the *aristocracy* were cruel *petty despots*; that the *judges* were *corrupt villains*; that the *clergy* taught an *idolatrous and damnable religion*; and that the people were the most *wretched and burdened slaves* that the world ever saw. This we had been taught by speeches in Parliament, by sermons from the pulpit, by books from the folio to the primer size; by exhibitions on the stage, in pictures, in wax-work, in all sorts of ways. Well, at last, the French people put down their King, aristocracy, and clergy; drove them out of their country. And what did our *teachers* do? RECEIVED THEM WITH OPEN ARMS! Ay, and *taxed us* for the means of paying their *pensions*; and for the greater means of carrying on a war to compel the French people to TAKE BACK those kings, that aristocracy, and that clergy, whom our *teachers* had called tyrants, cruel despotic, and teachers of an idolatrous and damnable religion, and to be again the *wretched, burdened slaves* that they had been before. Ay, and not content with making them take them back, we made the people give up the trophies of their valour; made them surrender their frontier towns; made them pay a tribute for their attempt to become free; made them, by the means of our kind auxiliaries, lead before us as a nation that we had *conquered*, though we actually entered France as the *allies of the Bourbons*!

The way to judge justly is to *make the case our own*; and, for myself, I will say, that if England had been thus treated by the French, I should never

have been completely satisfied as long as there had remained one unpunished Frenchman upon the face of the earth. There were millions in England who detested the French war, and its abominable principle and motive; but how are we to *discriminate*? You cannot separate in such a case: the offence of a Government is, as towards foreigners, the offence of the nation; because it is the duty of the nation to prevent its Government from doing wrong to its neighbours. Well, the *time is come* for the French people to *take their revenge*. They clearly perceive our beggared state; if the Duke of Wellington does not know of any *distress* in England and Ireland, they do; they have witnessed our conduct about Spain, Turkey, and Mexico; they heard BARING say, that two campaigns would bring us to a *paper-tender*; they have not read the Register for nothing, and it is read in all courts but ours; they knew that we dare not draw the sword with this Debt on our backs; and that an attempt to shake off the Debt would bring down the whole fabric; they see us crawling to the Russians and Americans, and even to the Bourbons themselves; they see that we are unable, without utter ruin, to raise taxes to *carry on the peace*, and, of course, they know that *war* must instantly blow up the system; they see it is impossible for us to go to war without a *reform of Parliament*; and they have learned, by this time, that that never will be GIVEN.

This, therefore, they see is *their time*; and their opposition to the Bourbons is founded in their conviction, that they will do nothing to obtain them vengeance on us. This is the *foundation*, the real foundation, of their implacable hostility to that family. And here we are, to all appearance, approaching the final consequences of the achievements of "*Old Blücher*," our *Knight of the Bath*, who began upon the museums at Paris, and who got his knighthood directly afterwards! And against which I so strongly remonstrated at the time, it being, as it appeared to me, a most wanton insult. There is one hired writer in London, who recommends our

interference again in favour of the Bourbons! This poor fool does not know that a nation contracts a debt of eight hundred millions but *once*. Oh, no! no interference this time: the Bourbons must, to all appearance, now *give way*, or bid an eternal adieu to France; and giving way means, *becoming hostile to England*, and driving her out of Malta and the Mediterranean; ay, and out of the Mauritius, and other colonies that we have, and which belonged to France, Spain, and Holland. They were all won by the means of *borrowed money*; we owe the money still; we cannot pay it; and, therefore, we must give up the purchase. Like DRAYTON, the auctioneer, and SERGEANT WILDE, the *patriotic* candidate for NEWARK, we must reconvey the estates, pay the arrears, and bear the costs, having obtained the estates *in a manner* not necessary for me to describe; but which will, I dare say, be amply described and explained to the electors of Newark, where, I'll engage, the name of the unfortunate GRIFFITHS JENKINS will become as renowned as that of the patron saint of the principal church of that fine and opulent town. BURDETT, in one of his heroic epistles to the electors of Westminster, observed, in his emphatical language, "*that to have is to have*"; which, in some cases, is, indeed, true enough; but, as SERGEANT WILDE could prove to him, "*to have*" an estate is not *to keep* an estate; or, in other words, not *to have* it; so that *to have* is not always *to have*: and, may it please your Majesty, it is just the same with regard to sugar islands and other parcels of territory that nations acquire by conquest, or by any other means. If your Majesty have a leisure hour (and many such, and happy ones, I hope you will have), it would not be thrown away in a perusal of the proceedings before the VICE-CHANCELLOR, in the case of TYLER AGAINST DRAYTON AND WILDE, which, if it were a romance, would be surpassed by very few that the world has ever seen; but, as a *matter-of-fact* affair, it is, as far as my observation has gone, *perfectly matchless*. It furnishes, too, an argument of *analogy*; for poor JENKINS was "*delivered*" by

DRAYTON and WILDE, in just about the same sort of way that the French and Dutch and Spaniards were "*delivered*" by us; and yet the *decrees* of that RHADAMANTHUS, the Vice-Chancellor, in spite of the hard pleadings of the Sergeant in person, was, that the estate should be re-conveyed, with arrears and costs. In our case we shall certainly get off with a re-conveyance; for, as to arrears and costs, as blood cannot be got out of a flint stone, because there is no blood in it, so money cannot be got out of us. No: if they come *to that*, if they come to blows, and to *beating us* because we cannot pay, we shall cast off our load, knock aside the system, and *at them*. If they be wise, therefore, they will go gently to work, strip us bit by bit, and *do nothing to shake the borough-system to pieces*; and then we shall become, by degrees, as quiet a little nation as the world has ever seen.

I next come to the subject of Mexico, on which I, in 1817, being then on Long Island, addressed a petition to your brother; proved to him that it was necessary instantly to secure Mexico, in order to erect a power there *to keep the United States in check*; to secure to us the command of the Gulf; to enable us always to block up the mouth of the Mississippi, and thereby have the Western States under lock and key; to have a point and allies always at hand to attack, if necessary, the United States; to keep the mines out of the hands of those States; and particularly *to prevent the growth of their navy*. My prayers were not attended to; and *all the dreaded consequences are come!* • Yes, all to the very letter. We had a *jester* for a minister of foreign affairs, and he, the bawling Canning, "*called the new world into existence*," long after the United States had, in fact, got possession, or mastership, of the best of it; and here we are now listening to Mr. Peel's *praises of the American Government and Minister*; crawling to them as a well-bred spaniel does to its master, while he is loading his gun! To this are we come, not *at last*, but *to begin with!* A few years more of the borough-mongering system, and an English

sail will not dare see the sun in the Gulf of Mexico, or in the West India Sea.

On the subject of *paper-money* and *Peel's Bill* I addressed letters to your brother from Long Island; warned him of the ruin they would produce; and the ruin came, and it *now* is. At every stage the Ministers and Parliament have been duly warned of the dangers into which they would plunge the country; of the mischiefs that they would produce; and still they have proceeded in their course. I dare say, that you are now told, that there is *no distress* in the country; that it is merely a passing cloud that hangs in the air; and thus you, if you reject, or do not see, that which I address to you, will be told till the storm burst, and till the thunder-bolt fall. Upon this subject, your Majesty ought to be informed of the conduct of the Government of the United States of America, with regard to that infamous thing called *paper-money*. The House of Representatives have, very recently, passed the following resolutions:

"RESOLVED,—That the Constitution of the United States does not authorise Congress to establish a corporation with power to manufacture paper money, and to circulate it within the limits of the United States.

"RESOLVED,—That if such power existed in Congress, it would be dangerous to exercise it, especially on so large a basis as that proposed for the Charter of the Bank of the United States.

"RESOLVED,—That paper money, or the system of banking, is *in its tendency ruinous to the interest of industry*, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. *

"RESOLVED,—In consequence, that this House will not consent to the renewal of the Charter of the bank of the United States."

The Congress has seen the dangers and mischiefs that the paper-money, and system of banking, have done here. Our example operates as a warning; and an awful warning it is! The system was invented for the purpose of

making the people abject; for the purpose of keeping them down: it has done it; but at the same time it has made a debt, which will finally destroy the system itself. Yet it cannot be changed without letting in a reform of Parliament. It causes the whole of the concern to hang by a thread. Yet it must go on, till that thread breaks, or is cut. The country cannot stir in war, as long as the system lasts; yet it must go on, or there is a general blowing up. It was invented to prevent the people from being free, to take all power from them: it will end in giving them freedom, in putting *all the power into their hands*.

But, above all things, that against which I warned your brother, the late King, with the greatest earnestness, was, his suffering of his authority and name so to be used, as to give the people reason to believe *that he was himself an enemy to a reform of the Parliament*; that he himself approved of the selling of seats; that he himself approved of the measures adopted to screen and favour the Boroughmongers; that he himself wished the people to be taxed without their own consent; that he himself was in favour of rotten boroughs, and of all those corruptions which have brought such great and numerous calamities upon the country. Upon occasions, when, any act, hostile to the people, was brought forward, it was always under pretence, that the people wanted to *injure the King* in some way or other! Hence the *new treason act*, which in fact gave the king no *additional protection* at all; but under pretence of better protecting *him*, clauses were slipped in, making it *high treason* to attempt to *overawe either House of Parliament*! This act, which was first brought in by the old sinecure fellow, GRENVILLE, also made it *high treason* to *imagine the death of the Ministers*! And under this act Mr. THISTLEWOOD and companions were put to death in 1820. But, in 1817, this act was *extended*, on the ground of a necessity for *better protecting the life of the Prince Regent*. The act was entitled "An Act, for the safety and preservation of the person of his Royal Highness the

"Prince Regent, against treasonable practices and attempts." So, there he stood, before the world, a person so thought of by a part, at least, of the English people, that a new and terrific law was thought necessary to save him from destruction by their hands! What a light for a King of England to be viewed in! What a light wherein to be exhibited to his own people and to the world! What an outrageous slander on that people, or what an imputation on him!

I beseech your Majesty to look at the natural inference to be drawn from this act. The ostensible object is to protect *the person* of the Regent against the violent hands of some, at least, of the people. Well, then, as no such act was ever passed before the reign of George III., this act was *wholly unnecessary*; or, the King and the Regent were *more disliked by the people than any former King of England ever had been*! We ourselves knew, that the act was *wholly unnecessary*; but how was the world to know that? The King and the Regent had, successively, given *their assent* to these acts; and we were not to be surprised if other nations gave them credit for knowing *what was necessary to their own preservation*.

Does your Majesty, who has *seen* the people, and who knows them well, think these new treason laws *necessary* to the safety of *your person*? I am sure that you do not. I am quite sure that you do not think that any law is wanted to protect you, that was not thought necessary to protect the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts. And one thing that we hope for, at your hands, is, that you will call upon the Parliament to take from us all the stigma which those acts imply. It is very right, that the crime of high treason should be most severely punished; because the mischief it may cause is so terrible and so extensive; but, surely the law, which had stood from the reign of Edward III., was enough! And I do hope, and thousands hope, that you will begin your reign by disclaiming all wish for greater security than that law gave; and if the present *Houses of Parliament* still want

a high-treason law to protect *them*, I for one have no objection at all to their having it, so that your Majesty be not mixed up along with them.

In a letter, addressed to the Regent in 1819, I took occasion to describe to him the injury he suffered from being cut off from all direct communication with the people, and in that instance I expressed myself in the following words: "In order the more securely to carry on their work of making the King suspect the people and the people hate the King, the factions have, step by step, cut off all communication between them. The law, that law which placed your Royal Highness's family upon the throne, says, that the people have a right to petition the King. This is declared to make part of our *'birthright.'* This right, so necessary to King as well as people, has now been wholly set aside, as far as regards those who are in danger of being oppressed, or who may be disposed to give your Royal Highness any information unpleasing to the factions. No oppressed man can cause his petition to reach your sight. The Secretary of State presents or burns whatever is presented to him. *He*, and not your Royal Highness, is the person petitioned; and with your people, you have no more communication than you have with the people of Africa." The Secretary of State does just what he pleases with our petitions; we have no means of knowing that they ever reach the King's hands. Petitions contain complaints; the complaints are necessarily against men in power; and yet to these men in power the petitions are to be carried, for them to read first, and then for them to present; and we have no means of ascertaining, whether the King have ever seen them! Is this according to the law? Is this enjoying the "right of petitioning the King"? Is it what any other people, in any despotism even, is subject to? No people upon earth but ourselves. The English are the only people, who do not enjoy the right of petitioning their sovereign. The King of France receives petitions as he rides along the street; and receives them

graciously too, be the petitioner ever so humble.

A few years ago some man, apparently in deep distress, but having the appearance of a gentleman in manners, waited for the King going out of Saint James's in an open carriage, and tossed a petition into the carriage, which some attendant instantly flung out! This was related in the newspapers, and never was contradicted. I myself made use of every effort, short of force, to get a petition into the hands of the King; I went to his place of residence as nearly as I was permitted to approach; when stopped at a distance from it, I wrote to his servant to announce my business; I was refused leave to approach even within sight of his abode; and was told that I must send my petition to the Secretary of State; this I refused to do; and there ended my "birth-right" of "petitioning the King"! This did not make me a rebel nor a traitor; but it made me displeased with the King; and all the stuff about the King doing no wrong, and about his Ministers being responsible for his acts, did not tend to reconcile me to the refusal to receive my petition.

Nor did it matter a straw that he might not be the real cause of this haughty and repulsive regulation. If that were the case, as I believe it was, it was impossible for the mass of the people to know that. They found that they could have no communication with him; they never knew whether he heard them or not; they never heard any thing that he said; they never, but at a distance, saw him; and the newspapers now tell us, that he had, in Windsor-park, out-riders to go before him, when he went out, to keep people away, so that he might not be seen; with regard to which fact, however, we have, looking at our authority, great encouragement to hope that it is false. At any rate your Majesty does not seem disposed to shut yourself up; and you may be assured, that this has given very great pleasure to the people. I, who had not seen a King or a regent for five or six and twenty years before the first of this month, have now seen a King half a

dozen times; and a good hearty, cheerful-looking King too; and up and at breakfast, I am sure, by eight o'clock in the morning. That is the King for me; ay, for the people too.

Your Majesty brings us a *Queen* too; and, what is more, the gossip goes, (that you "live in *Queen-street*." If that fact be once *ascertained*, you have all the *women's* hearts, and then you are sure of the men; for in England there is no other really legitimate and steady sway than that of the petticoat. And, then, (for I will tell you what nobody else will,) it is said, her Majesty is a *very close manager in her house*. Squanderous and wasteful servants give it another name; but her Majesty may be assured that this character will, if found to be just, as I hope and believe it will, insure her the respect of all that part of the community, which form the real strength and security of the country and the throne.

Ah! may it please your Majesty, this is the great thing of all! This *expenditure*, this *cost* of royalty, is, now-a-days, its greatest enemy. If your Majesty could hear only a thousandth part of what I have heard, respecting the *palaces*, the *arches*, the *fish-ponds*, and other things; if you could hear only a thousandth part of the angry, the bitter, the resentful expressions, that I have heard, relative to those things; and that, too, not from those whom corrupt men call Jacobins and Radicals, but moderate, mild, and patient people; from merchants, farmers, gentlemen, and those of the most considerate character too; if you could hear only a thousandth part of them, you would come to the famous old palace of St. James, use *one* other in the country, and order the great heap at Pimlico to be sold, and throw open the parks and gardens, where now closed, for the recreation of the people.

As an Englishman, knowing how to value the institutions of my country; as a man, who wishes most sincerely that a Government of King, Lords, and Commons, may always exist, in England; as one who is as anxious as any man living to see avoided a violent

change of any sort; as a dutiful, though not fawning, subject of your Majesty, I beseech you to reflect, that it was the *squanderings* of the French court, which, more than any other cause, produced the terrible revolution in that country; I beseech you to believe that the whole of the people of England, only excepting those who live on the taxes, now anxiously wish success to the people of France against their Government; I beseech you to look at the effect of the *example of the American Government*; to consider, that your brother, the late King, IN EACH OF THE 47 YEARS, on an average, after he became of age, cost this nation more than all the Presidents of America have cost, *in the 40 years that that Government has existed*; and to consider also, how that republic has towered up under that *cheap Government*! I beseech your Majesty to think of these things; to be convinced that the world is not now in the humour to be ruled for the sole benefit, or sport of the rulers. The example of America is a light like the sun: and all the world beholds it. In all my experience, great as it has been, I have never witnessed effect so great and so general as that produced by the speech, in which Sir JAMES GRAHAM made the *comparison* between our expenses and those of the American Government. "A republic! a republic!" was sounded in my ears, from town to town, wherever I went. I beseech your Majesty to think of these things, and not to be lulled by soft sounds. The country is tranquil; but it is the tranquillity of anxious expectation; ruin stares every man in the face; every man, not living on the taxes, wants a change; men do not *stir*, because all feel that *no little change* can be of any use; the magazine of discontent is full to the brim; the *match* only is wanted.

"But," some one will ask, "what can the King do with this aristocracy, who fill a decided majority of the seats? They will not let him be economical; they will have the 650,000*l.* a year for 113 of them who are privy-councillors; they will have the more than 1,000,000*l.* for the civil-list, of which they will have three-fourths, in one


shape or another; they will have the 178,000*l.* a year in places, pensions, &c., for Members of the House of Commons, as in 1808; they will have the pensions of Burke still paid, of 2,500*l.* a year, though Burke has been dead more than 30 years; they will have us *pay* about 60 ambassadors and the like, though we *employ* only about 15; they will have these things; and *what can the King do?* They have the *majority*; they can refuse him *even bread and cheese*; and, therefore, he can do nothing without their consent."

This, may it please your Majesty, is the general talk, and has been ever since I can recollect; and it is very true, that, *as long as the Parliament is composed as it now is*, the King can do nothing effectual for his people. But cannot he *change that composition?*

Oh, no!" some one will say; for "*they will pass no law to make a reform.*" Will they not? What, then, they are *gods*, I suppose. Ah! if your Majesty were but to see your *true* interests; were but to resolve to call your people to your aid, how soon these gods would become very modest men! But how are you to go to work? These gods will not pass a law to make a reform. Won't they? Let us see.

A few days hence the country will be raging, from one end to the other, with bribery, corruption, perjury, fraud, lies, drunkenness, and infamies of all sorts, meriting the most awful judgments of God. While these are going on, your Majesty, sitting in the tranquil shades of Bushy, reflecting on the endless bounties of God to this land, and in the midst of all these bounties, seeing your industrious people in ruin, in misery, in rags, and hearing of some of them actually starved to death; seeing new jails and madhouses every where rising up; seeing the criminals augmented in number tenfold since you were born: thus reflecting and beholding, and considering also, that if kings be God's vicergerents, to God they are answerable for the well-governing of the people committed to their charge; thus considering, you would, to be sure, ask

yourself *what could have produced such a change* in such a country and such a people? The question would instantly be answered, when you saw *that sixty millions a year* were now wrung from the industry of the people, instead of *the eight millions that they paid in the year in which your Majesty was born.* This would lead you to ask *the cause* of this fearful increase of burdens; and this cause you would instantly trace to acts and votes of Parliament; and these you would as quickly trace to the *want of power in the people to choose those who imposed the burdens upon them.*

And thus clearly seeing the source of all the evils, of all the dangers that now stare us in the face; clearly seeing that the country is bowed down, that all foreign nations are preparing to pounce upon her; that she dares not hoist a sail while the Russians and French and Americans are manifestly settling on the division of the spoil of her power; clearly seeing that this feebleness arises, at bottom, from the want of a due representation of the *people* in Parliament, what have you to do but to cause that due representation to be restored? "But," says some one, "those who fill the seats now, *would not pass a law to do this.*" Would not they!  that your Majesty would but *try* them! I beseech, I pray, I implore you to *try* the worthies. Let them finish their "*elections*," as they call them; then instantly call them together; make *no speech* to them, but merely send them a message in somewhat the following words:—

"The King informs the House of Commons [the same to the Lords], that he has called them together for one important purpose, and for that purpose only. Upon coming to the throne, he finds, from a careful examination into the state of his kingdom, whether in its foreign relations or in its domestic concerns, that there has been for many years great mismanagement; that the country has sunk in the eyes of the world; and that his people are in a state of ruin and

beggary, such as was never known to their fathers. The King has traced these sad and disgraceful effects to the want of a full, free, and fair representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament; and, therefore, the recommends to the two Houses to pass a law to enable the *people at large* freely to choose the members of the Commons House, excluding from the right of voting no man who has attained the age of twenty-one, who is of sane mind, and who has not been legally convicted of an infamous crime."

Clap W. R. 'at the bottom of *that*, and then we should see whether *they would pass the law!* Pass it! aye would they, and with double diligence! They would, without a dissenting voice, thank you for your *gracious* message, express their *gratitude* to you for the wise suggestions contained in it, and *promise* to set about the work with all zeal and industry; and they would *keep* the promise too.

Now, may it please your Majesty, the whole of the people do say, and will say, as follows: 1. That the ruin and beggary, in which they are, arise from votes of the House of Commons: 2. That those votes have arisen from the want of a reform: 3. That that reform YOUR MAJESTY CAN CAUSE THEM TO HAVE ANY DAY THAT YOU PLEASE. I will not state the *conclusion* that they will draw, if your Majesty *should not* exercise your prerogatives in this way. But the promises are clearly true; every man is convinced of their truth; every man sees, that instead of being able to *do nothing*, you are able to *do every thing* that is now called for, to insure the honour, peace, and happiness of the country.

You will be told, that such a reform would bring together a Commons House, that would strip you of your prerogatives, and reduce you to a stipend on the republican scale. What! do this to a King that the people would adore!

Strip you of prerogatives, by the exercise of which you had just saved them and restored to them their rights! Oh, no! And your Majesty knows it well, the fault of Englishmen is, that they are, towards all who serve them, grateful and generous beyond all bounds. *Stripping* there would be, indeed; but only of those who hold those things which belong of right to you and to your people.

If, listening to the suggestions of those men, you leave the people to conclude, that *you* are amongst those *who wish to prevent reform*; a conclusion which they will naturally draw from the two facts; 1, that you have *the complete power* to cause it to be made; and, 2, that you *do not cause it to be made*: if, listening to these men, you leave your people to draw *this conclusion*, THEN, your reign, which you *may*, if you will, cause to make your name to be written in our hearts along with that of ALFRED, will be a reign of trouble, of uneasiness, and, in all human probability, of events which are much easier to anticipate than pleasant to describe: THEN we shall be constantly looking, with longing eyes, to the *cheap Government* of America: THEN we shall hail, with delight, the triumph of the French people over the Bourbons: THEN we shall be with the *example* of America on one side, and of France on the other: and THEN is it in reason, is it in nature, to believe, that the people of this kingdom, full of knowledge as they are, will continue to pay 650,000 pounds a year to 113 privy councillors; will continue to pay Burke's pension, and will *contentedly remain without a reform in the Commons' House?*

I have now discharged the duty of a *really* loyal subject. I wish your reign to be, and it may be, long and prosperous and happy, it being for the good of us all that it should be such. With perfect sincerity, and with becoming respect, I have given you my opinions and advice. I pray God that you may agree in the former and follow the latter; and, at any rate, the nation will, I am sure, have the justice to acknowledge, that, let what may happen,

nothing within his power has, to prevent calamity, been left undone by

Your Majesty's dutiful subject,
WM. COBBETT.

SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

I WILL first insert a letter from Mr. ILES of FAIRFORD, and then add a few remarks of my own.

To the Agents for the Collection of a Fund for the purpose of placing Mr. COBBETT in Parliament; and also to the readers of the Register.

GENTLEMEN,

From my not having heard through the medium of the Register for some time past, of the progress of our efforts towards obtaining so desirable an object as that of placing Mr. Cobbett in Parliament, I am induced to address you on the subject.

We ought, I am certain, to want no further incitement to continue our exertions in this business, after having read the "Address to the Tax-payers," in which Mr. Cobbett gives but an imperfect sketch of the toil, anxiety, and privation, he has undergone; all of which might have been avoided, had he consented to become a hired slave; and not only avoided, but he might have been for the last twenty-eight years absolutely rolling in riches; in the possession of "some stray hundred thousand of the six millions which" have been expended in secret-service "money."

He is, in fact, the only man possessing ample ability, who has not fallen before the hitherto all-powerful influence of corruption. Let it be our task to become the humble instruments of placing him in a situation to grapple with his foes, and with the foes of the people. Mr. Cobbett has done all that powerful talent and unceasing industry could accomplish out of the House; and only because he has had the courage to be honest, has he been by force kept from that situation in which alone he could

efficiently serve his country. It does not appear to me necessary to state a number of reasons for our exertions in this case; to us, and to the readers of the Register, five minutes' reflection on the past life of Mr. Cobbett, will present countless arguments why every effort should be made; and as I am of opinion that there should be an agency in every market town in England, and also in every village where opportunity offers, I do hope that gentlemen will immediately come forward and furnish their names as agents to Mr. Cobbett; and, at the same time, leave no opportunity unembraced to expedite and forward the proposed object. I am also of opinion, that a Committee, composed of friends in London at its head, to correspond with, and report to, would have great influence in keeping up the portion of interest necessary to the success of our undertaking.

If any gentleman should feel disposed to correspond with me on the subject, I shall be happy to hear from him. I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD ILES.

Fairford, 7th July, 1830.

P. S. The question having been put to me from a number of persons, as to what was to be done with the funds in case they should fall short of the required sum, I took an opportunity to mention this to Mr. Cobbett when here, whose decided answer was, that in such case "the amount is to be returned to the respective subscribers."

What I have to say about this matter is this: that I believe that a good sum of money is already collected, or, at least, subscribed for; that there is not time to ascertain the precise amount before the general election takes place; that this is of no consequence at all; that I request my friends, that is to say, the friends of my politics, to accept of my thanks for what they have done; that, if they wish to see me in Parliament, it will be prudent for them to continue their exertions; and that, by-and-by, I will adopt some mode of getting

together the information that they have to give me on the subject; that I mean to see every county before I have done; and that, by that time, I shall learn what they have been able to do; that I do not want to touch the money until the whole be collected; that I am not, and have never been, anxious to be in the place for my own sake; that it is impossible that I should gain by it; that the fee-simple of a seat, in the present state of things, is not worth a straw; that I will not expend one single farthing of money, of my own or of any body else, upon any of the wretches who have what they call the right of voting; that I look upon them as being as guilty as the Borough-villains themselves; that it is a great question with me which of the two is the most detestable; that, for myself, I want nothing but the fruit of my earnings; and that, as far as I am able, I will keep this out of the claws of the THING; that I never expected 10,000*l.* to be collected in a short space of time; that I am in no hurry, having, at present, quite enough upon my hands; but, that, whenever the country shall call for my services (and the money raised would be that call), *I am ready*; and that it is, at present, not determined, *that I will not give old daddy Burdett a start at Westminster!*

BURDETT AND BIRMINGHAM.

CURIOUS! The "BIRMINGHAM UNION," Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD in the Chair, advertised some time ago that they would hold their annual meeting on the 5th of July, "*Sir F. Burdett in the Chair.*" "Indeed!" said I, as soon as I saw this, "if they catch him, they are sharp fishers: if they hold that eel, they will be able to catch the wind." Before the 5th of July out came another advertisement, to say, that the meeting was put off, "the honourable Baronet being detained in London by his Parliamentary duties, till some time after the 5th of July"! And that the chairman would correspond with the "honourable" person upon the subject! Now, will they get him? Will he not

be stopped by "*a heavy fall of snow*"? He himself says, "*to have is to have*"; and they must actually have him tied down to their bench, before they can expect him. A pretty sight to see: a man like THOMAS ATTWOOD sending for an empty, gaping, shilly-shally, shuffling fellow like this, to give weight to his "UNION"! When Mr. ATTWOOD shall read what I am now about to state, will he not blush at his weakness in having imagined that strength was to be got from this source? *Last Friday, O'CONNELL* told a meeting of RADICALS in London, of which he was chairman, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT would have been there, but was confined to his house by illness. On Sunday, in less than forty-four hours from the time that O'Connell made this assertion, I, and several others, saw him in a genteel rusty black coat, cantering up from the Kensington turnpike to *Holland House!* How soon he recovers! This fellow has made more dupes than any sharper that ever lived. However, he will not dupe the people again; and, if Mr. Attwood have a mind to have the millions against him, he can do nothing better than to put Burdett in the chair. If any thing could get him to Birmingham, it would be my saying that he will not go; but I do not think that even that will do it; and I am sure it will not, unless they pay his expenses. An outside passage there and back, and free-quarter there, may get him; but I do not think they will.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ON the 1st of September I shall publish No. I. of *The History of the Life and Reign of GEORGE IV.* When that is done, I shall go back to the earliest times, and publish, in similar Numbers, on the 1st of every month, a COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A true one; not a romance. The History of GEORGE IV. will be the end, of course, unless I should outlive another King. I begin with this last reign, because we want it, and particularly the history of our poor, unfortunate, and excellent friend, QUEEN CAROLINE, who, by her known hatred of

corruption, gave the borough-villains a better blow than they had had for many, many years. They have, in fact, never been "their own men" since. These incomparable villains (for what is equal to their villany) shall have their *due*, their full due, in my history, which shall show *how they got* their possessions; and enable the nation to judge of the *right* that they have to keep them. Our histories are romances, written by pensioned and bribed slaves. It is high time that the people knew the truth; high time that they saw the degradation into which they have fallen, and the *causes of it*. This task was reserved for me; and, God giving me life and health, I will perform it. The Numbers will come out *monthly*, price 8d., as low as I can sell it, with any thing like compensation to myself; and I do this, because I wish people in even low circumstances to read it.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE next Number will be published on the 1st of August, and the last Number on the 1st of September. The History of England will be in the *same form*, but will contain more paper and print, in order that it may be got out *more quickly*.

LECTURING.

I INTEND, next week, to go into KENT, and see how the lads come on there. I shall go by Gravesend, Rochester, Sittingbourne, Canterbury, Sandwich and Dover; and back by Ashford, Maidstone, Tonbridge, and Seven-Oaks; and then I will go into SUSSEX, and see how they get on there. But I am not sure that I shall not, first of all, go into ESSEX, where I have got an invitation to oppose POLE LONG WELLESLEY POLE (a fearfully long name); and, if any body will *pay for the hustings*, I may, perhaps do it, if Westminster should not keep me in the metropolis of the "British Empire." I see that Mr. MONCK has declined for READING. I have a hint to start for that place; but who will pay

for the hustings? I have the money offered to pay for them at Westminster; and if I do it, I will show up the Daddy in grand style! I will treat him to a Scotch document, that will make even THIMBLE and COWHIDE stare. In short, I am in the humour for sport; and I am determined to have it somewhere or other.

NEXT REGISTER

WILL contain another bolus for BROUSHAM and NEGRO Society to swallow. He talked the other day of bringing the subject forward in *grand style*! He is choked, I believe. Let the public bear in mind, that the question now is, *whether we are to keep the West Indies or not*.

From the Morning Chronicle.

"It is intended by the Reformers in London, to meet and dine, in a few days, at some suitable place (of which and the *time* due notice will be given), to celebrate the recent triumph which the people of France have obtained over the enemies of freedom of election." This is, in my opinion, a very proper thing. I shall, though I do not like *dinings*, certainly go to this, if it take place; and I hope, that similar meetings will be held *all over the country*.

ANOTHER SERMON.

Just Published,

At my shop, No. 183, Fleet-Street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, PRICE SIX-PENCE, a Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY; or, THE MURDER OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE JEWS": addressed to Christians of all denominations.—My other Sermons, *twelve in number*, may be had in one volume, price 3s. 6d.

In a few days will be published,

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

From Paris, through Lyons, to Avignon—Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Rome, Naples, Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Baïæ;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Folligno, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and condition of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian.*" Price 6s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "*Introduction*" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself; and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

COBBETT'S

TWO-PENNY TRASH;

OR,

POLITICS FOR WORKING PEOPLE,

EXPLAINING

How it is that the People are made Poor.

The first No. (price 2d. of course) was published on the 1st of July, and one Number will be published on the 1st of every succeeding month. It will be in the *Duodecimo form*; and the twelve Numbers of the year will make a nice little book, to be read by the scholars in the *Lancaster* and *National Schools*. Better far than ALLEN'S tracts!

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its plainness, its simplicity. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving clear definitions: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 6s. in boards.

NEW EDITION.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

JUST published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a *Postscript*, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the list of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree; and *all* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying-out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly dear to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition.

Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that the newly-published EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supersede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

COTTAGE ECONOMY. I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the Labouring and Middling Classes of the English Nation; and I knew that the lively and pleasing manner of the writing would cause it to have many readers, and that thus its substance would get handed to those who could not read. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest mode of making *Beer* and *Bread*, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. It was necessary, further, to treat of the keeping of *Cows*, *Pigs*, *Bees*, and *Poultry*, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details; and I think it impossible for any one to read the Book without learning something of utility in the management of a Family. It includes my Writings also on the *Straw Plait*. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The HISTORY and MYSTERY of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. This is a new and neat Edition of my chief Political Work, the Work that was received with scoffings and imprecations by the Pretenders to Statesman-like knowledge only about sixteen years ago, which has been gradually increasing in reputation ever since, and which is now daily pilfered by those who formerly sneered at it. Price 5s.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into the matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of MALTHUS, A small Volume. Price 1s.

MR. JAMES' PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition.

This Work contains a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures, and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England; ALSO, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country; the design being to exhibit a true picture of the present State of the People of France. To which is added, a General View of the Finances of the Kingdom. A neat Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

THE LANCET.

No. 369, published this day, contains:—

Mr. Lawrence's Sixty-fifth Lecture:—

Affections of Mucous Membranes.

On the Epidemic Fever of Ireland. By Dr. J. Corrigan.

Origin and Purposes of the Unendowed Hospitals of London; exhibiting the especial History of the Mushroom on which so many poisonous Funguses have since been grafted. By Mr. Paul Cox, P.P. in ordinary to the Westminster Hospital.

Uproar between Eminent, Owl, and Co. in Windmill Street.

Disposal of the Anatomy Bill.

Want of Food among the Irish Poor.—Dr. Corrigan's Paper.

Excuse given by the King's Physicians for not stating the true Disease of his late Majesty. Job in agitation at the Small-Pox Hospital.

The Medico-Magico-Politico Attendants of his late Majesty.

Reviews of Darwall on the Management of Infants, and Jenkins's Remarks on Pulmonary Consumption.

Method employed by Dupuytren in the Treatment of Chorea.

Case of Oedema of the Glottis, with Laryngotomy.

Resection of a Carious Rib.

Inflammation of the Vena Cava Inferior.—Venous circulation by Anastomosis.

Contused Wound of the Scrotum, followed by Fatal Tetanus.

Case of Dropsy illustrative of the Treatment recommended by Dr. Ayre. By Mr. E. White.

"Inconvenience" of operating in public at the Derby Infirmary, illustrated by Mr. H. F. Gisborne.

Reply of Mr. Eisdell to the Charges made by Dr. Birkbeck at the London University, &c. &c.

London: Published at the Office of THE LANCET, No. 210, Strand.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 70.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 21TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



"Be upon your guard against those philanthropists, who go to Tartary to find objects of charity, while scores of starving creatures perish in the streets of Paris."—ROUSSEAU.

TO THE
READERS OF THE REGISTER,

And particularly those who have petitioned for the Abolition of Negro-Slavery.

Kensington, 19th July, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

If you have read, as I am to suppose you have, my Register of the 26th of June, you will want little, or, rather, nothing more, to convince you, that all, yes *all*, that you have heard relative to the *cruelties*, practised on the **BLACKS**, is a tissue of lies; lies systematically propagated by artful knaves, in order to delude persons who are of good and kind dispositions, and this for the sole purpose of giving *popularity, power*, and, in various ways, *profit*, to those artful knaves. There are, however, certain other proofs of the existence of this lying system, to which I may another time advert; but *at present*, it is my business to my charge against the Anti-Slavery crew; and this charge is, 1. *That they show no desire to better the lot of the suffering people of England*; and, 2. *That, by their schemes in the cause of what they call humanity, they have added greatly to the sufferings of the people of England.*

This is my main ground of hostility to *this crew*. I care, comparatively, little about the West-India proprietors; or merchants: it is unjust, to be sure, that they should be robbed and belied;

but they have never been on the side of the people in their struggle with the borough-villains; and, therefore, we are not bound to entertain any particular desire that the system which they have supported, may not prove their ruin. But this is not the matter that ought to engage *our* attention; that matter is, that this anti-slavery crew avail themselves of the power which they obtain by their hypocritical pretensions, *to do injury to us!* This is the great matter that I have in my eye; and if I make this matter clear to you, you will, of course, withdraw your countenance from these hypocrites. I begin, then, with the first proposition of my charge.

1. *That the crew show no desire to better the lot of the suffering people of England.* Brougham had the audacity, at their last public meeting, to assert that they were *eminent* for their compassion and efforts in favour of the sufferers in England. I called on him to say, whether any one of them had ever interfered to prevent Englishmen from being compelled to *draw carts and wagons like horses*; to prevent them from being *imprisoned and whipped* (without trial by jury) for what is called *poaching*, and for the *slightest trespass*; whether any one of them had ever interfered to prevent the new law of *select vestries*, and the *new mode of voting in vestries*; which laws have, in fact, made the relief of the poor rest solely on the pleasure of the rich; whether any man of them ever expressed his horror or indignation at the regulations; which gave to a poor man *three-pence a day to live on*; whether any soul belonging to them ever made the slightest attempt to rescue the people of England from this horrible state. I asked him this, and it was impossible for him to answer any part of it in the affirmative.

But I now ask him, whether *five men have not been actually starved to death*, within seven miles of the place of the sittings of the "humanity" committee? Whether that com-

mittee were not publicly apprised of this? He must answer in the affirmative; and then come the questions: Did he, or any of the "humane" crew, ever go to any magistrate, & endeavour to trace the cause of the death of these men? And now, Did they ever hear of *five negroes*, or even of one negro, being found dead, with **NOTHING IN HIS BOWELS BUT FIELD-SORREL**? "They could not help these deaths." I do not know that. If they had been only one tenth-part as busy in behalf of the English poor, as they have been in behalf of the negroes; if they had had *poor-protectors*, as they have "*slave-protectors*," these deaths would not, in all probability, have taken place. At any rate, they have taken place, and they say not a word about the matter: they are as silent as mice; they quietly leave the horrible cruelty unnoticed; but are all still melting with woe for the fat negroes, for whose provision, when unable to work, the laws of the islands make the most secure and ample provision.

Then, are they unaware of what is doing in the *North of England*? Do they not know something of the "*humane*" regulations of the masters of *white slaves*, in that part of this now wretched country? There is something there going on, which might well stir the blood of any thing short of a Nero, as you will see from the contents of the following letter, which I beseech you to read with attention. I pray you to compare the situation of these *whites* with that of the blacks. In Ireland, at this very moment, the people are fed on worse and more scanty food than that which the blacks *throw away*. The poor Irish work-people are, in their cold country, nearly as naked as the blacks are in their country, which knows no cold. Does not Ireland present scope enough for the exertion of all the humanity of the whole of the human race? And yet these kind souls never turn their eyes towards Ireland, where there is more human suffering in any one *single minute*, than in all the slave-colonies during a whole year. Ah! but, then, the Irish are *not black*! What a

pity that they cannot change the colour of their skins! But I am now about to put before you the state of the *English*, and in what has been called a *favoured country, too*. In a debate, in the House of Lords, some time ago, Lord Eldon bragged of the *prosperity of the county of Durham*, and ascribed it to the circulation there of the *Scotch one-pound notes*! This was profound, to be sure, for a man who had been a cabinet-minister for thirty years! But let us see, then, the treatment of this *prosperous* county of England: let us see how the poor *whites* are treated there; and when we have seen that, we shall have to put some more questions to the *anti-slavery crew*; and shall have to repeat again our charge of disregarding the sufferings of the people of England. Read, then, and know what that treatment is.

"*City of Durham, 21st April, 1830.*

"SIR,—You having so frequently, "and so ably exposed to the world, "the miseries to which the present "system of Government has reduced "Englishmen, renders it scarcely necessary for any one else to attempt to exhibit facts within his knowledge, "which cause the mind to revolt from "reflecting, and which our ancestors "never experienced. We have staggered, God knows, with too much reason, at the idea of the married "labourers in many parts of this country, when want of employment has "driven them to their parish, being "*forcibly separated from their wives to "prevent an increase of children*! Horrid as this is, so contrary to the dictates of Scripture and of reason, yet it is not the only hardship which cruelty and avarice have had in store for us, and of which you do not seem to be apprised. The *county of Durham*, Sir, from its being peculiarly favoured by nature with rich coal and lead mines (Northumberland not excepted), has not always experienced the same extent of depression as other counties not so situated; in truth, it has been proverbially denominated the favoured spot. But now things are altered.

"Many thousands of individuals are
 "employed to work this coal from the
 "bowels of the earth, which to life is
 "more hazardous than even braving
 "the billows of the worst of seas;
 "some of the shafts of the collieries
 "being no less downwards than from
 "100 to 140 fathom, and the workings
 "from which extend as far as six or
 "seven miles. These pits, from four
 "air, run a risk of taking fire; and as
 "many as nearly a hundred men have
 "been known to be killed at once. At
 "other times they are drowned by
 "water unexpectedly breaking in upon
 "them; and there are minor dangers
 "out of number. We are frequently
 "reminded of the hardships of *West-*
 "*Indian slavery*; but what are they to
 "these? Think of a man buried in these
 "dreadful excavations of the earth for
 "twelve hours and more of the day, in
 "the midst of damp and unwholesome
 "air, on whom, for several months in
 "the year, the sun (excepting Sunday)
 "never shines! Yet, Sir, such is the
 "force of habit, that these poor crea-
 "tures rested perfectly content with
 "their awful and unenviable situation,
 "whilst they could procure a suffi-
 "ciency of provisions and clothing.
 "This, unfortunately, they cannot now
 "do, even by almost double exertion.
 "They, miserable beings, it would ap-
 "pear, as well as the other labourers,
 "have become *too numerous*; they have
 "*bred too fast*! And now I am about
 "to relate a circumstance, as regards
 "these men, which even you, Sir, may
 "think incredible, but which I vouch
 "to be authentic. The ——— is
 "the proprietor of a part of these coal
 "mines, and consequently several hun-
 "dreds of these poor individuals already
 "described are in his employment. In
 "these densely-populated places the
 "parish rates are generally very high;
 "and if it be true, as is alleged, that
 "there are more hands than necessary
 "to work the mines, it is not likely
 "that they will get less. Therefore,
 "in his opinion, something was to be
 "done to remedy, or alleviate, *the evil*,
 "as it is termed. And of all abomin-
 "able schemes that ever were set on

"foot to torture the mind of man, I
 "shall leave it for you to judge, whe-
 "ther the one which has been proposed,
 "and acted upon by this man, has been
 "surpassed; nay, by any thing ever
 "invented within the territories of bar-
 "barians. He, some short time ago,
 "actually established a rule, or by-law,
 "that any pitman engaged at his col-
 "lieries *marrying before he arrived at*
 "*the age of THIRTY YEARS should*
 "*be immediately discharged from his*
 "*work*! And if any FATHER should
 "be known to *sanction, or give his con-*
 "*sent to, such marriage*, he is also to
 "be *discharged*! The consequence has
 "been, that numbers have had to wan-
 "der about for labour, for disobeying
 "this arbitrary and unnatural command.
 "Here it is, Sir, as in other parts of
 "England; the distress pervading the
 "labouring classes is attributed to over-
 "population. Oh! that this man would
 "read your Sermon on the SIN OF FOR-
 "BIDDING MARRIAGE! for it is evident
 "he never has; then, perhaps, he
 "might be led to retrace his steps, by
 "discovering, that when the laws of
 "England, and of God, gave him a
 "right to take a *second* wife, after his
 "first had departed this life, and that
 "permitted him to be married to her
 "long before he was *of age*, also be-
 "stowed the same privilege on the
 "labouring youth.

"These pitmen have given him all
 "the weight and wealth which he pos-
 "sesses, and in return, he denies them
 "what nature, reason, and justice, say
 "they have a right to enjoy. More
 "than this I cannot say, more would be
 "unnecessary, to prove how I abhor
 "this wicked scheme, and that I could
 "not rest satisfied until I communi-
 "cated it to one who is at all times
 "ready to do justice to the cause of
 "injured English labourers.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

Brougham, do you happen to know
 if any negro owner who treats his slaves
 with severity equal to this? Did you
 ever hear, even from the lips of the

liars, any account of negroes working so hard as these colliers, and at such a risk of life; and did you ever hear of a negro owner who imposed the punishment of starvation on his slaves for the *crime of being married*; and punishment on the *father* too, for giving his assent to his son's marriage! Did you, Brougham, ever hear of a thing like this, done by a holder of *black slaves*? Never; and the tendency of the crew's efforts is, *to keep these white slaves quiet* by making them believe, that *the black slaves are a great deal worse off*. That is the tendency of your efforts; and I should not be at all surprised, if some of even these miserable and degraded slaves in the county of Durham, were amongst *the petitioners against negro-slavery*!

The gentleman who sent me the above letter inserted *the name* of the coal-owner, and gave me his *own name* and place of abode. I learn, also, from other sources, that the facts are undoubtedly true. Is there not, then, here plenty of scope for the exertion of "*humanity*"? Are there not here the rights of nature violated? Cannot the crew send a "*slave-protector*" to the county of Durham, as easily as to the West Indies? Alas! the poor fellows in Durham are *not black*; and, which is worse, *nothing is to be got* by the taking of their part!

On the 13th instant, Brougham, at the end of a long and laboured harangue, in the *other place*, made the following motion: "That the House would, at the earliest practicable period, take into consideration the most effectual means of *mitigating the condition of the slave population in our colonies*, and, finally, of *abolishing slavery altogether*; and that they would further take into consideration the state of the West-India colonies, with a view to amend the administration of justice in the said colonies." This appears to have been an affair almost comic; for, while the orator was appealing to the *feelings* of his hearers, the hearers *slipped gently away from the benches*! Doctor Black calls it a "*most moving*" speech; and such, in fact, it appears to

have been; for at the close of it, the moving orator was left standing with only *eighty-three* hearers, *fifty-six* of whom voted against his proposition! Yes, this thing has got a *damp*; people are coming to their senses; they are beginning to see, that if this folly rage much longer, the islands must be *lost to this country*; and they have not yet made up their minds to that loss.

In the course of this speech Brougham stated, that the slave population was *gradually diminishing*, and that this was a *proof of their misery*. What! when we are incessantly told, that the *increase of the population here is the cause of the people's misery*! How these teachers of ours blow hot and cold with the same mouth! That which is a *sign of misery* amongst blacks is wanted to *prevent misery* amongst whites! Only watch them a little, and you will find these people always supplying the antidote to their own poison.

But there is a remark of Doctor Black, accompanying this speech of Brougham, which is curious indeed:—"The *people of England are heavily taxed* for the purpose of *enabling the West-India Interest*, as it is called, that is, the mortgagees of estates in the West Indies, *to live splendidly in London, Bristol, &c.*, on the proceeds of estates cultivated *at a loss* by slave labour, and evidently at a great expense of misery to the unfortunate slaves." Curious, indeed, that the West Indians should live in *splendour* on the *proceeds* of estates cultivated *at a loss*! And to *tax us* for *this purpose* too! What! does he mean to say, that the West Indians receive the *taxes* that we pay on the sugar, treacle, rum, and coffee? He is hardly so foolish as to believe that. We are heavily taxed, to be sure, if we consume these commodities; but the taxes go to the fundholders, and to the sons, relations, and dependents, of the aristocracy; and not to the owners or mortgagees of West-India estates. No; but we are taxed pretty heavily besides to *pay for the anti-slavery projects*; and this brings me to the second part of my charge against the "*amis des noirs*," or *friends of the blacks*.

2. *That, by their schemes in what they call the cause of humanity, they have added greatly to the sufferings of the people of England.* What do all our sufferings arise from? *The weight, the cruel load, of the taxes:* this it is that is humbling us abroad, and oppressing us at home; this it is that is covering the working people with rags, filling the jails with them, and killing thousands of them by famine, at the same time that there is too much clothing in the country, and a law to make corp dear! Well, then, is it true that these *humanity*-people have *caused an addition to be made to this load of taxes?* We shall see that it is; that they yearly make additions to the load; and that, of course, a part of the misery that we behold in England is to be ascribed to them, and particularly to WILBERFORCE, who, I always contend, has been the most mischievous man that ever lived in England.

"But how," some one will ask, came these people to have the *power* thus to *add to the burdens of the nation?* it must surely be some *little sum*; some insignificant *trifle*; some *estimated loss*; some *absence of gain*; some *indirect charge*, that must be meant; for surely the Government would never expend any *considerable* sum of public money *merely to humour these people?*" Why, one would, to be sure, naturally think it *impossible* that any body of persons, called a *Government*, could be guilty of such a shameful abuse of their power over the purse of the public. When we buy a *pound of hops*, grown in our own country, we are compelled to pay a duty of *two-pence* on that pound, besides another *penny*, at the least, to compensate the grower for his advance of the duty and for the expense he is at in consequence of the excise-regulations; and now mark, we have been compelled to pay every year, *for the last twenty-three years*, the amount of *all this hop-duty, and half as much more, merely to humour, and for the benefit of, this anti-slavery crew!*

"What!" say you, "pay the money *out of taxes* raised on us!" Yes, pay the money out of the taxes raised on us: and if it had not been for this crew,

especially WILBERFORCE and BROUGHAM, we need not have had a hop-tax during the last *twenty-three years*; aye, and these two men, one by whining and the other by bawling, have been the principal cause of this burden; a burden, you will understand, *that is still going on.*

"Well," you will say, "but *how*, *when*, *where*, for *what*, under what *pretence?* And how came the *Parliament* to vote the money?" If you will tell me *how* they came to vote BURKE a pension of 2,500 a year for *thirty years after his death*, and to vote it *him still*, I will tell you *how* they came to vote this money to humour the "*amis des noirs*." But as you cannot tell me this, excuse me for not telling you *how* they came to vote these sums to humour the friends of the blacks; and lend me your patience while I proceed to show you that they did do it, that they continue to do it, and that they will continue to do it, and that you must, and even ought, to continue to pay a tax on all the hops that the beer is made of, and that the poor people in England will not dare to raise their own hops in their garden-hedges, *as long as you continue to petition against negro-slavery!* Ah! you *stare*, do you! This, as the Yankees say, "is a horse of another colour." You thought that you were *only* petitioning against the West-Indians, when you were petitioning against *yourselves* all the while; actually *petiti- oning to be taxed*, that the "*amis des noirs*" might have your money to expend in the purchasing of popularity and power and patronage for themselves.

But now, to prove the truth of this to you. Men do not like to discover that they have been *dupes*; and, therefore, you will listen with the hope that I shall fail in the proof. That hope will, however, be disappointed. I shall make the proof clear as daylight; and I shall then leave you *to petition and to pay* for it, just as long as you please. The story is a long one, but you must hear it with patience.

When the false WHIGS came into power, they, in 1806 and 1807, passed laws to put an end to the *slave trade*; that is to say, to the *fetching of negroes*

from Africa; but, not to put an end to the slavery of those who were already in our colonies. We had not any right to prevent other nations from carrying on the trade; but, being at war, we had the power; though, as we shall by-and-by see, we have not that power now, though we have very solemn treaties with other powers, binding them to refrain from carrying it on! But before we proceed onward further, we must look back a little, else we shall not get at a clear view of the origin of this waste of the taxes, this drain on the sweat of poor Englishmen.

In the year 1791, the "*amis des noirs*," with WILBERFORCE (then a member for Yorkshire, and Pitt's man of all work) at their head, conceived the project of establishing a state of free blacks on the Western coast of Africa, in order to show that negroes would work without compulsion as well as white people. To effect this purpose, an act of Parliament was obtained in that year to incorporate a company of traders, under the name of the *Sierra Leone Company*, to whom the act granted a tract of country on the Sierra Leone River, the mouth of which is at about one-third part of the way along the coast, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. The first batch of settlers consisted, according to Dr. Morse, of 400 blacks and of 60 "white women of loose conduct"; so that those who were not fortunate enough to have black on the skin, had it in the character. The next batch consisted of 1,200 free blacks from Nova Scotia; the very country that WILMOT HORTON now wants to send Englishmen to. These blacks had run away from their owners in the United States during the war, and had been taken to Nova Scotia in our ships. They were freed, and were perishing very fast, as is always the case when left to shift for themselves; and, therefore, a great acquisition to the *Sierra Leone Company*!

Thus set up with territories and subjects, you will anticipate, of course, that the Company carried on a roaring trade, especially with the advantage of possessing the three-score of white prosti-

tutes! However, the race is not to the strong, nor the meed always to the virtuous; and so it happened here, for the Company was, in 1807, in a state to abandon its charter and its territory, and to leave the dear blacks to shift for themselves. And now for one of the WICK JOBS. The "*Saints*" formed a compact body in the House; and an act was passed (1807) to take the concern off the hands of the Company for the benefit of the nation! This was done under pretence, that it was necessary to give effect to the law for abolishing the slave trade! Ah! now the "*amis des noirs*" were in clover! Instead of being governors and directors of their own property, and that of the fools who had taken shares in the concern, they became managers for the nation, and fingerers of its money!

This, therefore, has been a colony ever since; and the cost of it to this burdened nation, from 1807 to 1829 inclusive, has been \$3,060,531., in the following items:

Payments to the Company, previous to the Transfer of Settlement	£
Army	117,700
Navy	781,781
Ordnance	70,702
Civil Establishment	188,176
Public Buildings	218,419
Captured Liberated Africans	289,121
Other charges not included	333,028
	240,124

To the year 1824	£2,238,351
Same Expenses in 1825	179,813
Do. 1826	162,367
Average { 1827	150,000
{ 1828	150,000
{ 1829	150,000
	£3,060,531

Thus you see these fellows got out of us 117,700*l.* as payment for good-will! If they had gained by the scheme, they would have kept the gains to themselves; but the concern being worth less than nothing, it being ruinous, this borough-ridden nation was to pay for it! Upon calculation you will find that the

civil establishment amounts to about 13,000*l.* a year. Only think of this beggarly colony; this group of *free* blacks and "*loose women*," having a "*civil establishment*" to cost more than a third part as much as the whole of the civil establishment of the *United States of America*! Only think of our paying twelve or fourteen thousand pounds a year to people at this place for *captured and liberated Africans*! Never was a nation so duped and abused as this; but really if the cost could be confined to those who petition against negro-slavery, *they would richly deserve it.*

However, we have not seen half the cost yet. There is another great branch of it, another great limb of the forked tree. For the "*amis des noirs*" wanted jobs; and therefore they urged the making of *treaties* with France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, binding *them to abolish the slave trade.* These treaties provided for *commissioners*, and *officers* without end. What a glorious harvest for the "*amis des noirs*"! I need not tell the reader that no small part of the following, and indeed of the former sums, have found, and are finding, their way into their hands.

The other charges incurred by the country for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Naval Expenditure, solely employed in Slave Trade	£ 1,630,282
Payments on account of captured Negroes at all other Stations except Sierra Leone	92,597
Bounty on captured Negroes	533,388
Payment to Spain and Portugal, and debts remitted	1,023,004
Commissioners for preventing illegal traffic in slaves	172,950
Commission for inquiring into the state of captured Negroes	2,646
Office of Registrar	8,950
Indemnification to captors of the Disculer	6,740

To the year 1824, £3,469,657

In 1825 . . . 135,588

In 1826	167,352
1827	140,000
<i>Average</i> { 1828	140,000
1829	140,000

Sierra Leone account £4,192,597
3,060,531

Up to the end of 1829, £7,253,528

By this time the total is nearer nine millions than eight millions, if we include the expenses of the present year, and add various other large sums that have been voted. However, let us rest on the above, taken from *official papers, laid before the House of Commons.* Each of the above items would supply matter for an indignant commentary; but, at any rate, we must not let the monstrous matter pass without some remark.

The SIERRA LEONE affair, besides the cash in money, has, since the nation took to it, been more costly in *lives* of English *soldiers* and *sailors* than any other part of the world of fifty times its population. It is, perhaps, the most unhealthy spot on the face of the globe; thousands upon thousands of unfortunate Englishmen have been sent hither as to nearly a certain grave; and, though Governor after Governor and regiment after regiment have perished, still the mischievous scheme is persevered in to humour, to fatten the "*amis des noirs*"; for they seem to have, in fact, the patronage, if not the actual profit, of the whole of this enormous out-lay of English money.

And, after all, the scheme has *completely failed*; the money has all been *thrown away*, just as the *canal-money* will be in Nova Scotia and Canada; but in those countries it will *do the Americans some good*, while in Africa it is actually flung away to do mischief to all but the crafty "*amis des noirs.*" In 1825, commissioners were sent out to this horrible place to inquire into the state of the people there. *Observe well* that the object was to exhibit to the world a *proof* that *FREE* blacks would behave well and be *industrious*; that a black people would work steadily, with-

out force, without *bodily coercion*; that is to say, without the weight or the sight of the whip. Now then, you *petitioner about Negro Slavery*, read the following extract from the *Official Report* of these commissioners. After describing the shocking laziness, immoralities, and beastliness of the blacks at "*Free-Town*," and in the rest of the settlement, the commissioners conclude in the following words, every one of which I pray you to mark well: "The experience of *eighteen years* would seem to justify the inference, that either the mode pursued with the view of improving the agricultural pursuits of the Liberated Africans, has not been judicious, or that their character and habits are unfavourable to that kind of improvement; or, perhaps, that both these causes have operated to a certain extent. However this may be, the RESULTS ARE IN THEMSELVES INCONTROVERTIBLE, AND LEAVE LITTLE ROOM TO HOPE, THAT WITHOUT THE ADOPTION OF MORE EFFECTUAL MEASURES, the adult class of Negroes will be induced to improve their present condition, which probably appears to them, when compared with the past, a state of considerable enjoyment. Were the class of persons here alluded to available for the purpose, there is great reason to believe that a MILD AND WELL-REGULATED SYSTEM OF COERCIVE LABOUR, for a limited period, and exclusively with a view to the advantage of the Negroes, would be found the most effectual mode of attaining the end proposed; and it may be hoped that its importance would remove objections to the manner of arriving at it."

Oh, oh! "*mild and well-regulated coercive labour*!" That is to say, *mild whipping* at "*Free-Town*!" So that, after a trial of *eighteen years*, and after an expenditure of *seven millions of English money*; after the loss of many thousands of English lives; after several treaties, tending to involve us in war; after all this for the purpose of putting an end to negro-slavery in virtue of a proof, that *free negroes* will work as

well as slaves; after all this it is recommended, that the blacks of, "*Free-Town*," should have a little "*mild coercion*" in order to make them work! And, even after all this, we of this borough-ridden nation are to continue to toil and to starve for the sake of these Broughams and Wilberforces, and the rest of the crew of "*amis des noirs*!" Good God! when are we to cease to be thus duped, oppressed, and insulted? When we learn to delight in justice; when we learn to inquire into the truth of allegations against our fellow-citizens before we believe and act upon those allegations; when we learn to detect impostors, or to despise them when detected to our hands; when we learn not to *sign petitions*, before we know the truth of their statements, or the tendency of their prayers; *then*, and not till then, shall we be, or *deserve to be*, relieved from this load of shame, oppression, and insult.

I should next lay before the reader a view of the items of the last-mentioned sum of money, and show how we have involved ourselves in *treaties*, and what monstrous mischiefs we have done to our commerce and shipping, to gratify the insolent demands of this crew of public deluders; but, this part of the subject, I must put off till another time, having several other matters which cannot be postponed. In the meanwhile, I recollect, with pleasure, that the *present King*, even at the time when the negro-humbag was at the hottest, had the good sense and the spirit to set his face against the delusive and canting cheat.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

MR. O'CONNELL.

Barn-Elm Farm, 20th July, 1830.

SIR,

I READ in, and take from, the Dublin Morning Post, of a few days back, the following:—"The New Silk Gowns.—"The following gentlemen were on Tuesday sworn in as King's Counsel in the Court of Chancery:—Messrs.

"O'Loghlin, *Sheil*, Martly, Litton,
 "Green, Ball, Bellew, Richards, T.
 "Smith, West, and Bissoquet. Messrs.
 "Cluice and Farrel were also to have
 "been sworn, but were absent at Ses-
 "sions. Of the above number, six are
 "Catholics."

Now, if this be true (and there is no reason to believe that it is not), *there you are!* There you are, a signal proof of the correctness of all my predictions with regard to your fate. But, this is not a time for *reproaches or upbraidings*, amongst us, of one another; it is a time for re-union, for pulling together against this *band of insolent oligarchs*, who have used, and are using, their endeavours to degrade and destroy you, to tread you down for ever, and who have thus far succeeded only because they saw you abandoned, and not only abandoned but assaulted, *by that which was able to give you strength in England*. If you had had *this arm* with you, the *reporters* would not have dared to smother your voice; and the *base Catholic Aristocracy* would not have dared to turn their backs on you, and thereby *give the hint to others to put you down*, not having the courage to attempt it themselves.

But, how were you to have *sincere reformers* with you, when they saw you administering to the support of BUNDETT; when they saw you amongst the *dining parasites* of a man who had basely deserted them in 1817; who had first urged them *to stir*, and who had then left them to be sacrificed without uttering a word in their defence; a man whom you know, and ~~you know~~ have been the *originator* of the scheme for disfranchising the 40s. freeholders; a man, whom Lawless has openly charged with having said, that he owed his election for Westminster to the *rich*, and not to the *poor*; a man who stuck his knees in the ribald jester's back, and pledged himself to support him, even the next minute after the jester had solemnly declared that he would *oppose reform to the last hour of his life!* How were you to have *sincere reformers* on your side, while you lent yourself to the support of this man and his despicable underling? And yet, without these on

your side, you were *nothing*. Great as are your talents and industry and zeal; all, without the reformers at your back, could not hold you up against a combination that every one saw would be formed against you. You have complained of the *apathy* of the people of England, as to the cause of reform; that is to say, you complain of their not having come forward to *support you*; but, what right had you to expect them to do it, when they saw you the *dining parasite* of him who is the never-to-be-forgiven traitor to their cause?

At the meeting the other day, at the Freemasons' Tavern, *Monck* in the chair, this BUNDETT said that he had always been for *universal suffrage* and *vote by ballot*. In 1817, the very ground on which he attempted to justify his abandonment of the reformers, was, that the DEPUTIES then in London, demanded *universal suffrage* and *voting by ballot!* This is well known to us all; the proof is in hundreds of hands; we know his falseness, we know him to be the enemy of reform; we know that when he joins the ranks, it is to betray the army; we see him, at this very moment, *praising that very Ministry whom to turn out you call upon the Irish people*; and we, the sincere reformers, and I, as one of them, say, that if you will continue to cling to this our great enemy, *you shall be nothing in this country*. We are not in a state of *apathy*; we are full of desire and of hope; but we are resolved not again to be the dupes of this man, and not to give countenance to his base parasites. Up to Friday, the 9th of July, you were the tool of false Bundett; for, on that day, you told a *meeting of reformers*, that he would have been present had he not been *confined to his bed with illness*; and in forty-four hours from that time, he was *cantering about* on a gay horse in the park, and to Holland-House. Are you then to be duped again? If you be, then unfortunate for yourself will be your return to England: you will sink lower and lower, until you become perfectly powerless; and at last, when a reform shall take place, you will be shut out by your insignificance. But if you be for a *truly noble*

revenge; namely, *rescuing of the whole kingdom from the cruel clutches of the boroughmongers*; then you will rise; then you will have all good and true men at your back, and you will see your haughty and insolent and base enemies at your feet.

The insults heaped on you have, certainly, seldom been surpassed, and to the series, the passing you over in the appointment of *King's Counsel* seems to form a very appropriate close! What! there you are, acknowledged by every body to be not only the *most able advocate* at the Irish bar, and, perhaps, at any bar; but also *the soundest and profoundest lawyer*; and you, with a standing of *thirty years*, perhaps, or more, at that bar, are passed over, are kept behind that bar, while a troop of gabblers, of hardly any standing, and six of them *Catholics*, are placed before that bar to *take precedence of you!* And thus you, whose toils and sacrifices and talents, more than all other causes put together, produced the emancipation, are the *only* man who is not to derive any advantage from it; nay, you are to *suffer* for it; for, to *suffer* is to be thus shut out while other Catholics are admitted.

But it is not against WATERLOO that your resentment ought to exist. His dislike of you is natural enough. You *forced* him and the rest to grant the emancipation; and you had to expect their vindictive hostility, which hostility they have shown in the usual manner. You have, in all sorts of ways, attacked them; and it was not to be expected that they would bestow on you honours

return. Nor can you, with much reason, complain of the enmity of the *Protestant aristocracy*, who are wound up with the fat hierarchy, and from whom you *wrung* that measure which tells every man that that expensive hierarchy *never was necessary*, and that its wealth ought to be restored to its former uses. Against these parties, therefore, you have really little ground of complaint on your own private account. But against the *CATHOLIC ARISTOCRACY*, where shall we find words to express the resentment that you ought to feel, or the extent of the vengeance that you

ought to take? What! Unable to do any thing towards obtaining their own rights; feeble, shiftless creatures; unqualified for speaking or writing; possessing no means of helping themselves; creeping quietly about, like outcast Jews, they and their fathers before them, and having no resource but that of apostacy; and when, all at once, taken by your powerful hand, and seated with coronets on their heads and robes on their bodies, turn their backs upon you, and pay thereby their court to those from whom, by twenty years of labours and of sacrifices, you had wrested those coronets and robes!

"What could they do?" Some one will ask. "It was not *they* who gave the silk gowns." What, I answer, could they *not* have done; and what can they *not* do *now*? Have not *they* seats enough at their disposal? Could they not have said, "If you thus *punish* and *insult* our protector, our deliverer from degradation, our restorer to honour and dignity and power, *we will place all our united power and influence in his hands*: you shall not oppress him; you shall not punish him and degrade him for the justice which he obtained for us; he shall not be abased for having raised us up."

Could they not have placed your family, when in London, in the same houses and same carriages with their own, if that virtuous family would have condescended so to be placed? Could they not, in a hundred ways, which common gratitude would have pointed out, have given you countenance and support, instead of tacitly encouraging attacks to be made upon you? Their turning their backs on you was the signal for the assault; and then came tumbling on you, pell-mell, the Broughams, the Lord Johns, and the Lord Charleses, while others kept aloof, and while both sides joined, expressly or tacitly, to put you down and expose you to contempt. But, in proof of their monstrous ingratitude, what do we want more than these two facts:—1. That you cannot now get a seat at all without great expense, and that you are not certain of it with expense: And, 2. That *they have plenty*.

of seats, and do not offer you one : what do we want more than these two facts to establish against them this most foul of all moral charges? Nor are the Catholics who have got the silks gowns to be overlooked. What! put on these gowns, in order to take precedence of the man, whose labours and sacrifices enabled them to wear them! Low and ungrateful wretches! They should have taken the gowns, torn them to pieces, and flung the rags in the face of those who tendered them.

However, you have the means of ample vengeance in your hands; but, to take this vengeance, you must again be in Parliament. The times are favourable, and every day will render them more favourable. Look at the signs of the times, Lord MILTON and MARSHALL resigning Yorkshire, when no opposition offered; WORTLEY refusing to accept Yorkshire; BRAMSTONE resigning Essex with no opposition; MONCK the same for Reading; resignings all about the country, and that, too, on the part of men of great landed estates, and on the most trifling pretences. It really is the old story of the *Rats and the Falling House*. But, again, only think of HUME for *Middlesex*, and supported by *loan-mongers and borough-mongers*! This is the thing to look at. Then, to-day, we are told, that *Brougham* is to be offered for the county of *York*! Why, this is revolution of itself. Sir WILLIAM ROWLEY resigning, they say, for *SUFFOLK*; PALLMER for *SURREY*, CURTEIS for *Sussex*, and the two members for *Nottingham*. There really seems nothing wanting but the resigning of *Old Daddy Coke*! We shall have a set unknown to the country, that nobody will care any thing about personally; the cry will be for *retrenchment*, and this, to any efficient extent, cannot take place without bringing down the whole system.

That will be the man who will go farthest, and it will soon be seen, that Hume and Brougham will not go far. They, if they agree, will only attack the ravelins and other out-works, and those only by slow approaches: it is for you, or somebody else, to come,

knock aside their fascines and gabions, push on at once, with forty-pounders, against the body of the place, make a practicable breach, and demand a surrender at discretion. Hume thinks that he can save the system by what he calls *economy*; and this, if he act on that opinion, is the rock on which he will split. The loan-mongers and borough-mongers think that his popularity will be a shield for them; but they do not see, that in order to preserve his popularity, he must go on demolishing the system. If you read with attention the account of the proceedings at the FREEMASONS' TAVERN, and particularly if you look at the declaration of MONCK and others, who wished to come to some conclusion short of *universal suffrage*, you will clearly see the state that the affair is in.

But the great object of all for you to keep your eye on is, that which is going on in *France*. In my opinion that is the thing which is frightening so many men from their seats in Parliament! If the French people triumph, it is impossible that this system can stand for two years. We come back exactly to the state of 1792; England calling for reform, and the French setting the example; with this difference, that we have contracted a debt and dead-weight and poor-rates, demanding taxes to the amount of *forty millions a year to prevent the effect of that example*, and do the French what they will, we have not now the means of firing a pound of powder in anger! Strange turn of events!

This system, I mean the *borough*, and the *bribing*, and the *taxing*, and the *military* system, cannot stand. It is to be desired that no change should be made in the form of the Government; the Government is the best that the world ever saw, if cleared of its abuses; but these are become so monstrous that, if they be not removed, the whole fabric will be demolished. I have always been anxious that these abuses should be removed, and that the fabric should remain; and I never have known, personally, any one man who has taken a conspicuous part in the cause of reform.

who has not expressed a desire to avoid a destruction of that fabric. But if it become a question *whether England be to become an insignificant country, and her people to be starved or driven from her shores, or whether that fabric shall be torn to pieces*; if this should, as I trust in God it will not, become the dire alternative, where is the man to say that he would be for the utter debasement of his country and the starvation or exile of its people?

To save us from being compelled to make our choice between these two, *a reform, and quickly too*, is absolutely necessary. The best disposed minister that ever existed could do nothing to save or relieve the country without a reform; and, *observe*, even this reform *may come too late* to prevent *changes*, which are, *as yet*, in the contemplation of comparatively very few men. The longer the reform is put off, the *greater will be the changes*; arguments against those who refuse reform will daily become more and more numerous and weighty; men will look *deeper and deeper* into the *source of the power* of those *orders* which stand between them and freedom and happiness; things that never yet entered into the minds of the people, to these minds will become familiar; as the weight of their sufferings increases, their resentments will increase; when concession to them comes, and come it must, it will be snatched as *booty*, and not received as a *boon*; and the *ultimate consequences* who can fail to anticipate, and who can anticipate, without anxiety and dread?

How many times, good God, and how earnestly, have I besought the aristocracy to give way *in time*; and from the whole body, collectively and individually, *with little exception*, what have I not received in the way of injury! Yet I never have been, and am not now, animated with any desire to destroy them; but of this I am certain, that if they mean to prevent *changes*, unnecessary for me to describe, they have *no time to lose*. However, they must follow their own course; but we must *also follow ours*. We must steadily pursue the object of *reform*; and if we

be compelled to resort to exposures such as will, in the end, produce greater changes than would *now* satisfy the people, the fault will not be ours. It is, as Major Cartwright used to say, "for us to do our duty, and leave the rest to God."

To partake in the discharge of this great duty no man is more able than yourself. Come, then, punish your stupid, ungrateful, and insolent foes, *by services rendered to your country*. This is a sort of revenge worthy of the great talent you possess. Take it, and you will always have whatever of support can be given by me. Had I never heard of you before; had I read in history of ingratitude and insolence, such as those by which your labours and sacrifices have been repaid, indignation would have thrown the book from my hands. Your cause is the cause of talent and generosity and gratitude; and the day is, I am sure, not far distant, when your base abandoners will, if you pursue the proper course, tremble at the sound of the name of O'CONNELL, and when men, being at a loss for a simile wherewith to crown the climax of hellish ingratitude, will take that of the Catholic aristocracy of England and Ireland.

I am,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

I TAKE the following from the "*Great Liar of the North*," BAINES of Leeds, and should not, therefore, give credit to it, were it not for reasons to be stated below.—"An Address is at present signing in Huddersfield to Sir James Graham, wherein that gentleman is ver, deservedly applauded for his endeavours in Parliament to promote public economy, and wherein he is strongly urged steadily to pursue a course so honourable to himself, and so advantageous to the country."

I should not believe this, because it comes from BAINES, only I hear, that

from Norfolk an address has been sent to Graham very numerously signed. I am very glad of this, "Oh, *inconsistent* fellow! You address and praise a man, whom, a little while ago, you *laughed at*." You fool, you rogue-fool, you beast, you man-beast! I laughed at him, and censured him, for proposing to take 30 per cent. from the fundholders, *leaving all other expenses untouched*" and it is "*inconsistent*" in me to applaud him, *when he urges the necessity of diminishing those other expenses, and does not propose to deduct from the fundholders*? I laughed at him, when he called the crew the "*noblest assembly of freemen in the world*;" and it is "*inconsistent*" in me, is it, to applaud him, when he says, that "*no honest assembly*" would reject the motion that he made, and which the "*freemen*" did reject?

The motions made by him were of a most interesting nature; they were urged with greater ability than has been shown by any man in that assembly for a long while; his manner was as good as his matter; and his comparative statement, relative to the United States, produced a prodigious effect. But is it possible that he does not see that this THING cannot go on in the face of such statements! He does not, surely, imagine that we can now stop short of Parliamentary Reform! He made an apology for the exposure that he was making, saying that he found that he could get no retrenchment without it. Ah! it is, then, come to *what I always said* it would come to; that is to say, that the *poverty* of the land-owners is *compelling* them to become themselves the actors in pulling down the pile of taxation; and that then the borough-system would fall.

The scene that we have now before us is astounding. Who would have thought, six months, nay, two months, nay, one month ago, that the *counties* even would be running about to *find members*, even to be returned *free of expense*! To be sure; and thus it naturally must be at last. The *ultimate consequences are foreseen*; and men who have estates to lose, do not want to be

called "*Members of Parliament*," at the time when the thing shall go to pieces! This is the true cause of the *desertions*, for *desertion* it is, and that, too, so flagrant, that all the world sees it. If we wanted any proof of this, the *miserable pretences* of the deserters would be quite sufficient; and amongst these, those of Lord MILTON and of MARSHALL of Leeds are a pretty good specimen. Let us take these first, in their own words; and then look at the shuffling commentary of the "Great Liar of the North."

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of York.

Grosvenor Place, 29th June, 1830.

GENTLEMEN,—As the demise of the Crown will necessarily be followed by a dissolution of the present Parliament, the deference and respect which I both owe and feel to you require that I should announce without delay, that, whenever that event takes place, I shall not again present myself as a candidate for your favour.

This, Gentlemen, is no sudden determination. It has long been my opinion that, if it pleased Providence to preserve my father's life, to the advanced age which he *now* attained, it would be no longer consistent with my duty to solicit a renewal of that trust which you have so repeatedly confided to my care. In the execution of that trust it has been my constant object to evince the deep sense I entertained of its importance, by an undeviating adherence to principles of the soundness of which I was satisfied, and by doing invariably what appeared to me to be right.

That I have always succeeded in the discovery of truth upon every insulated question, far be it from me to affirm, though I can with sincerity assure you, that I have always sought it with diligence.

"I should, however, ill perform the painful task which is now imposed upon me, if I did not express to you how fully I have ever appreciated the great indulgence which you have

" manifested to me during more than twenty-three years, and which has prompted you, on every occasion, to accept with kindness and favour my imperfect endeavours to serve you.

" In taking leave of you as constituents it is some consolation to consider, that, though one of the ties which connect us will be broken, there will be no interruption to any of the other relations of life which have bound me and my predecessors during so long a period, which I trust will equally bind my successors, to your great community, and which, whatever station of life we may fill, must give me and them the deepest interest in your prosperity.

" That the several branches of that varied community may flourish by the successful exercise of industry, that they may repose in the secure enjoyment of its fruits, and, above all, that they may retain and perfect that constitutional liberty which is the only safeguard for every other possession, is the hearty wish of,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most faithful and devoted

" Friend and Servant,

" MILTON."

" To the Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of York."

" GENTLEMEN,—As the dissolution of the present Parliament is now approaching, it becomes my duty to acquaint my constituents with my intention of withdrawing from the honourable station in which they have placed me. On resigning the important trust with which, as your representative in Parliament, I have been honoured, I am desirous of expressing my thanks for the confidence which has been reposed in me. To those more particularly to whose good opinion and friendship I was indebted for being placed in that distinguished situation, I would express my lasting gratitude.

" The various and conflicting interests of a great community preclude the hope that the conduct of a Represent-

" tive can be equally satisfactory to all his constituents; and my only claim to your regard is an honest and conscientious discharge, to the best of my judgment and ability, of the trust which you have committed to me.

" Those principles which I professed to hold when I first offered myself to your notice, have been the guide of my conduct; and if my endeavours have in any degree promoted that extension of *Religious Liberty* which we have had the gratification of witnessing in the present Parliament, and the increasing influence of popular feeling on that body, I shall deem my time well spent.

" The time and attendance which the representative of a large county ought, in my opinion, to devote to his parliamentary duties, and which it has been my determination to give as long as I filled that honourable station, are such as I cannot, at my time of life, pledge myself to the continuance of, and induce me to refrain from soliciting your votes at the ensuing election.

" I have the honour to remain,

" Gentlemen,

" Your faithful Servant,

" JOHN MARSHALL."

" London, 1st July, 1830."

Bravo, flux-twister! But let us take the Lord first. Now, was it ever before heard of that a peer's son declined being a member of *the other place*, merely because his father was *old*? Was ever such a thing heard of *before*? And, if never heard of, or dreamed of *before*, why are we to believe in the sincerity of his motive now? Not "*consistent with my duty*?" What *duty*? Duty to the father? How, then, have others violated their duty to their fathers! And, besides, what duty towards him had you to perform that you have not had to perform for the last twenty years? If Lord Milton had given *no reason at all*, there might have been room for doubt as to his motives; but, having given *this reason*, we are *sure* that his

reason is such as he is *unwilling to avow*.

Now for the spinner. His "*time of life*" is his apology! What! grown old so suddenly. TWO YEARS have hardly passed since he was *soliciting the votes* of the freeholders, and laying out twenty or thirty thousand pounds to get them; and now, behold, he is *too old* for a member, and will not have the seat, though he can have it *for nothing*! No expense for either of the members; only the trouble of going to York; the seats empty, and nobody to fill them; and yet these men will not sit in them! MARSHALL calls it a "*distinguished situation*," is *grateful* for having had it, is pleased at what passed in Parliament; but is *too old* to go to it again!

Now let us hear BAINES, who is the apologist for both of these modest men.

"A very large proportion of our readers will learn this day, for the first time, with feelings of equal surprise and regret, that both Lord MILTON and Mr. MARSHALL have determined to retire from the representation of the county of York on the approaching dissolution of Parliament. The reason assigned by our noble Representative for the resolution he has taken will be found in his eloquent address, published in the *Mercury* of the present week. At the advanced age to which the venerable Earl his father has attained, it is *not unnatural* that his son and successor should decline to encounter the *toil and expense* of an election for this great county, more especially when, from a variety of causes, arising out of the peculiar circumstances of the succession to the Crown, future elections may become very frequent. Of the certainty of his Lordship's return, had he thought proper again to solicit the suffrages of the Freeholders, there has been no doubt. Whatever difference of opinion may have existed on the various and important subjects which have engaged public attention during the long period of the connexion between his Lordship and the county of York, in this all men are agreed; That he has shown an undeviating adherence to princi-

ple, of the soundness of which he was satisfied, and has invariably done what appeared to him to be right."

"Mr. MARSHALL's reasons for retiring from the representation of Yorkshire are more numerous and still more cogent. The high sense of the unremitting duty imposed upon a representative of the county of York; the great exertion necessary for the due performance of that duty; the late hours at which the business of Parliament is transacted; his own age; and, above all, the prospect of frequent dissolutions of Parliament, have no doubt all conspired to produce the determination he has now taken. The loss of such a representative as Mr. MARSHALL, who has so well redeemed all his pledges; who has devoted with so much assiduity his nights and his days to the public interest; who has shown so strong an inclination, and so much ability, to serve this great commercial community, will be generally deplored; and those who have had the best opportunity of judging of his zeal and fidelity as a county member, will be most anxious that he should still remain in Parliament, though within a more limited sphere of action."

"Late hours! Poh! Baines! He knew all about late hours, before he became a member. And then, as to "*frequent dissolutions*," for what? The King is 65 years old, and just as hearty a man as any in all England. Nonsense, Baines! Baines says, too, that WILSON is about to retire also! So that there will be only one out of four left for Yorkshire! This is a thing the borough-mongers never anticipated. The thing is going! going! once; twice; going! going! The hammer is not raised yet, but it will be raised, and will come down too; and, if uncommon care be not taken, it will come down "*with a vengeance*," as the old Lord Chatham said it would. Men of property are not in the humour to see their families go to the workhouse; the labourers are not in the humour to lie down and die with field-sorrel in their bowels; every man is convinced that such must be the end,

if *reform* do not take place; and, therefore, in some way or other, *reform must come and will come!*

AND, WILL THE ARISTOCRACY NOW GIVE WAY? Never, in this whole world, was there before, stated so momentous a question as that! If they yield *now*, all will be well with them, with us, and with the fame of our country: if they do not yield, and yield *now* too, be the consequences *on their own heads*. As to the Reformers, and *myself* amongst the rest, we shall have *nothing* wherewith to reproach ourselves. We have humbly and loyally petitioned, and we, for our humility, have been rewarded with chains, with dungeons, with exile, with ruin, and some with wounds or with death. Our prayers have been scorned, and we have been treated like outcasts. We have had no hand in bringing those evils upon our country; and we are now ready to assist in preventing the natural result of the measures of which we have so long and so justly, and with voice so prophetic, complained.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ON the 1st of September I shall publish No. I. of *The History of the Life and Reign of GEORGE IV.* When that is done, I shall go back to the earliest times, and publish, in similar Numbers, on the 1st of every month, a COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A *true one*; not a *romance*. The History of GEORGE IV. will be the *end*, of course, unless I should outlive another King. I begin with this last reign, because we want it, and particularly the history of our poor, unfortunate, and excellent friend, QUEEN CAROLINE, who, by her known hatred of corruption, gave the borough-villains a better blow than they had had for many, many years. They have, in fact, never been "their *own men*" since. These incomparable villains (for what is *equal* to their villany) shall have *their due*, their full due, in my history, which shall show *how they got* their possessions; and enable the nation to judge of the *right* that they have to keep them. Our histories are romances, written by

pensioned and bribed slaves. It is high time that the people knew the truth; high time that they saw the degradation into which they have fallen, and *the causes of it*. This task was reserved for me; and, God giving me life and health, I will perform it. The Numbers will come out *monthly*, price 8d., as low as I can sell it, with any thing like compensation to myself; and I do this, because I wish people in even low circumstances to read it.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE next Number will be published on the 1st of August, and the last Number on the 1st of September. The History of England will be in the *same form*, but will contain more paper and print, in order that it may be got out *more quickly*.

In a few days will be published,

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

From Paris, through Lyons, to Avignon and Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Rome, Naples, Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Baie;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Foligno, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and condition of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

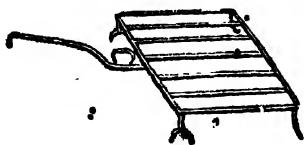
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LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 31st, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



"Show up the heroes, one by one."
LEGION CLUB.

TO

THE REFORMERS

OF

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE.

On the late proceedings at the Freemasons' Tavern, in London.

Barn-Elm Farm, 26th July, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

You cannot look at the present state of things, without seeing that a change of *some sort*, and a great change, is at hand. Years cannot now pass without some great and important alteration. Endless are the *signs* of this; but amongst all these signs, none is more striking than that which, the other day, appeared at the FREEMASONS' TAVERN, a full account of which I am now about to give you. It was *reported* in so slovenly and villanous a manner by the *reporters* (of whom I shall, another time, speak *at large*), that the report, which I shall presently insert, will need a great deal of *explanation* and *commentary*.

This was a meeting for the purpose of forming a SOCIETY FOR EFFECTING A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. MONCK, late member for Reading, was in the chair; HUME, HOBHOUSE, and, at last, BURDETT, were there, and took a part in the proceedings. These proceedings, even as recorded in this report, are deeply interesting; but they call for a commentary of considerable length. I beg you to read *all* the report with great care, and to pay particular attention to the passages marked by *italic characters*; and then to bestow your attention on the observations that I shall

subjoin. The matter is as important, all the circumstances considered, as any that has come before us for a long time. Pray read the whole with attention, and pause in every part of it. This affair serves to explain other affairs; and, all together, the times are full of interest. It is only by paying great attention to these appearances that we can correctly judge of what is likely to happen, and of what we ourselves ought to do.

REFORM MEETING.

A Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Reform in Parliament was held at the Freemasons' Tavern on the 16th instant. About half-past one o'clock nearly two hundred persons had assembled, and the call to take the chair became loud and general. Shortly afterwards Mr. Monck, M.P., accompanied by Messrs. Hume, Hobhouse, Colonel Jones, and several other Gentlemen, entered the room. Mr. Henry Hunt had arrived a few minutes before, and as he walked up to the table was *loudly cheered*. Mr. Hobhouse was not received in the same cordial manner; he was cheered by many, but some cried out, "*Hobhouse and Select Vestries*"; and this allusion to Mr. Hobhouse's recent Parliamentary effort was received in a way *not very flattering to that gentleman*. In the course of the day there were at least three hundred persons present.

Col. Jones moved that Mr. Monck should take the chair, and the resolution was at once carried by acclamation.

Mr. Monck said, ~~that~~ if it had pleased the meeting to call him to the chair, he should obey their call willingly, readily, and heartily, and he only regretted that they had not fixed on some one whose talents could be of more service to them than his. However, though his powers were but humble, he could assure the meeting they should be exerted most cheerfully in support of the cause for which that meeting had been called; and in the particular duty which he was now desired to undertake, he promised them that they should at least find him an impartial Chairman (hear, hear). The object for which they had been assembled was to forward the cause of reform; a cause on which, as much had been both spoken and written, much difference of opinion existed. He trusted that that difference of opinion which related chiefly to details would not be suffered to interrupt their harmony; and that because a man admitted only one of the great principles without which other persons might think no reform could be effectual, he would not be treated as an enemy to reform; while, on the other hand, no man should be censured as a visionary or a

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revolutionist, because he went the full length of asserting that all those principles ought to be adopted. The cause of reform had two sets of enemies, external and internal; the first were those whose interest in the corrupt system now existing made them enemies of reform; the last those who quarrelled with their brother reformers on points such as those to which he had alluded. He trusted he should see no such differences this day, but that every reformer would hold out the hand of fellowship to every other reformer, however they might differ on the details of the subject (Applause). Of the necessity of reform, no man not interested in maintaining the present abuses could doubt. They had heard much of the state of the representation of this country; he would tell them a little of its state in the sister country of Ireland. He possessed the means of doing so, in a manner that could not be questioned, namely, by an official return which had been recently made in consequence of a motion of his honourable friend Mr. Hume. From that return it appeared, that of 34 towns sending Members to Parliament, only 12 had as many as 100 voters each; 14 had less than 50 voters each, and 10 had less than 20 voters each. Now, when it was considered that these towns had, in this manner, a Parliamentary influence equal to the populous counties of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Middlesex, and the City of Westminster, he thought nothing more need be said to show the utter want of representation in that country. He knew it was said that this system worked well. So it did for the few; but did it work well for the many? (Cheers, and cries of "No.") Between the corrupt state of the English representation, and the still more corrupt state of the Irish representation, corruption went almost unchecked in the House of Commons. To prove this, he need only refer to our diplomatic expenses. These had, within the last year, amounted to nearly 400,000*l.*, while those of the United States of America only amounted to 37,000*l.* [The Hon. Chairman was corrected by Mr. Hume, who said that that was the expense of the whole Government of America.] He submitted to, and adopted the correction. He need not remind the meeting of the difference in the state of the representation in the two countries, nor of its effect in making this difference in their expenses. But then he knew it would be said, that it was improper to compare republics with monarchies. Well, then, he would not do so; he would compare England with monarchical France, or despotic Austria, Russia, or Prussia. If he did so, he was sure there was no man present who would say that either of these countries had, like us, a dead weight of between five and six millions a year. Why was it that this was the case? Why, but that the members of what ought to be the popular branch of the legislature were not the guardians of the public purse, but the sharers in it (Cheers). No honest man could remain one session in that House, without being convinced of that fact. It was in vain that many honest members, who had constituents, did endeavour to stem the flood of

corruption; the majority of the members had no constituents to answer to; and therefore those who had, like his honourable friend (Mr. Hobhouse), and who did their duty like him (partial applause), sitting side by side with, and constantly supporting that model of a member of Parliament, Mr. Hume (loud cheers), struggled but in vain. He should not detain them further. The fact he had mentioned showed, that whatever else might be said of the Union with Ireland, that Union had not tended to strengthen the whole empire so much as it had injured the country, by adding the gross corruption of its system of representation to our own, which was already corrupt enough (Cheers).

Mr. HOBHOUSE rose to move the first resolution. The meeting had heard from their honourable Chairman the reasons for calling them together at this important crisis; and they had heard from him something about the state of our representative system. The greatest evils were inflicted on this country in consequence of the gross corruption which pervaded almost every part of that system. The right of electing members of Parliament in England was confined to too few, to be a right likely to be employed in all cases for the benefit of the people; and while the system of elections continued in its present state, it was impossible that a fair representation of the people could exist. Honest representatives could not afford the expense of going into Parliament. It was a sophistry to say, as some men did, that the system worked well. The answer was, that it was like the gallows they had read of in Shakspeare; it worked well for those who worked ill. His daily experience convinced him of the truth of what he had stated, namely, that the mode of election must be totally changed before there could be a fair representation of the people in Parliament. Without that change, to hope for a fair representation was to hope for an impossibility. For that reason he had, the other night, in the House of Commons, dissented from the opinion of the honourable member for Aberdeen, whom the honourable Chairman had introduced to them in a manner that he fully deserved (cheers), and who, it was to be hoped, would soon take his seat for Middlesex (loud cheering). He (Mr. Hobhouse) had told that honourable member what he would now repeat, that that honourable Member was wrong in asserting, as he had done, that if the electors of England did their duty, they might return a popular majority to Parliament (Some person in the crowd said, "That's true"). He repeated, such a thing was impossible; the people might do more than they did now, but they could not do what the honourable Member for Aberdeen imagined. The thing was perhaps physically possible, but it was morally impossible. Was it judging correctly of human nature to expect, that when the middling and higher classes were governed by the feeling of interest, and dare not diabolize those who were more wealthy and powerful; the humbler classes alone should set that feeling of interest at defiance? He thought not; and he believed that nobody

who calmly considered the subject could entertain a doubt upon the subject. In large counties it often and very generally happened, that the poor freeholder could not afford the expense of going to the poll, and if he were taken there by one of the candidates, he felt bound to vote for that candidate. It was the same with the freemen of distant boroughs; such, for instance, as the borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed, of which it was related, that on one occasion a candidate put a number of voters of that borough on board a ship to go to Berwick, and vote for him; on which the opposite candidate bribed the Captain, who took the voters out into the German Ocean, where they remained tossed about by the winds and waves while the election was decided without them by the other voters at home (A laugh). In the county of Wilts, with which he had the honour to be connected, he knew of something similar. A number of voters were put into carriages and taken to the place of election to vote for one candidate. When they arrived, the other contrived to send his agents among them, paid their expenses, and obtained their votes, which they thought due to the man who had paid for their travelling. The fact was, that that class of persons had not the means of independent action, and being without those means they were without the motive or the courage to act independently. In the year 1793, Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) presented a petition to the House, in which it was offered to be proved that a majority of that House was returned through the influence of one hundred and fifty-four rich patrons of boroughs. He had no doubt that the statement in that petition was true; and if it was, then it must be admitted to be impossible for the electors of England freely and fairly to send a popular majority to that House. But though, under present circumstances, such a thing was in his belief impossible, yet reformers should not be deterred from attempting to improve the system. He had acted on that principle. When in the House of Commons he voted, as he had always done, for the most extended system of reform which any one had proposed, and for the least minimum of reform, which some high personages had consented to dole out to the people from their own gracious kindness and condescension. Every little particle of reform was worth having, and was not to be rejected because we could not get the whole. (Hear, hear.) At the same time that he thus recommended them to adopt any trifling reform, rather than none at all, he must say that he could not but think the plan proposed by that Association, was most worthy of the support of that meeting. (Hear, hear.) As he understood it, that plan was to seek the co-operation of reformers throughout the three kingdoms. It proceeded on bases which most would think wide, and to which some might possibly object as too extended. It stated especially, that election by ballot was a *sine qua non* of efficient reform. (Loud cheering.) He agreed with that statement, and his opinion was of some value in this case, for he had once been opposed to the plan, but he was

now convinced, by his daily experience both in and out of that House, that without it they could do nothing, with it they could accomplish almost any thing; and he would even consent to let the right of voting remain as it was, if he could get election by ballot rather than have the right of voting extended, but he refused the ballot. (Cheers.) He came to that opinion not only from his own experience, but from authority, from the authority of those wise and good men who had most deeply considered the subject, from the authority of a Bentham and a Mill, great names, indeed, and far above the sneers which were directed against them, far above the jests and mockeries of those who envied their fame and hated their labours, because those labours were honourably and successfully devoted to promote the good of mankind. (Applause.) It would be his pleasing duty to propose the first Resolution, a resolution in which there was nothing of a doubtful kind, and he therefore expected that it would receive their unanimous approbation.

The Resolution having been seconded, Mr. HUNT rose. Some few persons called him to order, but the great majority cheered him loudly.

The CHAIRMAN deprecated anything but a mere expression of approbation or disapprobation; spoke in high terms of Mr. Hunt, and urged the meeting to hear every one patiently.

Mr. HUNT observed that the Chairman had said much of him, and therefore he need not say much of himself. (Hear, and laughter.) He should be very short in what he now addressed to them. Having received a lecture, and a very proper lecture, from the Chairman, who urged them to unanimity, he merely rose to call on all those who thought with him, to be unanimous in their support of this Resolution, in order that they might call on the Chairman and his friends (who seemed to be radical reformers as far as they could be so) to be in return unanimous in their support of the Resolution he should propose. (Cheers and laughter.)

The first resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. VECOR rose to move the second Resolution. He announced himself as a reformer, and expressed his pleasure at seeing Mr. Hunt, of whose assistance he and the other reformers of Hampshire had often gladly availed themselves. They had, however, done so in vain, for the reformers in the country could do nothing without the aid of the reformers of London. The country took its fashions of all kinds from London, and the country reformers, without the assistance of those in London, were like a rope of sand. He, therefore, urged the London reformers to come forward. He had been one engaged, in getting up the association, and he expected that the cause of reform would obtain the greatest benefit from it, for though some of the Dops did not appear to be with them, he trusted that they in the middle class of life could move on successfully in such a cause by their own efforts. (Cheers.) He deprecated dissension among reformers on petty points of detail; their enemies, he knew, relied on it; they said, "Oh, let these reform-

ers alone, they always oppose each other; let them alone, and they will cut their own throats." He was not one of those who liked to cut his own throat, he would rather cut theirs. (Cheers and laughter.) Cutting, however, they seemed to understand well enough, at least with respect to purses. (A laugh.) Cutting purses had long been the fashion among them, but if they did not stop, the people would have no purses to cut. (Laughter.) He had hoped to have seen the honourable Baronet, the member for Westminster, among them. He trusted that the honourable Baronet's return, and that of Mr. Hobhouse, were certain; and he thought he might, by anticipation, congratulate the electors of Middlesex on the return of Mr. Hume. (Cheers.)

The second Resolution having been seconded, was about to be put from the Chair, when

Mr. MAHON rose. Some confusion ensued. The Chairman called on the meeting to give the speaker a fair hearing, and Mr. Mahon then began. He said that among those who professed themselves the friends of free discussion, he expected of course that any gentleman who wished to address them, would be patiently listened to, and he never anticipated that any man who had talents and education, would at a public meeting, find any difficulty in obtaining a hearing. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with the honourable Gentleman, Mr. Hobhouse, in most of what he had said, and he knew how much more difficult it must be for any honest representative of the people to enforce the doctrine of reform in Parliament among a body of men such as now constituted the House of Commons, than at a meeting of persons who agreed with the orator, and were prepared to approve all he might say. He felt, therefore, that there was no hope of Reform till a different set of men could be sent into that House; and he knew that before that could be done, the system of election must be changed. At present it was one of gross corruption from beginning to end. No honest man could afford to stand a contested election, for as elections were now conducted, they often entailed ruin on the candidates' families, and frequently compelled even the most wealthy, to burden their estates with mortgages, in order to secure money to pay the expenses. In short, there would be no purity of election till the system of gormandising and guzzling, and till that of throwing open public-houses and gin-shops were abandoned. He had himself witnessed such scenes at Sudbury, that convinced him no man of moderate fortune could attempt to enter into competition for a seat. At this moment there were deputies in town from different boroughs, looking out for Candidates; not for those who would best represent them in Parliament, but for such as would pay them best for their votes. It was a full purse that they desired, and he who had the fullest purse was the most likely to be successful. He had seen the Saints of Sudbury reeling drunk about the streets, like hogs wallowing in mire, carrying their drunken extravagance to such a pitch, as to be throwing plumb-pudding about the streets. *While such a system continued, it was impossible that ho-*

nest men should come into Parliament; had men the tongues of the Apostles, and the virtues of the Patriarchs, they would not under such a system be returned, without they could pay in money for their election. (Cheers.) So far indeed was the system of corruption carried, that some members of Parliament had annuities in the towns they represented, who met occasionally at the taverns, and when half-seas-over, drank to the health and full purse of him who paid their bill. (Cheers.) Having said thus much, he thought no one could doubt he was a reformer, but he could not agree to the sort of reform proposed by this Association. He differed from the supporters of annual parliaments and universal suffrage. (Slight disapprobation.) He conceived such a scheme of reform to be Utopian. (Hisses.) He would speak freely on this as on any other subject. He was a friend of moderate reform, on the plan proposed by Lord J. Russell. (Renewed hisses.)

Mr. HUNT rose to order. "He wished to know what Lord John Russell's plan of reform had to do with this question?"

The Chairman could not say in what manner the speaker meant to apply that topic, and he could not, therefore, know whether it was properly introduced or not.

Mr. MAHON contended, that he was not out of order in thus declaring his approbation of a plan of reform, suggested by a nobleman of high education and talents; one of the most honourable and independent members of the House of Commons.

A Gentleman suggested, that the speaker was clearly out of order. The question was not the remedy, but the evil. If the honourable gentleman waited a little longer, he might introduce these observations, and would then be quite in order, as the resolution to be then proposed would give him the opportunity of speaking on this subject.

Mr. HECTOR was convinced, that whatever might be the opinions of Lord J. Russell on the plan of reform, his Lordship would if present second the resolution under consideration.

Mr. MAHON thought he was in order, and believing that Mr. Hunt was trying to assist in putting him down, he spoke with some sharpness of tone and manner to Mr. Hunt. (The meeting called him to order, crying out, no personality.)

Colonel JONES observed, that the Association was not formed to forward any particular plan of reform, but to promote the cause, by encouraging a discussion of its principle.

The Chairman said, that if the speaker were to be confined to the terms of the second resolution, he would be out of order, but perhaps it would hardly be right to pin him down to words.

Mr. MAHON proceeded. He was opposed to universal suffrage and annual Parliaments; he repeated that they were visionary (Hisses). If any combination of circumstances should to-morrow throw him into Parliament, and a gentleman in his rank in life might reasonably aspire to a seat in the legislature, he would boldly on the floor of that House, as boldly as at that meeting, declare his oppo-

sition to annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, as he felt convinced that they would entail anarchy on the country (Hear, hear, and continued hissing). Such a system as that established in Jacobin France, and more recently in revolutionary Spain, could produce nothing but convulsions, and must end in deluging the country in blood.

The Chairman called the speaker to order, and reminded him what was the object of the meeting.

Mr. MAHON continued: The friends of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage were but launching into the great north sea of reform, without rudder or compass to guide them in their track; they might be compared to the voters that Mr. Hobhouse had spoken of; they would be buffeted by the winds and waves, while the whole question would be settled by their brethren, who had not set out to take a trip so far from home; they would be engulfed with their foundered bark, and never more heard of, or, if discovered, it would be preserved in ice, the gaze and wonder of posterity. (The learned gentleman was here interrupted by such loud and continued hissing, that he was obliged to resume his seat.)

The resolution was then carried without one hand being held up against it.

Mr. HUME rose to move the third resolution, and was received with three distinct rounds of cheering: He observed that the resolution declared that the evils which oppressed the country from its extravagant expenditure, in every way arose from the want of control, which alone could be secured by a real representation from the people. He had no doubt that every one would concur with this resolution. The statement it contained came home to the feelings of every man, for every man's pocket was affected by the extravagance of which it complained. The learned Gentleman who had just addressed them was wrong, when he supposed that the Association were embarking in a sea of uncertainty and doubt; that they would perish in the waves, but yet that they were to be afterwards heard of. He was of a different opinion. The resolutions on which that Association proceeded did, in his mind, afford them both a rudder and compass to sail through this sea of doubt and difficulty. If any one differed from him, he recommended them to look at these resolutions, and they would receive a full explanation. The Association adopted four propositions:—The first was, that the elective franchise should be extended. Was there any man who would deny the excellence of that principle? The second was, that the mode of taking the poll ought to be by ballot (Loud cheering.) There were differences of opinion on this subject, but he believed they were greater in the House than out of it. (Cheers.) He would put forward the ballot as a sovereign remedy for the evils of the people. (Loud cheers.) His honourable friend (Mr. Hobhouse) had stated reasons in its favour. He wanted nothing but the example of France at this moment to show how excellent it was. (Cheers.) There, though the

people entrusted with the elective franchise were few in number, they withstood all the means of oppression, all the power of a despot government. The public opinion there was triumphantly expressed by those few electors, who voted by ballot, against every means which the Government could employ to overawe them. In all the public institutions in this country, men agreed in protecting themselves for the votes they gave by giving those votes by ballot; and if gentlemen thus protected themselves in giving their votes against their own friends, whom they might reasonably believe, however worthy in other respects, to be unfit to become members of particular institutions, was it not a monstrous proposition, that they should refuse the same means of protection in voting to those who were in a situation in life that required it much more? (Cheers.) That second proposition of the Association was a good means of obtaining that for which they were struggling. It was of no use to give votes to A, B, or C, unless protection was given to them in voting. He owed his thanks to the Association, for proposing this resolution. It was the best means of knowing what was the popular voice, and without it that voice could not be made known. The third proposition put forward by the Association was, that the elections ought to begin and close on the same day. He knew that there were men who differed in opinion on this subject, but there was no man who had a rational understanding, who attended to his duties—who knew what were those of electors, or who regarded the interests of morality, who was not convinced that such scenes of riot and drunkenness never could promote the discharge of duty. The expenses of county elections were a great evil. They did not go on in the same manner as in America. He had suggested the other night some matters for the consideration of those who, in a short time, would, as it were, have the destinies of the nation in their hands. On that occasion he had said that he wished the Duke of Wellington might be so goaded by the corrupt portion of the aristocracy, that he would throw them off and fall back upon the people, and would then afford them that protection which they ought to have in giving their votes, and by which alone they would be able to return a majority to support an honest minister. Every man who was able to pay taxes ought to have a vote. Before the meeting of Parliament there were meetings called all over the country. At these meetings resolutions were passed, calling on the members to support economy. But had they done so?—they had not. These second and third resolutions were those on which he proceeded. The fourth resolution was, that the duration of each Parliament ought not to exceed three years. When, therefore, the learned gentleman had spoken as if the association were the advocates of annual Parliaments, he was mistaken in fact. No comparison ought to have been instituted between this country now and France as it was formerly. He was no friend of parliamentary reform who held out such scenes as likely to occur in this

country. Well might Mr. Canning say that the system *worked well*, and that he would take his stand on the threshold of Old Sarum; but then Mr. Canning was the consistent opponent of Reform of every kind. For himself, he was a *friend of annual Parliaments*, at least he did not know that they would produce evil—from what took place in the *annual Parliaments of the city*, he believed that the results *might be good*. However, that was matter of opinion, and the Association did not wish to introduce this question. He himself *fully* agreed with the four propositions. The resolution he had now to move related to evils of which they were all aware. From the hour in which he had had the honour of a seat in that house, he had endeavoured to expose the corruption practised there. Corruption acted in a circle—it was practised to secure votes, and votes were given that they might be in that manner rewarded. Their expenses had been sixty millions a year, and in one instance they had run up to 130 millions. He did not accuse men—it was not the fault of men, but of the system—no man ought to possess unchecked power; if he did, he would be sure to abuse it. *The country was gradually getting the better of these expenses*. No men were naturally corrupt; but if they were placed in situations of temptation they would secure their own interest. If it was made the interest of men to be corrupt, they would be so. The remedy was to diminish the temptations, and then men would act a fair and honest part. The first duty of a member of Parliament was to *stop the little streamlets of corruption*, and in that manner he had supported parliamentary reform *more silently*, but quite as *effectually as the loudest declaimer on the subject*. (Hear, hear.) When they had governors in Mauritius and Ceylon with salaries of 10,000*l.* a year each, while the President of America was content with 5,000*l.*, and while they had a secretary of one of these petty islands with a salary of 7,000*l.*, they could not wonder at the corruption in Parliament. But *that corruption was lessening*, so that we might look for better times. He had a letter in his pocket, in which he was asked to send down independent candidates. The writer said he could secure the election for Beverley. It was strange that the elector should have addressed him, after what he had said on this subject, but such was the fact. He had written back to ask whether the expenses were to be paid. The writer said no; but that a whole vote was worth 4*l.*, half a vote 2*l.*; and then there were a few other things, such as flags, music, and open houses. (Laughter.) Now, the writer of that letter lived in the society of gentlemen, and was above the rank of the pot-wallopers, whose votes decided elections in many of the English boroughs. The writer said, "Batley says he won't pay the expenses; Stewart says nothing; so that if they were to show themselves in the town, they would be booed out of it;" and he complained especially of Mr. Batley, whose former elections, he said, had

only cost 2,000*l.*; and he spoke of Hull as bad, because it would cost much more; and Boston as worse, for there each vote was worth 5*l.* Now he must say that such men deserved the execration of all others. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the Association would publish the votes of the members at the end of each Session, and thus try to shame these shameless men. He hoped that the higher classes would feel the effects of the corruption they had so long assisted to continue, and then he thought they would join with the people in putting an end to the system, instead of attempting, as they had been attempting in this last Session, to *change the currency*, and bring back that great cause of our evils, a *paper system*. The Ministry deserved the *highest credit* for the *manly stand* they had made on this point. (Cheers.) He should not again refer to what his honourable Friend had alluded as having fallen from him, further than to say that he was glad this *opportunity of explanation* had been afforded him, and that the meeting was aware how likely any man was, *in the heat of debate, to omit a sentence*, that might be of importance to explain his meaning. It seemed he had done so in the present instance, and he was rejoiced that he had had the opportunity of explaining what he had said. He should not trespass further on their attention. He thought this Association must have a beneficial effect. He was not a *member of it because he thought he could be more useful to it elsewhere*. For the same reason, and because he could say that he was not interested in the proceedings of the body, he had declined to be a member of the Catholic Association, though he fully approved of the object for which that Association was formed. He begged to move the third Resolution, believing it was one of those which would tend to express their opinion in favour of what he hoped to see accomplished—namely, the *bringing to the door of every man the means of honestly exercising his elective franchise*.

THEOPHILUS O'FLANAGAN then rose, and spoke about the degraded state of the Irish boroughs. He alluded particularly to the boroughs of Dundalk, Tralee, and Ennis; and entered upon a statement of the mode in which the Catholics were, by an Act of George II., deprived of those rights they enjoyed under an Act of Henry VIII.

A Man of Colour then rose, and said he had a question to propose to Mr. Hobhouse. He wished to know if he was a friend to *universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot*? He heard that Hobhouse blew hot and cold upon the subject; he asked him to come forward as an Englishman, and say whether he did *blow hot and cold*?

THE CHAIRMAN rose to order, and declared that Mr. Hobhouse was *not bound to answer the question*; it was quite irregular.

Mr. HOBHOUSE, however, said he would come forward, although he considered the opportunity was not a fit one; he was a sincere and ardent friend to reform, and would always support it in *any form, or in any degree* that it might be brought forward. He would wish

to secure all that the honourable Gentlemen could desire; but, in the meantime, he would be willing to accept any thing he could get in furtherance of the great object which they had all alike in view (Cheers).

Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Hume then left the room.

Colonel Jones then proposed the fifth Resolution. He named all the great proprietors of boroughs, and said that the power they possessed was such as should not be placed even in the hands of the most exemplary individuals. He told a variety of stories about borough proprietors, from which we select the following.—He and Sir Isaac Coffin were fellow-passengers in a vessel from America, and the gallant Admiral remarked to him that he could jaw a bit, and would like to get returned to parliament. Sometime after his landing in England, the Colonel received a slap on the back from Sir Isaac, who exclaimed, "Well, old chap, I've got into that ere jawing house since I saw you."—"How was that, old gentleman?" replied the Colonel.—"Oh," continued Sir Isaac, "I went down to the Marquis of Darlington, of Rahy Castle, and I said, I should like to get into that house of parliament."—"How would you vote?" said the Marquis.—"I don't exactly know," said I. "Will you vote with me?" rejoined the Marquis.—"Come," said I, "let us toss up, and if it's head, I'll vote with you—if not, it's no go." It was a head, and Sir Isaac was pledged to vote with the Marquis, and was forthwith sent down to Ilchester, where the jailer was the most influential man; and although a high-minded gentleman, and an Admiral in his Majesty's service, he was yet induced to keep company with this jailer for the purpose of securing his election. The Colonel also told how the late Duke of Northumberland made his members change sides several times—once when he was disappointed in his *gout* for a blue ribband; and again, when he was refused the colouneley of the Blues—and on each occasion, when he had obtained the object of his wishes, his servants were ordered back to the ministerial benches. He also stated how the borough of Westbury fell into the hands of Sir Manasseli Lopez, from the circumstance of his having the same agent with the Earl of Abingdon, the former proprietor; and he alluded to the disgraceful circumstance of a minister of state consenting to sit for such a place. He also observed, as a strong instance of the ill effect of the system, that the honourable and excellent Lord Fitzwilliam had returned the persecuting Attorney-General. He was happy to state, that this individual was turned out of Peterborough; but of what use was this, since he could take refuge in Guilford, under the patronage of the Marquis of Grantley? He said it was time for them up to look to the neighbouring shores, and take a lesson from a people they had formerly despised. He expressed his sincere pleasure at the triumph which the constitutional electors of France had obtained over a family the most wicked, ignorant, and profligate in Europe; a family of which it was truly said, that, notwithstanding the pro-

gress of information and intelligence, and the chastening infliction of personal misfortune—

"Ils n'ont rien oubliés—ils n'ont rien appris." Now, however, he was delighted to find, that Charles X. had no resource, except to abandon his despotic ministers, or again take refuge on the hospitable soil of Britain.

Mr. Rurr seconded the motion. He was happy to state that in 1793 he had been in that room assisting in a committee pledged to the cause of reform; he thought with Major Cartwright, that the union to which they belonged ought not to have dissolved itself at the commencement of the French war; he considered that that was a favourable period to have made a struggle in behalf of the people.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT here entered the room amidst loud cheers.—The Honourable Baronet was requested to propose the sixth resolution. Before doing so he explained that his absence until that late hour proceeded from his having concluded from a letter he had received from Colonel Jones that the day of meeting had been fixed for Wednesday; and he was not aware of the error into which he had fallen until that morning. The resolution was as follows:—"That the attainment of Parliamentary reform has been hitherto impeded, if not prevented, by two principal causes:—first, by differences of opinion relative to the details of reform; and secondly, by the want of some permanent and active body or association to expose abuses, suggest remedies, and concentrate public opinion." He felt pleasure in proposing it, for he anxiously desired that some banner might be displayed under which reformers of all denominations might enlist; he believed that infinite good would result from all persons who advocated the cause agreeing in the simple resolution, that reform in Parliament was necessary; and surely this was a proposition to which all reasoning men must give their assents, for the abuses were flagrant, and the fact that the people were not represented was notorious. He felt that many gentlemen did not go as far as he did in his opinions; but still he was anxious to secure their support for the attainment of as much good as he could effect. He declared that at present he did not despair of the cause. The present administration had certainly done more for the people than any other he remembered; and he trusted they had at length a King who was not insensible to public opinion. His Majesty would now, perhaps, see that he gained nothing by the borough-monger system; but that, on the contrary, he would acquire more of the influence and dignity befitting his high station by the destruction of that unconstitutional power. The ministry too would, he trusted, see their advantage in putting an end to the system. They had decidedly shown a disposition to do well by making sacrifices and resigning patronage to a greater extent than any ministry before them, and the country had seen ministries professing all principles, and possessing every grade of talent; and, therefore, he entertained some expectation that the present ministry would see that its best support

was to be derived from popular opinion. He recommended that that association should connect itself with the *Birmingham Political Union*, and he stated that he purposed, in the course of a few weeks, to attend a meeting in that town.

Mr. HUNT objected to any junction being formed with that Union—one of whose great principles was to confine the *elective franchise to householders*. This mode of proceeding would exclude two-thirds of the people of England, and he thought that every man who lived by his industry should have a vote for the representation, as well as he who possessed property in the land, for all persons contributed in some degree to the taxation; and until it could be proved that nature had affixed a damning mark upon the brow of any one class of Englishmen, he should contend that none should be excluded. He concluded by moving a verbal amendment, which, after a discussion of some length, was withdrawn, wherein many from the crowd took a clamorous part.

One of those persons who rose to second the amendment, and described himself as a man that lived by his own labour, accused Sir Francis Burdett of having fallen off from his former zeal and active exertion in the popular cause; and said that, in his last speech upon the corn laws, he (Sir F. B.) had declared that he opposed the corn laws simply because they would do injury to the landholders; but that if he believed the contrary, he should have petitioned the people to the devil.

Sir F. BURDETT denied having ever said any such thing; the *hon. Gentleman* had entirely misrepresented him. His argument was, that the landholders were mistaken in supposing that the corn laws were to their advantage. He also thought that the people were mistaken about them. It was an error to suppose that bread would be cheapened by their repeal. He believed it *would be raised*, but then taxation would be proportionably diminished, and thus would the people become gainers. He repeated, that he was a sincere friend of reform to the fullest extent, but he objected to cut bullying and bustling upon the subject; it was quite foreign to the English character. He had come boldly forward when there was risk in doing so, when the *Habeas Corpus Act* was suspended, and when despotism prevailed throughout the land; but now the battle had been fought and won, and surely in a time of profound peace they were not to assume the attitude of war. He was a friend to perfect reform, annual Parliaments, and universal suffrage; but still he was willing for the present to take all he could possibly get, however little it might be, as a most desirable boon. In conclusion, he regretted that he was obliged to leave the meeting, as he had twenty-five miles to travel on his return to the country.

Colonel JONES proposed the four following propositions, embodied in a single resolution: First, That there should be an extension of the elective franchise. Second, That the mode of taking the poll at elections should be by ballot. Third, That all elections should begin and close on one and the same day. Fourth,

That the duration of each Parliament should not exceed three years." He stated that there was a Club formed at Warren's Hotel, consisting of Lord Lauderdale, an English Baron, a Pin-maker from the City, and the Whipper-in to the House of Commons; and that their object was to find candidates, to be supported at the expense of the Treasury, against all the liberals who had sought the suffrages of the British constituency. He declared this openly, and would be always ready to maintain anything he said, whether at Battersea or in Newgate.

Mr. Hunt proposed an amendment to the effect—that all Englishmen should enjoy the right of voting at elections.

Mr. MAHON opposed the amendment amidst great confusion. He said it would destroy the cause of reform, and designated Hunt as a travelling orator, and a retailer of stale jests, which were fit only for the ears of the donkey drivers of Smithfield.

A crowd of other persons spoke upon the amendment; but they all spoke together, and therefore neutralized the effect of each other's eloquence.

The amendment was finally carried, and the meeting separated at seven o'clock.

The following are the Resolutions that were passed at the meeting:—

I. "That by the present state of the representation, the people are deprived of a right essential to the maintenance of their liberties, and the protection of their property, recognized and established by ancient laws—a right fully admitted and confirmed by the statute 1 James I., wherein it is declared, that in Parliament 'all the whole body of the nation, and every particular member thereof, either in person or by representation (upon their own free elections), are supposed to be personally present.' In conformity with which Lord Chief Justice Camden hath said, 'Whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own, and no man has a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or his representative;' and Mr. Justice Blackstone hath said, that 'in a free state, a branch at least of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people.'

II. "That what has been called and lauded as a virtual, is in reality but a pretended or sham, representation of the people, efficient only in wasting the resources of the nation—giving the colour of an assumed popular sanction to extravagance, and largely increasing the number of those who are interested in promoting it.

III. "That the evils which have long oppressed this country, manifested in the discontent of the people, and in the frequently occurring seasons of distress, are, to a considerable extent, produced by unnecessary establishments, profuse expenditure, an overwhelming debt, and exorbitant taxation; all of which have arisen and grown to their present ruinous extent, from a want of that control which is alone to be secured by a real representation of the people.

IV. "That though in 1793, and at subsequent periods, it was offered to be proved at the Bar of the House of Commons, by eminent statesmen, who predicted the ruinous consequences of parliamentary corruption, 'That a decided majority of the members are returned by the nomination of 154 patrons; that forty peers, in defiance of the laws, return 81 members by their own authority, and that the free choice of the electors in a great portion of the remainder, is frustrated by various corruptious'; yet all inquiry has been unjustly denied, and all reformation obstinately resisted.

V. "That a number of men, possessing amongst them the power of ruling the House of Commons, by nominating the great majority of its members, necessarily control the Government, and appropriate to themselves the produce of the taxes, and accordingly we find, from parliamentary documents, that 180,000*l.* per annum, is received by 174 members of the House, and that 113 Privy Counsellors receive yearly 600,000*l.* of the public money. (Cheers.)

VI. "That this meeting learns with satisfaction that a union has been formed for the attainment of a Reform in the Representation, and strongly recommends the immediate formation of similar unions in every county, city, and town, in the United Kingdom, and that such unions should be formed on a basis sufficiently extensive to comprise all sincere friends of reform. That we recommend such basis to be a concurrence in one or more of the four following propositions, viz. :—

"1. That all plans of reform which do not embrace universal suffrage, with the protection of the ballot, are unjust in principle, will prove to be inefficient and delusive in practice, and are calculated hopelessly to prolong the slavery and degradation of the intelligent and industrious workmen of the United Kingdom.

"2. That the mode of taking the poll at elections should be by ballot.

"3. That all elections should begin and close on one and the same day.

"4. That the durations of each Parliament should not exceed three years."

Now, let us, in order to miss nothing, take the matters according to the *order in which they stand*. First, then, how came MONCK to be chairman of such a meeting? And if it were right to talk *here* about a *dead weight* of between five and six millions, why did he sit in Parliament so many years, and never say the same there? Why not say it *there*; so that the whole country might have heard it long ago. I, indeed, have said enough upon this monstrous abuse; but I was speaking to thousands, when MONCK was speaking to millions. I shall, by-and-by, have to speak fully about HUME, whom Monck called "*that*

model of a member of Parliament." But if MONCK sees that the members of the House of Commons are *sharers* in the public purse, and not the *guardians* of it, why did he not say so while he was *sitting in that House*? There was a man, and in *Berkshire* too, who would have said this in his place in Parliament and who would have been in that Parliament; but was kept out of it by the base desertion of BURDETT, and the not very manly abandonment of MONCK. Now that he is out of Parliament, MONCK can be bold enough. He is said to be a very good sort of man; but something more than a mere good sort of man is wanted to put the affairs of this great and troubled nation to rights. MONCK, in his address to the people of Reading, tells them, that *as he grows old, he finds himself less able to bear the late hours, and other fatigues of Parliament*; one of the most pitiful excuses that ever was made by any man in this world. He is only four years older than he was when he stood the last contest. He is a lawyer, a man of independent fortune in land, a magistrate highly respected for his integrity and his mildness, a man of a thousand times the talent of HUME; and yet, for the purpose of getting himself a *cheer*, he calls HUME "the model of a member of Parliament!"

HONHOUSE is our next hero; and pray mark the difference in the manner in which he was received by the meeting and the manner in which HUNT was received. HONHOUSE seems to have been feeling his way for some time; seems to have been listened to in a very cold manner; and a gentleman who was present assured me that murmurs began to circulate amongst the people, till, in order to get a clap, and a cheering, he fell to work beplastering HUME, of which plastering I shall speak by-and-by. HONHOUSE, coming to his doctrines relative to reform, found himself, as you will see, exceedingly embarrassed. He began with LORD GREY's petition of 1793, repeating, word for word, that which I have stated in the Register one hundred times at the very least, and which petition I have actually printed not less than five or six times. He said that he had always voted for the *most extended* system of reform, and also for the *least*

extended; that he recommended them to adopt any *trifling* reform; but that he *thought* that the plan proposed by the association was most worthy of support; that that plan regarded the *ballot* as a thing absolutely necessary. Here he was interrupted by loud and long cheering, enough to frighten a fellow who has been fed with public money from his infancy, or, at least, for the last thirty years, and who must know that the ballot would take from his father not only that which he now receives, but, by possibility, *that which he has received*. Frightened, however, by the alarming cheers in favour of the ballot, on he went in favour of it, and that, too, in such a strain as to prove that he could not be sincere. He said that without it *we could do nothing good*, and that it *alone* would be better than *every thing else* without it. He confessed that *he had once been opposed to it*, but that *now* he was convinced of his error, "not only from his *own experience*, but from the *authority* of those wise and good men who had *most deeply considered the subject*, from the authority of a BENTHAM and a MILL; great names, indeed, and far above the sneers which were directed against them; far above the *jests and mockeries* of those who *envy their fame*, and hated their labours, because those labours were honourably and *successfully devoted* to promote the good of "mankind." Oh! "a BENTHAM and a MILL;" *great names*, to be sure; but, I could almost be sworn, that you never heard of them before, except, as to the former, in CAPTAIN PARRY's account of "*Jerry's cruise*," and in my Register, that Jerry Bentham was made a reformer by *Pitt's refusal to give him a contract to build a penitentiary, and to make him Prime Administrator of Penance, or Beggar-Whipper General of England and Wales*; but, in lieu thereof, in lieu of the contract and the office, *gave him a thumping sum of the public money*. From that moment Jerry appears to have become a patriot, and were it not for the crabbedness and unintelligibility of his writings, he would by this time have done the system some harm. As it is, he has done harm to the cause of reform by his

insufferable nonsense about "*codification*," and by his half-mad manner, which has brought ridicule upon every thing that he has espoused. As to the other great man, MILL, he is a Scotch *feelosopher*, who has been in the East Indies, I believe, and who left it without bringing away a fortune. Excellent stock whereon to ingraft a *patriot*! He is avenging himself in a work that is called the "*Westminster Review*," in which he is said to be fool enough to let HOBHOUSE take a part. This is not a crabbed, whimsical, wearisome thing, like Jeffry. MILL is a man of real talent, with the usual drawback of the *Scotch twist*; he lays on in good style upon abuses of all sorts, except that most monstrous and shameful abuse, the *commission about the Nabob of Arcot's debts*, at the head of which is *Hobhouse's father*, and from which he cannot have sucked much less than *forty thousand pounds*, during the last seven-and-twenty years. With HOBHOUSE, MILL will have a *great name*, as long as he refrains from touching this insolent abuse. Mill is a clever man. Mill is right in chastising the haughty crew, by whom he has been kept out of his proper place; but Mill was not the introducer of the defence of the ballot, which was written of, and talked of, by CARTWRIGHT, and COBBETT, and HUNT, *twenty years ago*: by the former, to the last day of his life; and by the two latter, to the present day. But, how stands the slippery BURDETT, with regard to the ballot? In 1817, one of the very grounds on which he abandoned the reformers was, that they insisted upon the ballot; this he would now deny; but he knows that the facts to be produced under his own hand. Let him, then, settle this matter with his slippery colleague.

HECTOR (not of Troy, but of *Petersfield*) was the next hero. He began by complimenting HUNT, and, to be perfectly consistent, ended by complimenting his two most bitter enemies, "trusting that their return for Westminster was *certain*." Certain enough it is, if *nobody oppose them*; and if opposed by *any body* with a little money in their pockets, it is certain not to be; for ever was industrious, neat, and enter-

prising husband, more sick of a lazy, sluttish, yawning, and stupid wife, than the people of Westminster are sick of these two men. When sensible HECTOR bolted out this wish, not a word of applause; but, when he spoke of HUME for Middlesex, the cheers were sufficient to scare him.

The "Hampshire Reformer" was followed by an Irish hero, of the name of MAMON. This man is, I understand, a *reporter*, and, doubtless, on his way to our unfortunate colonies, in the capacity of judge or commissioner, or something; it is said that he is also a barrister. What was thought or said by this man is of no earthly consequence, except as it served to draw forth the sentiments and expressions of the meeting. This man expressed his disapprobation of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and had to endure hissing which would have driven any man but a *reporter* from the scene. He was for Lord JOHN RUSSELL's plan, and was delightfully hissed for his pains. HECTOR, the "Hampshire Reformer," interposed, and took upon himself to assert that Lord John would, if present, second the resolution which he, Hector, had proposed. That might be; but if Hector believe that Lord John Russell would be for a reform that should include the ballot, Hector, though the notorious agent of a rotten borough, knows very little about the motives and interest of Lord John: it is a pretty, curious thing that this mover of the second resolution, who was selected for this purpose by this select reform association, should be the well-known agent of a borough-monger for the management of his rotten borough, which borough never yet sent a man that was not opposed to the rights and liberties of the people; and which borough has been the cause of more bare-faced and infamous jobbing than any other borough in the kingdom. When a man is thus engaged, and has been thus engaged half his lifetime, he ought, at any rate, to keep quiet. It is impudent in him to thrust himself forward in public; and more impudent still to insult the reformers of England by praises bestowed on BURDETT and HOBBHOUSE. The presence of such a man upon such an occasion, is of itself suf-

ficient to mar the whole of the proceedings. Who is to believe in the sincerity of an association in which such a man is a leader?

Our next hero is the GREAT HUME himself; and, as we shall see, he had a very difficult part to act, though at his rising he was received with "*three distinct roasts of cheering*." My friends, stop here and look at the resolution which Hume rose to move. Look at all the six resolutions, and you will see that, until altered by Hunt, after Hume had left the room, not a single word was said about the ballot. Yet Hume, seeing how the ballot was going, began talking about that, and not at all about the matter contained in the resolution that he was to move. Having made his way with the ballot, he proceeded to observe, that every man who was able to pay taxes ought to have a vote. He then proceeded to some general expressions; and then said quite enough to convince any reasonable man that he dreads, as he, being a good Christian, ought to dread the devil himself, a real reform of the Parliament. The borough-mongers naturally are enemies of reform; but there are three men that dread it more than they do; namely, BURDETT, HOBBHOUSE, and HUME; and the last two more than the first; for, Burdett, like the borough-mongers, has a thundering estate, to which he can retire and sulk out his life, with a troop of tenants and servants and villagers to bow to him; but to the two latter, a real reform of Parliament would be a pair of wet fingers applied to the twinkling wick of a rush-light. It is a likely thing, indeed, that Hobbhouse should be any thing with his father's commissionership taken away; and, as to Hume, where is there one out of twenty thousand clerks in London, each with a salary of thirty pounds a year and *small*, who is not able to tot up sums better than he; and where is there one of them who would not come and thrust him aside never to be heard of more? He is a hard-headed, hard-mouthed, hard-faced, hard-feeling, hard-working and persevering man; but, from him who ever heard, even by accident or incident, the utterance of a single thought calculated to evince even the smallest degree

of capacity for effecting the changes now absolutely necessary to the restoration of this kingdom? But, as to the *fact*, as to the man's real *views* and *intentions* with regard to reform, as to this matter, what *reason* have we to believe that he wishes for a reform of the Parliament? We have been duped often enough and long enough; events will prevent our being duped *much* longer; but I will not be duped at all; and I wish to prevent you also from being duped. Well, then, let us inquire a little, what *reason* there is for believing that this man wishes for a parliamentary reform; and this inquiry is the more necessary, because so many good men, so many real and sincere reformers, have adopted a belief in the affirmative. What *reason*, again I say, have we for entertaining this belief? Let us, for the sake of clearness, resort to distinct propositions, stating facts, which must be proved to be *false* before sensible men will believe that Hume wishes for a reform of the Parliament.

1. That Hume has been a dozen years, or more, in the House of Commons; that during that time he has called for at least two thousand papers, and has made not less than a thousand motions, besides those for the production of papers.
2. That he has never made a motion for a reform of the Parliament; and that, when supporting those who did make such motion, he never expressed himself as the friend of a *radical* reform.
3. That he has never called for *any paper for the purpose of exposing the state of misrepresentation of the people*; that he has never done any thing with the manifest design of *unveiling the means by which the aristocracy grasp the earnings of the people*; that he has never made or touched a *raw place*, as Sir JAMES GRAHAM did upon two occasions during the last session; and that Lord COCHRANE, by one single motion, did more in this way than HUME has ever done in the whole course of his life.
4. That when the envy of Hobhouse, at this meeting, brought out the statement that Hume had asserted, in

his place in Parliament, that "the electors of England had now the *power to return a popular majority to Parliament*, and by implication to assert that no reform was necessary"; that when the little fellow's envy of Hume's cheers had drawn this forth, Hume, twisting like an eel upon a gridiron, and cursing the little fellow from the bottom of his soul, "*rejoiced at this opportunity of explanation that had been afforded him, being sure that the meeting was well aware how likely any man was, in the heat of debate, to omit a sentence that might be of importance to explain his meaning*"!

Let us stop here, my friends, and have a laugh at this. Mark, I pray you, the two impudent falsehoods implied in this short sentence! What! "*Omit a sentence*"! What sentence? He asserted that the electors of England were *now able to return a popular majority*. What could another sentence have done in the way of *explanation*, except to *contradict* that *false* assertion? For an impudently false assertion it was, or there could be, and can be, no necessity for Parliamentary reform. And "*in the heat of debate*," too! What an impudent man, or what stupid creature he must have thought his auditors! There was no *heat*, nor even *any debate*: it was a speech manifestly studied and prepared beforehand, intended to get him the support, and if not the support, the forbearance, of the loan-mongers, the borough-mongers, and the ministry, in his intended election for Middlesex. Let us now return to our propositions.

5. That, in the speech at this meeting, he *apologised* for not having been a *mover for reform* in Parliament, by saying, that he had endeavoured, by stopping the little streamlets of corruption, to support parliamentary reform *more silently*, but *quite as effectually, as the loudest declaimer on the subject*; thereby discovering his *anger* against all petitioners, speakers, and writers, who have been bold in the cause of reform, and adding, that the true remedy was to *diminish expenses*, to diminish temptations, and

that *then* men would act a fair and honest part; thereby leaving it naturally to be inferred, that his *economical efforts* would be *sufficient* without any change in the representation.

6. That in this same speech at the meeting, he asserted, that the country was "*gradually getting the better of the expenses*," that "*corruption was lessening, so that we might look for better times*;" thereby clearly leaving it to be inferred, that a parliamentary reform was *not necessary* to the restoration of the happiness of the people.
7. That in his place in Parliament, just before the dissolution, he affected to believe that the Duke of WELINGTON *might be well disposed towards reform*; and that he complimented the Duke on the manly stand that the Duke had made against those who were for a small paper-currency, while it is notorious that he himself was loud in favour of the small-paper currency in twenty-two, and that he *clung fast to Ricardo from the first to the last*.
8. That he was *solicited to take the chair at this meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern*; and that he *alleged in excuse*, that it might *injure his election for Middlesex*.
9. That he was *asked to take the chair at a dinner to celebrate the recent triumph of the French people over all attempts to destroy representative government in France*; and that he *declined to take the chair*, upon the ground that he could not do it without the consent of his election committee, *which committee refused their assent*.
10. That this committee consists of BURDETT, HOBHOUSE, BARING, and others, decidedly and *naturally* enemies of a reform.

There are ten propositions. Let the truth of them be denied; let them be proved to be false; or that man is a willing dupe indeed, who believes that this man wishes for a real reform. The truth of the matter is this: HUME, who has no talent above that of a mere counting-house clerk, and who is far inferior to thousands upon thousands of persons of that description; HUME,

who dearly loves money, in the first place, who has a family of boys growing, who has long had his eye upon public emolument, the value of every parcel of which he knows, the better for his rummaging into the accounts; HUME has perceived that the great body of the middle rank of people, whose minds are continually engaged about receipts, debits, outgoings, incomings, debtor, creditor, and balance sheets, will be very prone to think him the cleverest man who is most adroit in matters of this sort, it being the propensity of all mankind to admire those who delight in pursuits in which they themselves delight. Then, besides this great credit for cleverness, there comes, with those who do not reflect deeply, and especially with all the timid persons of property, the opinion, that he, by his *loppings off of expenses*, will be *able to make this same system go on for an indefinite length of time*. Hume has perceived this propensity, and has bent all his efforts to foster it so as finally to profit from it; and, being full of conceit, at the same time, and supremely ignorant of the great causes that are at work, and of the ultimate effects of those causes, he firmly believes, that he could *carry on the system without any change in the representation*; and upon this ground he aims at the office of *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, firmly believing that the eternal duration of that truly damnable thing is written in the book of fate.

These are his views, and these the hopes of the great body of well-meaning and timid people of property who wish him success. But, as to the loan-mongers and boroughmongers and false Whigs, who are supporting him for Middlesex, who, till lately, have always treated him like a *totter up of sums*, who have left him in the lurch, and sneered at him times more numerous than he has fingers and toes and joints in those fingers and toes, and who now hate him more than a toad hates a serpent; as to these fellows, the caresses that they bestow upon him, arise *purely from their fears*. They know his capacity, character, and views perfectly well; they hate him (O, God! how Burdett and Hobhouse hate him)! but they see fearful times approaching; they are as ignorant as he is about great

causes and effects; but they see the Government at a stand-still; while the King is congratulating the country on the reduction of the debt, they see the Ministers adding to that debt by borrowing millions upon millions on annuities; they see the system hastening to a close, unless something be found out to prevent it; they hear from St. Stephen's the dismal cry of "The devil take the hindmost!" they have the vain notion that this totter up will be able to stay the storm; and, in this plight, like TRINCULO, in the "Tempest," they are seeking safety under the gaberdine and belt of this political CALIBAN. Foh! What a bed of roses!

In the mean while, a vast proportion of persons in the middle rank of life will regard the election of Hume as matter of triumph; and, if fleeting popularity were my idol, I should refrain from expressing these opinions; but, being sure that these opinions will be verified by events, policy concurs with a sense of duty in urging me to express them; policy, that, when the time arrives, I may appeal to this prediction; a sense of duty, because, having a channel through which to express my opinions, I am bound to prevent, if I can, those who confide in my judgment from entertaining false expectations and hopes.

I am well aware that HUME would have the cordial support of all the buse money-loving tribe, upon the sole condition, that he would engage to prevent reform, which they dread, as a thing to put, as they think, their money and their consequence in a state of risk. They care nothing about the sufferings of the working people, nothing about the freedom of the country, nothing about its character and honour and independence; so that they can keep their money, and their mastership over the slaves that work for them, they have no objection to be themselves slaves of the borough-mongers; and, if HUME could make them believe, as he easily might, that, by his "stopping the streamlets," he could enable them to keep a pretty large part of their money, and still have hats pulled off to them, they would not scruple to consent to the defiling of their own mothers, and even their wives, if necessary to effect the purpose; and, as to the press, speech, rights, trial by jury,

act of Habeas Corpus, they would think no more of sweeping them all away, than they would think of sweeping rats' dirt out of their factories, warehouses, counting-houses, granaries, and barn-floors. Therefore, as I know that a vast majority of the middle class are of this description; as I know that they abhor the idea of that lowering of their upstart pride, which they smell that reform would produce; I have not, and never have had, any hope that it will come from any exertion of theirs; no, nor by their assent. They will uphold HUME to their utmost, because they believe, that his tottings-up will at once spare their purses, and prevent reform, which they always look upon as "anarchy and confusion." But, events will bring reform; it will come in spite of them; and their totting-up hero, will either be carried along by the stream, or be drowned in it, after being stunned by its force.

One of three things will happen to Hume: 1. He will remain out of office, will be dragged along by events into the cause of reform, and will there rest in that place of extreme mediocrity assigned him by nature: 2. He will, to the last, endeavour to prevent reform; and then he gets trundled out like a penniless tenant, and is never more heard of but in jest: 3. He will be in office, the mines of Golconda will be the subject of his dreams, the anticipated sweet sound of my lord will play on the drum of his ear; and then down he goes, and contempt alone will be able to save him from the execrations of a regenerated people.

"Hard lines"! but true, Joseph, as sure as thou hast a hard, blunt head upon thy shoulders. Many a man has been ruined by being elevated. To some men it is a great advantage to be placed, in a conspicuous point of view; to others as great a disadvantage. To excite expectations without the sure means of satisfying them, is to commit a fault, of which no man ever yet failed to have cause to repent. You, Joseph, have the means of satisfying but very small expectations, while those which your election will excite will be great beyond all reasonable bounds; and while you think you see the golden harvest before you, your sickle is destined to gather nought but the weeds

and the stubble. Thus you have frankly stated my opinions: the time cannot be long before the correctness of those opinions will be brought to the test: you are now coming into court to be put upon your trial; and in the benevolent language of the law; "*God send you a happy deliverance!*"

Now, my friends, before we come to Burdett, we must take another look at little Hobhouse, who was asked to state distinctly whether he was for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot; or whether he meant to blow hot and cold upon the subject. The blackguard *reporters*, these despicable scum of the earth, state, you see, that it was a MAN OF COLOUR who asked these questions. It was a respectable tradesman, a shoemaker, of Westminster; and do look at the shuffling answer of Hobhouse, and observe, too, that the moment the answer was given, the little son of the Nabob commissioner *left the room accompanied by the hero for Middlesex.*

Burdett came after Hobhouse and Hume were gone. He was *fetch'd* to the meeting; pretended to have come from twenty-five miles distance; pretended that he had made a mistake in reading the letter of invitation, which he had thought was for *Wednesday* and not *Friday*; though he *had not come on the Wednesday.* Do read this shuffling speech; do read his plasterings of the King and the ministry; do observe how he wanted to connect this association with the Birmingham Union; and do observe how he was driven off the turf by a person who is not named; look at the nonsense he talked, and hear his miserable excuse *for getting away out of sight!*

But, we now come to the conclusion. You see clearly that the leaders in this meeting wished to put forth a plan *excluding universal suffrage*; and that by the amendments of Hunt and others, they have sent forth a plan including that species of suffrage; and have thus called upon the country *to have nothing do with the Birmingham Union*, unless the Birmingham Union will come to universal suffrage.

This is as foul a report as ever was made of any public proceeding. The speeches of HUNT, ETHERINGTON, and the ~~Speakers~~ are almost wholly

omitted; and, were it not for the Resolutions themselves, one would imagine that *they were defeated.* Yet I have taken the report just as I find it in the *Morning Chronicle*, finding in it quite enough to convince me that the whole bevy of corruption is now in a state of indescribable alarm.

WM. COBBETT.

FRENCH REVOLUTION, No. II.

How, *exactly*, this will terminate, and especially, *when*, it is impossible to say; but it is by no means difficult to see, that, as to France, 1792 is come back again; as to the boroughmongers, that year is *gone for ever.* The war which was that year concocted against the French people, is now costing us forty-five millions a year in taxes. We have had victories on the Serpentine River; we have got a Waterloo Bridge and triumphal arches; we gratified the wish of the envious and the base in the sacking the museums at Paris; we have seen Buonaparte die with an hereditary cancer; we have paid ninety-five thousand pounds for the pension to Burke and his executors; and here we are just as forward as we were in the year 1792; with this difference, that we have sixty millions of taxes a year to pay instead of fifteen and a half, and are without one single blood-sucker, who dares to suggest the idea of our going to war to put down the French.

KING'S SPEECH, AT PROROGUING THE PARLIAMENT.

On the 23rd July, instant, the King prorogued the Parliament, making to them the following speech, on which, when I have inserted it, I shall make a few short remarks.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

On this first occasion of meeting you, I am desirous of repeating to you in person my cordial thanks for those assurances of sincere sympathy and affectionate attachment which you conveyed to me on the demise of my lamented Brother, and on my accession to the throne of my ancestors.

I ascend that throne with a deep sense of the sacred duties which devolve upon me; with a firm reliance on the affection of my faithful subjects, and on the support and co-operation of Parliament; and with an humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that he

will prosper my anxious endeavours to promote the happiness of a free and loyal people."

It is with the utmost satisfaction that I find myself enabled to congratulate you upon the *general tranquillity of Europe*. This tranquillity it will be the object of my constant endeavours to preserve; and the assurances which I receive from my allies, and from all Foreign Powers, are dictated in a similar spirit.

I trust that the good understanding which prevails upon subjects of common interest, and the deep concern which every State must have in *maintaining the peace of the world*, will ensure the satisfactory settlement of those matters which still remain to be finally arranged.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you for the Supplies which you have granted, and for the Provision which you have made for several Branches of the Public Service, during that part of the present year which must elapse before a new Parliament can be assembled. I cordially congratulate you on the diminution which has *taken place in the Expenditure of the Country*; on the *Reduction of the Charge of the Public Debt*; and on the relief which you have afforded to my people by the Repeal of some of those Taxes which have heretofore pressed heavily upon them.

You may rely upon my prudent and economical Administration of the Supplies which you have placed at my disposal, and upon my *readiness to concur in every Diminution of the Public Charges* which can be effected consistently with the *Dignity of the Crown*, the *Maintenance of National Faith*, and the *permanent Interests of the Country*.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot put an end to this Session, and take my leave of the present Parliament, without expressing my cordial thanks for the *zeal* which you have manifested on so many occasions for the *welfare of my people*.

You have wisely availed yourselves of the happy opportunity of general peace and internal repose, calmly to review many of the laws and judicial establishments of the country, and you have applied such cautious and well-considered reforms as are consistent with the spirit of our venerable institutions, and are calculated to facilitate and expedite the administration of justice.

You have removed the civil disqualifications which affected numerous and important classes of my people.

While I declare, on this solemn occasion, my fixed intention to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the Protestant Reformed religion established by law, let me, at the same time, express my earnest hope that the animosities which have prevailed on account of religious distinctions may be forgotten, and that the decision of Parliament, with respect to those distinctions, having been irrevocably pronounced, my faithful subjects will unite with me in advancing the great object contemplated by the Legislature, and in promoting that spirit of *domestic concord and peace* which constitutes the *surest basis of our national strength and happiness*.

Yes, the King is right enough; he wants the *affection of his people*; but

the *support* of those who *make* the people pay, whether they be *affectionate* or not. Here is the *old story* about the *tranquillity of Europe*, and the *interest of every state to maintain the peace of the world*; and this, too, when Russia is continually *at war, in fact, with Turkey*, France is *invading Africa*, and Spain *at war with Mexico*. It is our interest to be at peace; or, at least, the interest of our THING, because our THING cannot go to war! Our THING has ceased to be a fighter, for the same reason that a man of four-score ceases to keep a mistress. The King *congratulates* the "noblest Assembly" on the *reduction of our expenses*; which is, if there be any, owing to the same cause: we pay less, because the Government cannot get so much as it did; but as to reducing "the charge of the public debt," good God! when the Government is *borrowing on annuities to the amount of millions*; and will, and must, soon have *added to the Debt more than they have taken from it*! How like this is to those tricks of NECKER, CALONNE, and others, who brought the old French Government to its end! "There is nothing new under the sun." How astonished the King will be one of these days! Oh! but he is "ready to concur in every diminution of the public charges." Indeed! Well, then we shall soon have a *deal lopped off*! Aye, but stop; it is such diminution, "as can be effected consistently with the dignity of the Crown, the maintenance of national faith, and the permanent interests of the country"; and, as these may mean *palace-building on the old scale*, four Admirals to every ship of the line instead of two, four Generals to every regiment instead of three, a heavier dead-weight than we have now, and places and pensions and sinecures in the same proportion, these words give us not the least hope of any amendment. In short, for us not to be amused and deceived, we ought to expect an amendment to come from the King, when he shall *recommend a reform* of the Parliament, and *not before*. REVIEWS and SHOWS of various sorts are well calculated to amuse thoughtless people, those who have nothing to do, and especially those who live on the taxes.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"That the New World may finally regenerate the Old is the hope and the prayer of your obedient servant, Thomas Paine."—*PAINE'S Dedication (to Washington) of his Rights of Man.*

LETTER II.

TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

On the Events in France, and on their natural Consequences with regard to this Country.

Barn-Elm Farm, 4th August, 1830.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

NEVER, since the world began, was man placed in a more important situation than that in which you now stand; never did so much of good or of evil, of happiness or of misery, of glory or of abasement, before depend on the will of any one human being. That from your Majesty may come the good, the happiness and the glory, is my anxious wish; and in the hope of giving effect to that wish, I now, with the highest respect, submit to the serious consideration of your Majesty, my views on the events now taking place in France, and on their natural consequences with regard to this *once* great and famous commonwealth, of which you are the lawful, and will I sincerely hope be, to the last hour of a long life, the happy and beloved King.

In order to explain clearly my opinions as to the events in France, it is necessary, that I state what those events have been; and, in order to show how they are likely to affect us, I must advert to transactions in this country, closely connected, in principle, with these events in France. With regard to the events in France, they have *no new* character; they have arisen from *no new*

cause: they are merely a continuation of that series of events, which began to take place in 1789, when the people of France bravely resolved no longer to endure those burdens which a profligate, and greedy, and insolent, and cruel court, and aristocracy, had laid upon them; and for enduring which, for so many many ages, Englishmen had been reproaching them with the basest cowardice. Napoleon's assuming the imperial office, and the consequent restoration of the Bourbons, made merely a *chasm* in the series. It was, from the first, a people bravely resolved to be free, and acting on the clear and indisputable principle, that there can be *no freedom*, unless those who impose the taxes be chosen by the people themselves. From 1815, until now, this great and gallant people have been kept down by circumstances too great for them to control; but, by time, and by their courage and wisdom, these circumstances have, by degrees, been removed, and back they come to the rock from which they had been forced by a million of foreigners in arms.

It is useful for us now to call to mind the principal points in this series of events; because just views, with regard to them, will the better enable us to judge correctly as to the future. It is, then, well known, that, before the revolution, in the reign of Louis XVI., the people of France were loaded with taxes, and otherwise oppressed and insulted by their rulers; that a great part of the burdens, imposed upon them, did not arise from the acts of that king, but from the *wasteful wars* carried on, the *prodigality* of the courts, and the debts contracted by his two immediate predecessors; that the nation, insulted by *game-laws*, by *corvées*, and by the endless offspring of *aristocratical insolence*, rose, and in spite of an enormous standing army, kept up in time of peace, shook off the intolerable load; that, having suffered so severely and so long from the injustice of the aristocracy, they abolished their order, and the aristocracy having fled and joined their foes,

they seized and sold their estates; that a great part of the clergy having acted in the same manner, they dealt out to them the same measure of punishment; that the king, being suspected of favouring their enemies (having once endeavoured to escape to join the rest of his family, who were then in the rear of a foreign army invading France), the nation, in the hour of its rage, put the king to death, a thing which it would not have done under circumstances less irritating; that, now, the nation proclaimed itself A REPUBLIC; that, under this name, and that of AN EMPIRE (the last introduced to gratify the ambition of the greatest military commander that ever lived) they carried on a war of twenty-two years against all the nations of Europe, all their arms and all their money; that, at the end of this time a combination of circumstances caused the overthrow of their chief, Napoleon, and, under the power of a combination too great for them to withstand, they, in 1814, re-admitted the Bourbons, on terms hereafter to be mentioned; that, the next year, (1815,) Napoleon returned, was received with acclamations of joy, and the Bourbons fled out of the country; that then a combination of powers brought one million and eleven thousand men to attack and invade this one nation; that Napoleon was again sent into exile, where he DIED, in whose keeping and under what circumstances it would be useless to state; that, now, the Bourbons were brought back again, and enthroned over the people while foreign armies occupied Paris, and all the strong holds of the country, and that they have reigned from the year 1815 to that of 1830.

So much for previous events generally; but now for the part which WE (the Government of England) have acted from the beginning to this time, and for the part which the Bourbons have acted since their restoration. With regard to US, it is well known, that we refused to acknowledge the Republic of France in the year 1793, when France was first declared a Republic; that they sent our agents and envoys, charged with powers to treat with us, and for preventing war with us, and that we actually drove them

away with every mark of disdain, notwithstanding their reiterated and earnest endeavours to settle matters so that France might remain at peace and amity with us; that, for the *twenty-two years*, during which the French were contending for their freedom, there was no combination at the head of which we were not to be found; that at the end of eight years, we made a peace and acknowledged the Republic, but that we were, in a few months, at war again, on the ground openly avowed, that we could not live in peace with *such a government*; that we began the war again, again subsidized the fighting powers; that thus we proceeded, 'till, in 1815, we and our allies and auxiliaries had 1,011,000 men in the field, and with those means forced, for a second time, the Bourbons back upon France; that now, we, having an army at Paris (under the command of our present prime minister) were parties to a treaty made with the Bourbons, by which the frontier towns were taken from France, by which all her most valuable colonies were ceded to us, by which a tribute was imposed upon her, and by which she was compelled to pay the debt which the old Bourbon government owed to the English, while that part which was due to Frenchmen went unpaid; that, while our army was at Paris, and with the approbation of its commander (who is our present prime minister), the Museums of Paris were stripped of those things which the French had taken in war from enemies, though our army entered France as friends, and as an ally of the King of France; that after this, in order to see the Bourbons firmly seated, our army remained in France about three years, and of course, at the expense of the French people.

With regard to the conduct of the Bourbons after their Restoration, it is well known, that they agreed to the diverse treaties and conventions and internal measures by which the frontier-towns were taken from France, by which she lost her colonies, by which her museums were stripped, by which the names of the BRIDGE of JENA, the COLUMN of AUSTERLITZ, &c., were changed, and by which the valiant deeds of the nation were sought to be

buried in oblivion; that the Bourbons agreed to lay upon France that *heavy tribute*, and to the payment of *debts* which the *old Bourbon government owed to English fundholders*, which now constitute a considerable part of the *DEBT* of France; that the Bourbons have caused another great addition to the *DEBT* of France by the sums given to the old Emigrant noblesse, whose estates had been confiscated by the laws of the Republic; that they have caused another great addition to the taxes by making an *established clergy*, paid out of the taxes, instead of leaving that matter as it is left by the government of America; that the Bourbons have gradually proceeded in changing the laws in such manner as to lessen the liberties of the people; that they have made changes in the important *law of election*, so as to *narrow the suffrage*, and to give additional influence to the aristocracy; that they have, in *imitation of our Parliament*, compelled printers and publishers to *give security beforehand*, and it is curious that an English act, making an *addition to the severity of this law*, was receiving *your assent*, in the House of Lords, on the very day that the King of France was putting forth his edict for putting down the press of that noble-spirited nation.

This is a short view of the conduct of the Bourbons towards the people of France. But, before I come to the *last act*, which has produced their overthrow, I will remark on some transactions which were the prelude to that act. It has been manifest to all men of only common observation, that the Bourbons have, ever since the Restoration, been subservient, in a most shameless manner, to the government of this country; that the interest of France imperiously dictated the *taking of a grand part in the affair of Greece and Turkey*; that France ought, then, to have got the power of the Levant into her hands, and to have taken steps for keeping the mastership in the Mediterranean sea; and that, long and long ago, the Bourbons, if they had done their duty towards France, might have had back the colonies of France without a drop of blood being shed; that, on the contrary, they appear to have constantly been endeavoring

to avoid every thing that might be offensive or humiliating or inconvenient to our government. In short, as Louis XVIII. had openly declared, that he *owed his crown to the king of England*, so that family seem to have acted as if they thought that the *keeping of the crown depended on him and his government much more than on the people of France*: every act of their fifteen years of power seemed plainly to say to the whole world, "This people hate us, and we hate them; we reign in spite of them; the English government placed us over them; that government will uphold us in our power; and, worst come to worst, it will receive us back and protect us."

This has all been well understood by the clever men in France; through them, and an *uncorrupted press*, the whole nation has got at the knowledge; the *workings of our Aristocracy*, our mode of *electing members*, the *weight of our taxes*, and all the means by which we have been brought down to our present state of degradation; all these, thanks to an honest press, are now well known to the people of France. They have long seen, that it was the aim of the Bourbons to bring the French nation down to our wretched state, to take from the people by degrees *all real representation*; to cause the *DEPUTIES* to be sent without any more consent of the people than the members for GARTON and OLD SARUM are sent with; in short, the people of France saw, that it was the design of the Bourbons to give them all the blessings arising from an *English House of Commons*, and that perverse people were resolved to perish rather than be loaded with those blessings. They had no taste, it seems, for a parliament that would, of course, have passed laws to make them pay *four pence farthing tax on a sixpenny newspaper*; to make them be *transported for seven years if out in the night in pursuit of partridge, pheasant, or hare*; to *take from them trial by jury in many cases*, civil as well as criminal, and to fine them, or punish their bodies, without such trial; to cause them, in some cases, to be *transported for seven years*, for being out of their houses for fifteen minutes, between sunset and sunrise,

and to do this *without trial by jury*; for a parliament that would, of course, have done these, and a thousand other such things, the French had no taste; and, though we may laugh at their want of taste, we really have no right to be angry with them on that account. They were resolved not to have an Old-Sarum and a Gatton parliament; the Bourbons were resolved that they should have such a parliament; and thus, at last, the parties came to blows.

The Bourbons, in order to give effect to their brilliant conceptions, made that change in the ministry which put POLIGNAC at the head of it, and which filled the other posts with men hated and suspected by the whole nation. POLIGNAC was an Emigrant noble, he had been made a *Prince* by the Bourbons, he was *here* during the war, has married an English woman, has recently been *ambassador here for many years*, and he *went from this country to be prime minister in France!* The flame, which had been smothered for some time, now burst out. The journalists in France attacked him and his colleagues with great force; they at once anticipated some measure hostile to their liberties; they remarked on the suspicious circumstance of his having *come from England* to be prime minister in France; and they asserted, that he had been *chosen and appointed by our government*. This last was the sharpest arrow in their quiver. The indignation of the whole country was roused against the new ministry; and, in this state of things the two chambers were called together last spring.

To the King's speech the Peers returned an answer *à l'Angloise*; that is to say, *echoing* the speech. Not so in the Commons' House, or Chamber of DEPUTIES, who are chosen, not as at Gatton, or Old Sarum, or Westminster, or any-where else in England, or Scotland, or Ireland, but, as in the United States of America, *by ballot*. The Deputies, therefore, in answer to the king, (who had talked, in the English style, about his resolution to put down evil-minded persons), as good as told him, that he should *have no money, as long as he kept in power Polignac and his colleagues*. The king, in answer to this,

dissolved the chambers, and ordered new Deputies to be elected; and, finding that *all* the old Deputies had been returned at this new election, and that many others of the same stamp had been added to them, he, *long before the time for their assembling*, DISSOLVED THEM AGAIN. Upon this occasion, he issued three ORDINANCES, the first, *putting an end to all freedom of the press*; the second, *dissolving the new Chamber of Deputies*; the third, *so altering the law of election* as to make elections in France of no more use to the people there than our elections are to the people here.

These are acts which have, apparently, decided *his fate*, but which will not stop with that comparatively insignificant consequence. They will, in the course of a short time, produce great and lasting effects on the condition of other nations as well as on that of France; and, therefore, your Majesty ought, and, doubtless, will, duly consider the *grounds* put forth, as the *justification* of these acts. These grounds are stated in a paper, called "A REPORT" from the ministers to the king. REPORTS of this sort are not, by any means, *new to us*; but, to the honour of the French ministers, they do not accompany *their reports* with "GREEN BAGS," to be opened by *Secret Committees*, keeping hidden the names of the parties from whom they have received, or pretend to have received, their information. How far the ordinances of Charles fall short, in point of severity, the measures founded on the *Greenbag Reports* in England, your Majesty will by-and-by be able to judge; but, in the assertions of the *Polignac* and *Peyronnet* Report, and in those of *Sidmouth* and *Castlereagh*, you will find a wonderfully strong resemblance. When I have inserted the French report, I will show the *Prince Polignac*, that, though a Prince, he is but a *plagiarist*, and that, however innocent he may be in other respects, he is certainly guilty of having *robbed* our two famous ministers, *SIDMOUTH* and *CASTLEREAGH*, whose ability and originality in report-making must make this French report a dull piece of stuff to English ears; and, in short, it is little more than a collec-

tion of scraps from the green-bag reports of our two incomparable ministers.

•REPORT TO THE KING.

SIRE,—Your Ministers would be little worthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honours them, if they longer delayed to place before your eyes a view of our internal situation, and to point out to your high wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

At no time for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and more afflicting aspect. Notwithstanding an actual prosperity of which our annals afford no example, signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom. The successive causes which have concurred to weaken the springs of the Monarchical Government tend now to impair and to change the nature of it. Stripped of its moral force, authority, lost in the capital and the provinces, no longer contends but at a disadvantage with the factious; *pernicious and subversive doctrines*, loudly professed, are spread and propagated among *all classes of the population*; alarms, too generally credited, agitate people's minds and trouble society. On all sides the present is called upon for pledges of security for the future.

An active, ardent, indefatigable malevolence labours to ruin all the foundations of order, and to snatch from France the happiness it enjoys under the sceptre of its Kings. *Skilful* in turning to advantage *all discontents*, and to excite all hatreds, it fomented among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and endeavours to sow everywhere the seeds of trouble and civil war; and

hereby, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions, hitherto confined to the *summits of society*, begin to *penetrate the depths* of it, and to stir up the popular classes. It is proved, also, that these masses would never move without danger, *even to those who endeavour to rouse them from repose*. A multitude of facts collected in the course of the electoral operations confirm these data, and would offer us the too-certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your Majesty to avert the misfortune.

Everywhere, also, if we observe with attention, there exists a necessity of order, of strength, and of duration; and the agitations which appear to be the most contrary to it are, in reality, only the expression and the testimony of it.

It must be acknowledged that these agitations, which cannot be increased without great dangers, are almost exclusively produced and *excited by the liberty of the press*. A law on the elections, no less fruitful of disorders, has doubtless concurred in maintaining them; but it would be denying what is evident, to refuse seeing in the *Journals* the principal focus of a corruption, the progress of which is every day more sensible, and the *first source of the calamities* which threaten the kingdom.

Experience, Sire, speaks more loudly than theories. Men who are doubtless enlightened,

and whose good faith is not suspected, led away by the *ill-understood example of a neighbouring people*, may have believed that the advantages of the *periodical press* would balance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so; the proof is decisive; and the question is now judged in the public mind.

At all times, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is in its nature to be, *only an instrument of disorder and sedition*.

What numerous and irrefragable proofs may be brought in support of this truth! It is by the violent and incessant action of the press that the too-sudden and too-frequent variations of our internal policy are to be explained. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of government to be established in France, nor any constant attention to be devoted to introduce into all the branches of the Administration the amelioration of which they are susceptible. *All the Ministries* since the year 1814, though formed under divers influences, and subject to opposite directions, have been exposed to the same attacks and to the same license of the passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party; nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

This comparison alone, so fertile in reflections, would suffice to assign to the press its true, its invariable character. It endeavours by constant, persevering, and daily-repeated efforts, *to relax all the bonds of obedience and subordination*, to weaken all the springs of public authority, *to degrade and debase it in the opinion of the people*, to create against it every where, *embarrassment and resistance*.

Its art consists, not in substituting, for a too easy submission of mind, a prudent liberty of examination, but to reduce to a problem the most positive truths; not to exert upon political questions *frank and useful controversy*, but to place them in a *false light*, and to solve them by *sophisms*.

The press has thus excited *confusion* in the *most upright minds*, has shaken the most firm convictions, and produced in the midst of society a confusion of principles, which lends itself to the most fatal attempts. It is by anarchy in doctrines that it paves the way for anarchy in the State. It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition, that of publicity. What is strange, but what may be said with truth, is, that there is *no publicity in France*, taking this word in its just and strict sense. In this state of things, facts, when they are not entirely fictitious, do not combat the knowledge of several millions of readers, except mutilated and disfigured in the most odious manner. A thick cloud, raised by the journals, conceals the truth, and in some measure intercepts the light between the Government and the people. The kings, your predecessors, Sire, always loved to communicate with their subjects. This is a satisfaction which the press has not thought fit that your Majesty should enjoy.

A *licentiousness*, which has passed all bounds, has, in fact, not respected, even the most so

lemn occasions, either the express will of the King, or the words pronounced from the Throne. Some have been misunderstood and misinterpreted, the others have been the subject of perfidious commentaries or of bitter derision. It is thus that the last act of the royal power, the Proclamation, was discredited by the public men before it was known by the electors.

This is not all: the press tends to no less than to subjugate the sovereignty and to invade the powers of the State. The pretended organ of public opinion, it aspires to direct the debates of the two Chambers; it is incontestable that it brings into them the weight of an influence no less fatal than decisive. This domination has assumed, especially within these two or three years, in the Chamber of the Deputies, a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. We have seen in this interval of time the Journals pursue with their insults, and their outrages, the members whose votes appear to them uncertain or suspected. Too often, Sire, the freedom of debate in that Chamber has sunk under the reiterated blows of the Press.

The conduct of the *Opposition Journals*, in the most recent circumstances, cannot be characterised in terms less severe. After having themselves called forth an Address derogatory to the prerogative of the throne, they have not feared to re-establish as a principle, the election of the 221 Deputies whose work it is; and yet your Majesty repulsed this address as offensive; you had publicly blamed the refusal of concurrence which was expressed in it; you had announced your immutable resolution to defend the rights of your crown, which were so openly compromised. The periodical Journals have paid no regard to this; on the contrary, they have taken it upon them to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your Majesty will decide whether this presumptuous attack shall remain longer unpunished.

But of all the excesses of the press the most serious, perhaps, remains to be pointed out. From the very beginning of that expedition, the glory of which throws so pure and so durable a splendour on the noble crown of France, the press has criticised with unheard-of violence the causes, the means, the preparations, the chances of success. Insensible to the national honour, it was not its fault if our flag did not remain degraded by the insults of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity, it has not been its fault if Europe has not remained subject to a cruel slavery and a disgraceful tribute.

This was not enough. By a treachery which our laws might have reached, the press has eagerly published all the secrets of the armament, brought to the knowledge of foreigners the state of our forces, the number of our troops, and that of our ships; they pointed out the stations, the means to be employed to surmount the variability of the winds, and, to approach the coast. Every thing, even the place of landing, was divulged, as if to give the enemy more certain means of defence; and, a thing unheard-of among civi-

lised people, the press has not hesitated, by false alarms on the dangers to be incurred, to cause discouragement in the army, and point out to its hatred the Commander of the enterprise. If, however, as it were, excited the soldiers to raise against him the standard of revolt, or to desert their colours. This is what the organs of a party which pretends to be national have dared to do.

What it dares to do every day in the interior kingdom, tends to no less than to disperse the elements of public peace, to dissolve the bonds of society, and evidently to make the ground tremble under our feet. Let us not fear to disclose here the whole extent of our evils, in order the better to appreciate the whole extent of our resources. A system of defamation, organised on a great scale, and directed with unequalled perseverance, reaches, either near at hand or at a distance, the most humble of the agents of the Government. None of your subjects, Sire, is secure from an insult, if he receives from his Sovereign the least mark of confidence or satisfaction. A vast net thrown over France envelops all the public functionaries; placed in a constant state of accusation, they seem to be in a manner lost from civil society, only those are spared whose fidelity wavers, only those are praised whose fidelity gives way; the others are marked by the faction to be in the sequel, without doubt, sacrificed to popular vengeance.

The periodical press has not displayed less ardour in pursuing with its poisoned darts religion and its priests. Its object is, and always will be, to root out of the heart of the people even the last germ of religious sentiment. Sire, do not doubt that it will succeed in this, by attacking the foundation of the press, by poisoning the sources of public morals, and by covering the Ministers of the Altars with derision and contempt.

No strength, it must be confessed, is able to resist a dissolving power so active as the press. At all times, when it has been freed from its fetters, it has made an irruption and invasion in the State. One cannot but be singularly struck with the similitude of its effects during these last fifteen years, notwithstanding the change of circumstances, and notwithstanding the changes of the men who have figured on the political stage. Its destiny, in a word, is to recommence the Revolution, the principles of which it so loudly proclaims. Placed and re-placed, at various intervals, under the yoke of the Censorship, it has always resumed its liberty only to recommence its interrupted work. In order to continue it with the more success, it has been found an active auxiliary in the departmental press, which, engaging in combat local jealousies and hatreds, striking terror into the minds of timid men, and harassing authority by endless intrigues, has exercised a decisive influence on the elections.

These last effects, Sire, are transitory; but effects more durable are observed in the manners and in the character of the nation; an ardent, lying, and passionate spirit of contention. The school of scandal and licentious-

ness has produced in it important changes and profound alterations; it gives a *false direction to people's minds*; it fills them with prejudices, *diverts them from serious studies*, retards them in the progress of the sciences and the arts, excites among us a fermentation which is constantly increasing, maintains even in the bosoms of our families fatal dissensions; and might, by degrees, throw us back into barbarism.

Against so many evils, engendered by the periodical press, *both law and justice are equally obliged to confess their want of power*. It would be superfluous to inquire into the causes which have weakened the power of repression, and have insensibly made it an ineffectual weapon in the hands of the authorities. It is sufficient to appeal to experience and to show the present state of things. *Judicial forms* do not easily lend themselves to an *effectual repression*. This truth has long since struck reflecting minds. It has lately become still more evident. To satisfy the wants which caused its institution, the repression ought to be *prompt and strong*. It has been *slow, weak*, and almost null. When it interferes, the mischief is already done, and the punishment, far from repairing it, only adds to the scandal of the discussion.

The *judicial prosecutor* is *wearied out*; but the seditious press is never weary. The one stops because there is too much to prosecute; the other multiplies its strength by multiplying its transgressions.

In these divers circumstances, the prosecutions have had their appearances of activity or of relaxation. But what does the press care for zeal or lukewarmness in the *public prosecutor*? It seeks, in multiplying its excesses, for the certainty of their impunity.

The insufficiency, or even the *inutility* of the institutions established in the laws now in force is demonstrated by facts. It is equally proved by facts that the public safety is *endangered by the licentiousness of the press*. It is time, it is more than time, to arrest its ravages.

Give ear, Sir, to the prolonged cry of indignation and of terror which rises from all parts of your kingdom. All *peaceable men*, the *upright*, the *friends of order*, stretch to your Majesty their *suppliant hands*. All implore you to preserve them from the return of the calamities by which their fathers or themselves have been so severely afflicted. These alarms are too real not to be listened to; *these wishes are too legitimate not to be regarded*.

There is but one means to satisfy them; it is, to return to the Charter.

If the terms of the 8th Article are ambiguous, its *spirit* is manifest. It is certain that the Charter has not given the liberty of the journals and of periodical writings. The right of publishing *our personal opinions* certainly does not imply the right of publishing the *opinions of others*. The one is the use of a faculty which the law might leave free, or subject to restriction; the other is a *commercial speculation*, which, like others, and more than others, *supposes the superscure of public authority*.

The intentions of the Charter on this sub-

ject are accurately explained in the law of October 21, 1814, which is in some measure the appendix to it. This is the less doubtful, as this law was presented to the Chambers on the 5th of July; that is to say, one month after the promulgation of the Charter.

In 1819, at the time when a contrary system prevailed in the Chambers, it was openly proclaimed there that the periodical press was not governed by the enactment of the 8th Article. This truth is, besides, attested by the very laws which have imposed upon the journals the *condition of giving securities*.

Now, Sir, nothing remains but to inquire how this return to the Charter, and to the law of the 21st October 1814, is to be effected. The gravity of the present juncture has solved this question.

We must not deceive ourselves; we are no longer in the ordinary condition of a Representative Government. The principle on which it has been established could not remain entire amidst the political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated even into our laws, tends to put itself in the place of the legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of the elections by means of the Journals, and the assistance of numerous affiliations. It has paralysed, as far as depended on it, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the Crown; that of dissolving the Elective Chamber. By this very thing the Constitution of the State is shaken. Your Majesty alone retains the power to replace and consolidate it upon its foundation.

The right, as well as the duty, of assuring its maintenance, is the inseparable attribute of the Sovereignty. No government on earth would remain standing, if it had not the right to provide for its own security. *This power existed before the laws*, because it is in the nature of things. These, Sir, are maxims which have in their favour the sanction of time, and the assent of all the publicists of Europe.

But these maxims have another sanction, still more positive, that of the Charter itself. The 14th article has invested your Majesty with a sufficient power, not, undoubtedly, to change our institutions, but to consolidate them, and render them more stable.

Circumstances of imperious necessity do not permit the exercise of this supreme power to be any longer deferred. The moment is come to have recourse to measures which are in the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, or the resources of which had been exhausted in vain.

These resources, Sir, your Ministers who are to secure the success of them, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are that justice will remain the strongest.

We are, with the most profound respect, Sir, your Majesty's most humble and most faithful subjects,

• • (Signed)

PRINCE POLIGNAC, MONTHEL,
BARON D'HAUSSEZ, CHAVILLAUZE,
CT. DE GUERNON, CT. DE PEYRONNET,
BANVILLE, BARON CAPELLE.

Indignation would be thrown away upon this tissue of impudent falsehoods and tyrannical sentiments, which amount to no more than this: "We cannot get back to the old state of luxury and insolence, while a starving people toil for us; we cannot, as the Aristocracy do in England, get 650,000*l.* a year out of the taxes, amongst 113 of us; we are prevented from doing this by an honest press and by our present mode of choosing Deputies; and, therefore we call upon you to set the law at defiance, and to destroy the honest press and the present mode of choosing Deputies." Surely "Prince" Polignac was long enough in England to know how to do the thing better than this! Our great men do not go to work in this open brazen manner; they bring a *green bag*, say they have some papers in it, showing that horrible plots are on foot, and that they wish to submit them to a *secret committee*; and if called on to say *whom they have got the papers from*, they answer, "O, fie! What! expose dutiful subjects to the vengeance of the *disaffected*!" Having got the "*Secret Committee*," which *they themselves select*, they make their "*report*" to our Houses, or Chambers; and then they go to work, and, on the *report alone*, pass laws to snit the exigency; and nobody is ever told what are the contents of the green-bags, or from whom those contents came! A great part of the people believe, that there is *something* very horrible in the *bags*; but nobody ever knows *what*!

Why then did not Prince Polignac, who had so often seen this passing in England, follow the example of Sidmouth and Castlereagh? Why, the poor Prince would have done it, to be sure; his heart was good, I dare say; but poor man, he had not the implements to work with. A carpenter may know how to make a gate, but take from him his saw, hammer, chisel, and nails, and he cannot make a gate any more than a tailor can. If, indeed, the Prince had had a Chamber of Deputies *à l'Angloise*, he might have had a green-bag *à l'Angloise*; if his members had been sent after the manner of Reigate, Bletchingly, Hazlemere, and indeed any other place,

in his more than half-native land, he need not have been compelled to present himself, with only eight or ten others, to be pelted out of France. As far as relates to the *language* and the *sentiments* of the report, the Prince is, as I am now about to show, a wonderfully apt imitator of Sidmouth and Castlereagh; and if he had had a Gatton or Old-Sarum assembly to deal with, he would, I dare say, not have omitted the green-bags; and most likely, if he had succeeded in making the election districts in France a sort of rotten boroughs, he would, *next time*, have had as elegant a brace of green-bags as ever was borne by a Secretary of State.

And now, may it please your Majesty, I come to matter on which every English mind ought to dwell. These acts of the Bourbon are called *tyrannical*; he is called a *tyrant*; he has been *driven from the throne* for having approved of these acts. The acts and the actor have been, and are, thus characterized in *England* as well as in *France*; and I have seen no public print, and have heard of no person, pretending to deny that the accusation is *just*. Well, then, let us now look back at what *took place in England in the year 1817*; and, if I fairly describe it, both *France* and *England* will be able to judge of the *difference* between the proceedings in *France* and the proceedings in *England*; of the *difference* between the *ordinances* of Charles X., and the *Acts* of the Parliament of *England*. If any one ask *why* make such *comparison*, since those Acts of Parliament are now no more? Why, then, talk of Charles's ordinances? Those Acts are *precedents*; his ordinances never will. The Acts were *executed*, the ordinances were *resisted*. Besides, I make no comparison; I only relate the facts; the world will make the comparison, and to afford the means of making it is a duty, which gratitude to the brave French people calls upon me to perform.

In the year 1793, Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) presented to the House of Commons, of which he was then a member, a petition, complaining, that *one hundred and fifty four men* (peers and great commoners) put, by their own will and power, a *decided majority into the*

House of Commons, and that therefore the people were, in fact, not *represented at all*, and this he offered to prove at the bar, but the house would not let him do it;—that, in 1809, Mr. MADDOCKS (a member) charged two of the ministers with having *sold a seat* in the house to Mr. QUINTIN DICK, on *condition that he should vote with them*, and that, he having, upon one occasion, voted against them, they called on him to *quit the seat*, which he did; that Mr. MADDOCKS made a motion to bring witness to the bar to prove this charge, and that the House voted that they **WOULD NOT HEAR THE WITNESSES**, there being only *eighty-five votes* for the hearing, and *three hundred and ten* against it, and that the main argument against the motion was, that the "*practice was as notorious as the sun at noon day*;" that it was, indeed, perfectly notorious that seats were bought and sold; that the people, generally speaking, had no voice at all in the elections, that, in many places, there was never any voting at all, and that the whole thing was in the hands of the one hundred and fifty-four men, mentioned in the petition presented by Mr Grey; that, in 1817, the people of England and Scotland, seeing that the Americans had a free system of election, and seeing that the French also had a mode of election which gave the people *real representatives*, began to bestir themselves in order to obtain a real representation for themselves; that, with this view, the people met, in divers parts of England and Scotland, and agreed to present petitions to the House of Commons, praying for such a reform as might give them a real representation; that about a million and a half of men signed these petitions, and that none of these petitioners, in any part of the kingdom, were guilty of any riot, or breach of peace; that, as soon as these petitions were presented, *green bags* were (by Sidmouth and Castlereagh) brought into the two Houses of Parliament, "*secret committees*" were appointed to examine the contents of the bags, and, in both Houses, Reports were made, suggesting measures against the freedom of *speech*, and of the *press*; that from

these reports, and from the speeches made in the two Houses, Prince Polignac seems to have taken the matter of *his report*, for, that these reports and speeches complained of the effect produced on the minds of the people by the press, complained that it had changed their character, made them discontented, irreligious, restless, and disobedient; that it misled them, perverted their reason and judgment, that it relaxed all the bonds of society, and, in short, produced the greater part of the evils which Polignac ascribes to the press of France; that, as the prince says, that the *laws of France* "*cannot reach the offenders*," and "*that the public prosecutor is wearied out*," so Sidmouth said, that the "*law officers* could find no means of checking the publications by law," and that, as the latter wanted power to *supply the place of law*, so Polignac calls for "*measures beyond the limits of the law*;" that, as to the measures, in the two cases, *vast indeed is the difference*; that, in France, the ordinances *put an end to* the liberty of the press openly and frankly, leaving the printers and publishers, *persons under the guardianship of the law, as before*; but that, in England, the parliament (constituted as we have seen) passed an Act, by which the ministers were empowered to seize *any man that they might choose to say that they suspected of treasonable practices*; to shut him up in jail, or dungeon, on their own warrant and authority, not only without commitment stating his offence, but without telling him what his offence was, or who was his accuser; further, to send him to any jail, however distant from his home; to remove him at their pleasure from one jail to another, and from one dungeon to another; to prevent him from seeing friends, wife, children, parents, and all persons whatsoever; to prevent him from having the use of pen, ink and paper; to keep him in such jail, or dungeon, as long as they pleased; and to prevent even the sheriff or magistrates of the county from seeing him; that, in virtue of this act, great numbers of the petitioners, some of *them printers, writers, or venders of publications*, were seized, dragged from their

homes and families, crammed into jails, or dungeons, at hundreds of miles from those homes, and treated with all the rigour exercised towards the greatest of criminals; that some of these innocent men lost their health, others their lives, and that all were reduced to beggary; that several of them, when set at liberty, found that their wives had died while they were in the dungeons; that others found that their children, or some of them, had died; that not one man imprisoned under this act WAS EVER BROUGHT TO TRIAL; amongst these victims was a printer of Manchester, named WILLIAM OGDEN, aged seventy-four years, and the father of seventeen children, who, upon getting out of the dungeon, in 1818, told, in a petition to the House of Commons, his sad tale, in the following words:—

“On Sunday, the 9th March, 1817, I was arrested, early in the morning, by warrant from Lord Sidmouth, charging me to be suspected of high treason, which was in every respect false, as the event has proved. I was immediately conveyed to prison in Manchester, and placed in confinement among felons, till Tuesday, after three o'clock in the afternoon; nor had I any allowance either in meat or drink for the whole time save a threepenny pie, ordered, at my request, by Cor. SYLVESTER, a magistrate, which I eagerly ate, just before I set off for London. I was ironed before the said magistrate, with a manacle not less than 30lbs. weight, and treated in the most taunting manner. On my applying to be confronted with my accuser, I was treated with insult, and posted off to London, as before mentioned, and lodged in Horsemonger-lane jail. The very ponderous irons I was loaded with, broke my belly, and caused an hernia to ensue, about eight o'clock in the evening, when going to bed; and as it was impossible for me to alarm the jailer, I remained in that dreadful state for more than fifteen hours in the most excruciating pain and torture. On the turnkey appearing next morning, two surgeons were sent for by Mr. WALTERS, the governor, who, after using such means as seemed proper, found nothing would do but

“the knife, and they apprehended, from my age (74) that I should die under the operation. The pain was so great that I could endure it no longer, and therefore, at all hazards, I insisted on the operation being resorted to, which continued for one hour and forty minutes. Praised be God, and the skill of my surgeons, I survived it, contrary, however, to the surgeons' expectation, and much weakened in my constitution. Mr. DIXON, the surgeon, and his partner, performed the operation in the infirmary of the prison. The wound in my groin was above seven inches in length, and Mr. DIXON had my entrails out of my belly in his fingers like a link of sausages; a circumstance on which, I learn, a Right Honorable Gentleman was afterwards so jocular and entertaining in the House of Commons. Mr. WALTERS, the governor, was present during the operation, and he, as well as the surgeons, can attest the truth of my statement. Thus have I, at the AGE OF SEVENTY-FOUR, been torn from my family, crushed almost to death with irons, suffered near nine months' solitary confinement, and ruined in my employ, as a printer; and I declare before God, who is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, that I had done no wrong. I may add, that I am the father of seventeen children, whom I have supported and educated, at my own expense, by my own labour; and I may truly say, that I have always been a bringer to the general stock, and not like he who made a jest of my sufferings, been a taker from it during his whole life.”

That, when this petition was before the House of Commons, CANNING made the jest to which OGDEN alludes, and as the reporters stated, the members of that House cheered the jest amidst a roar of laugh or; that neither Ogden nor any other of the sufferers ever obtained any redress or compensation; and that in 1818, an Act of this same Parliament was passed to protect, to bear harmless, to screen from all legal proceedings and all punishment whatsoever, all persons in authority, who might have overstepped the bounds of even this terrible Act; and lastly, that these two

Acts are now on the statute book, to be *precedents* for any future occasion.

Here are the *facts*; there are the ordinances of him whom the English as well as the French call a tyrant; here is a fair description of these Acts of Parliament. Let the world make the *comparison*. And now, having endeavoured to state clearly the nature and character of the events in France, I shall proceed to consider what will be their probable effect ON US, by which I mean our government and political state. For nobody can be weak enough to imagine, that we shall not be greatly affected, in some way or other, by this *great change* in France. I do not proceed upon the supposition that the *Republic*, by name, will be restored; but I am quite sure that it will be in *substance*. The *tri-coloured flag* is enough for me: if that flag keep up, *reform in England is inevitable*: if that flag, that outward and visible sign of perpetual hostility to aristocratical injustice, keep up, reform must come to England, from some beginning or other; and the wise way would be to make it *now*, when it can be done without a struggle.

The example of America is powerful, but we only *hear* of that: the other we shall *see*: it is a mighty, a populous, a rich, a learned nation, admired for its valiant achievements, and now more admired than ever, this last act being the most noble exploit ever performed by a people. A people unarmed, *disarmed*, in fact, a people reposing in the lap of peace, beset on every side and divided in the midst by an organized government and a powerful army and watched by spies and *gens-d'armes* at every turn, rising all at once, baring their breasts to the sabres and the bullets and the cannon balls, upon the first violation of their rights! Taking their old Republican motto, "*Vivre libre, ou mourir!*" "Live free, or die!" and acting to the very letter, up to that motto! Such a spectacle must have and will have a great effect on all the nations in the world.

It should be remembered by every body, and particularly by your Majesty, that the war against the French Republic was a *war sought by us*, that is, by our government; and that the object of

it was "*to prevent the contagion of French principles*." Now, what were those principles? that there ought to be *no over-bearing Aristocracy, no tithes, or established church*, that all men should be *equal in the eye of the law*, that *no law ought to be passed without the assent of the people at large through representatives freely chosen by them*. These were the "*French principles*," and without asking *how many* men there are in England who reject these principles *now*, I may venture to assert, that we shall not go to war *again* "to prevent the contagion" of these, or of any other French principles. Yet, it must be evident to every one, that we cannot *remain* as we are, if the *tri-coloured flag* continue to wave in the air.

One great and constant argument against *reform* has been, ever since the restoration of the Bourbons, that all such efforts were vain; for that, after all that the French had done, after all their surprising sacrifices and feats of valour, they were obliged, even for their own peace and safety, to return to *their former state*. This was not true; for they had got rid of tithes, corvées, gabelles, seigniorial courts, game-laws, accursed local parliaments, and a thousand other degrading and tantalizing curses, to get rid of either of which was worth an age of war. But, they had the *Bourbons back*; they had the *white flag* back; they bore the outward signs of re-subjection; and, on this circumstance the enemies of our rights and liberties founded an argument, not to be answered by every one in a moment. But, NOW, what have these enemies to say? Here is the *tri-coloured flag* again, and that, too, in company with sober freedom, elegant manners, the arts in perfection, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, all flourishing. And, to suppose, that a people capable of what the world has witnessed within the last twelve days are unfit to form and live under a wise and strong government; to suppose, that they are *unfit* to estimate and enjoy freedom united with order and law, is the most unreasonable, nay, the most impudent, thought that ever came into the mind of man. The QUARTERLY REVIEW says, that the French are by no means adapted to a

"government like ours;" which is perfectly true! This government, such as it now is, is *fit for nobody but Irish, Scotch, and English!* Nobody else is *worthy* of it; and this they feel, I suppose; for the people have, in every part of the world, rejected the offer of it, and even looked upon such offer as an affront.

From the nature of things, a more intimate connexion will now grow up between the *people* of England and those of France. The *people* have been kept asunder for *thirty-seven years*. For twenty-two by war, and for the rest of the time by the sort and character of the French government. The English that have gone to France have been, for the most part, *tax-eaters* of one sort or another; all on the side of the Bourbons; all full of insolence; all wishing the *people* to be kept down, all *hated* by the people, and *hating* them in return. Men that could have assisted in uniting the people of the two countries have kept at home. This will not be the case *now*; men of intelligence will go to France, and the two countries will *know one another well*; a thing to be prevented solely by *war*, and to think, even to *think*, of that, no man in England is mad enough. The intercourse will, therefore, be free, and the effects of it will be felt in various ways, and particularly as a cause of increasing the necessity of parliamentary reform.

This revolution in France has not, like ours in 1688, been made by a parcel of *aristocrats*, who hold lands once belonging to the Church and poor, and who are seeking fresh grants. It has been made by the *people* themselves, and that, too, for the express and sole purpose of preventing their rulers from robbing them of *their right to be represented in their legislative assembly*. It is a revolution made to *prevent borough-mongering*. It is a revolution made to prevent Gattons and Old Saruins and Petershells and Reigates from rising up in France. There was one country free before; now there are two; one far off, the other near; one for men to work and keep their gains in, the other for men to live in on what they have gained, without being compelled to yield up two-thirds of it in taxes, to be given to those who ride over them.

The mild and coaxing language of the *Courier* newspaper is quite enough to convince any body, that your Majesty's ministers are in great *embarrassment*; that they are *astounded*; that this a stroke wholly *unexpected*; that they see the danger of the thrust, and do not know how to parry it. The arrival of the ambassador of the *new* government *à la tricolor* will put them to the test. Oh! how will they get down this bolus! That will be the day of jubilee for the Radical Reformers! What! receive the *tricolor*, after all the rejoicing under the *white flag*! After the *trampling* upon it, and after *pulling it down* on the *Serpentine River*! and after publishing a fine quarto book to perpetuate the exploit! To live to see this day is well worth a whole life of suffering up to this day.

When I before addressed your Majesty, I mentioned the *appearances* in France, but did not imagine that the upshot was so very near at hand. I assured your Majesty, that from one end to the other of England, all who do not live upon the taxes, were anxious for the success of the French people; and I can *now* assure you that never was joy so great and so general as that which that success has excited: it descends to the very labourers; and all understand that the French have been fighting for the right of *choosing their representatives*, thereby to save themselves from being loaded and broken down with taxes. Here is a king driven away, and a great army unable to protect him, only because he wanted to *prevent the people from freely choosing their representatives*.

What a *lesson*! I do most anxiously hope that it will not be thrown away; that it will be seriously thought of; that it will produce the proper effect on others, as I am sure it will on your Majesty, to whom I before took the liberty to recommend the calling of the Parliament together for the express and sole purpose of making a *real reform in itself*, which I now still more earnestly recommend, being convinced that that is the only means of preventing troubles and calamities, to prevent which has always been my most anxious desire. I beseech your Majesty, who has lauda-

bly issued a proclamation for the suppression of *Vice*, to cast your eyes at this moment, on the scenes which are exhibited in France, and those exhibited in England. In the latter, bribery, corruption, lying, perjury, fraud, drunkenness, every-thing that is false, sordid, beastly, and infamous, disfigures society, and disgraces the land, and this, too, under pretence of an *exercise of the rights of election*; those rights (where at all possessed) being objects of sale or of barter as notoriously and undisguisedly as goods in a shop, or being exercised at the command of masters as much as are the labours of the ox or the ass. Look, I beseech your Majesty, at the bawling, guzzling, gormandizing groups of Englishmen, literally selling their birth-right and that of the rest of the community for messes of drink and of food; look, I humbly implore your Majesty, at these your degraded subjects, and then look at the gallant people of France, pouring out their blood like water, rather than give up a particle of those same rights, which are, as before described, sold or bartered in England for sordid gain, and in many cases, for the mere gratification of beastly appetite. And, if your Majesty seriously contemplate this contrast, so honourable to France and so disgraceful to England, I trust that we may hope for your gracious interference, in order to wipe from our country such deep and signal infamy; and in this hope, I remain

Your Majesty's dutiful subject,

WM. COBBETT.

DINNER

BY THE REFORMERS OF ENGLAND

IN HONOUR OF

THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

ON Monday, the 16th of this month of August, there will be a DINNER, as under-mentioned, Mr. COBBETT IN THE CHAIR; at which dinner it is intended to take into consideration, and to agree to, an ADDRESS FROM THE RADICAL REFORMERS OF ENGLAND TO THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF FRANCE, congratulating them on their glorious triumph over the execrable principle of boroughmonger-

ing, and tendering to them our warmest thanks for having thus, by their virtue and valour, asserted the undoubted right of a people freely to choose those who are empowered to impose taxes upon them, without the full enjoyment of which right there can be nothing worthy of the names of liberty or of property. The dinner is to be at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street; the price of the dinner will be 10s. 6d. for each person, including one bottle of wine; the hour of dining, five o'clock precisely. Tickets to be had at the *Bar of the Tavern*, and at the Register Office, No. 153, Fleet Street. Gentlemen in the country, who intend to be at the dinner, may secure tickets by writing to friends in town.

SUBSCRIPTION

FOR the relief of the brave Frenchmen who have recently been wounded in fighting for freedom of election and of the press, and for the widows and children of such of them as have been killed by their late tyrant's soldiers.

I have set on foot this subscription from a sense not of mere humanity, but of duty and particularly of *gratitude*, being firmly convinced, that the brave people of Paris have shed their blood, not for their own rights alone, but for ours also, it being manifest to me that they have, in one single day, done more for the cause of reform, than has ever been done before. I have the names of twenty reformers, who, amongst them, engage to pay towards the fund, upwards of a hundred pounds. At the dinner, on the 16th instant, the names of the gentlemen composing a committee to manage the fund, will be announced. In the meanwhile, I beg all friends in the country, or in London, to make collections in their several circles, and to keep the money till the names of the committee be announced. This committee will receive the money, transmit it to Paris, and give an account of the receipt and disposal of it at Paris. How often have we been called upon to subscribe to reward those who fought against freedom! Shall we not, then, do all we can to show our sympathy with those who have gallantly and

voluntarily bled in *fighting for freedom*! Let every *sincere reformer* remember, that the men and women of Paris have now bled for him and his children.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

MR. ATWOOD OF BIRMINGHAM,

And the other sham-reformers of that Town.

THE moment I heard of your having invited the *shoykoy* Burdett to Birmingham, I *knew* you to be a *sham* yourself. Since his exhibition *there*, he has made another *here*, the account of which I take from the Courier newspaper of the 31st July, and I subjoin it for the amusement of the *sound* men, the *real* reformers of Birmingham, who will now see what sort of a fellow you wished to give them as a *leader*. What, send a hundred miles to get the *countenance* of a *leader* who is compelled to run into a *church* to get beyond the reach of the rotten cabbages and old turnip-tops *thrown at him by his constituents*; and that, too, when *not opposed by any-body*! It was the spontaneous act of the people, who felt insulted that the fellow had the impudence to present himself before them. "*HUME kept at the back of the crowd*;" and you will find, in the end, that *you* must keep at the "*back of the crowd* too." Your real views are *now* manifest; you are just such another *sham* as Burdett himself. Westminster has told the nation what *he* is, and Birmingham will soon tell it what *you* are. I am only sorry that you were not here to have your share of the *cabbages and turnips*.

WM. COBBETT.

"The election for Westminster commenced this morning at twelve o'clock, and concluded by twenty minutes before one. Instead of having hustings, and places for clerks, there was only a small platform in front of the church. Everything was very quiet; no sign of opposition, and no attendance at the commencement worthy of being called a crowd. The

"candidates and their friends collected at the Grand Hotel, and thence came in procession to the platform. The only entertainment created, previously to the arrival of the larger professors, was by the exhibition of a grand placard, saying, 'Vote for Dr. —, the *real Reformer of the Constitution*;' their mentioning this '*Reformer's*' address. It created much laughter.

"The crowds then rapidly increased, large bodies coming in different directions, pressing to the front of the hustings most boisterously.

"Sir F. Burdett, and Mr. Hobhouse, attended by the High Bailiff, (Arthur Morris, Esq.) on ascending the platform, were received with mingled applause and hisses; and after they had subsided, there were several calls of, '*Off, off*.' Colonel Jones and Mr. Hume were with Sir F. Burdett; but Mr. Hume kept at the back of the crowd.

"The writ, &c. were then read, during which time there was an immense deal of discordant and unfriendly uproar. The hooting was chiefly directed against the candidates, there being frequent calls of '*No Select Vestries*;' '*No sham Reformers*;' after which the scene was varied, till the speaking commenced, by the tossing about of sundry cabbages removed from a cart close at hand, by various free and independent electors of Westminster."

"Mr. LYNDON then proposed Sir F. Burdett, but amidst so much uproar and yelling, that not one word of what he uttered was heard.

"Mr. PURSE seconded the nomination of Sir F. Burdett, amidst a like compliment.

"Mr. DE VEER proposed Mr. Hobhouse, but he was wholly inaudible in consequence of the tremendous uproar.

"Sir F. BURDETT then attempted to address the Meeting, but such was the tremendous uproar, that though our reporter was within four or five yards of Sir F. Burdett, not one word from him could be collected. The scene became still more riotous as Sir F. Burdett proceeded, and ill-naturedly so. It was the most noisy ever wit-

"nessed even at Covent-garden. Then "confusion was rendered "worse confounded" by the breaking down of a temporary hustings in front of the platform for spectators. Hundreds were hurled down, and literally tumbled one over the other; and then there were most violent and dangerous scrambles to regain their legs and their hats. This scene was loudly huzzaed! Sir F. Burdett continued his speech, but the *greater were his personal exertions to be heard, the louder were all sorts of noisy interruptions*. Cries of '*You're good for nothing; let us have Hume.*' 'You have got two faces, though only one hat,' &c. *Several cabbages, lumps of green tops, and smashed potatoes,* were at this time thrown, not only amongst the crowd, but at the persons on the hustings. They fell thickly around '*Westminster's Pride!*' A few sentences at last were occasionally heard, in which he eulogised the efforts made to return his learned friend Mr. Brougham for Yorkshire, applauded his Majesty, declaring him to be the most popular Monarch that ever sat on the English throne, and rejoiced in the efforts made by France to maintain her Constitution. These sentences, however, were heard very disjointedly, and, eventually, the noise again became still louder, amidst which Sir F. Burdett bowed and retired, and he was then *most vociferously and jeeringly huzzaed*.

"Mr. HOBHOUSE next essayed to be heard, but many exclaimed, '*What we refused to the Master, must be denied to the man.*' Though his voice is much shriller than that of Sir Francis Burdett, words now and then, and at times half a sentence, only could be heard, and that by the most violent efforts on the part of the speaker. He appeared to dwell strongly on the glorious efforts made by the electors of Westminster to rescue themselves from Court thralldom, on the pleasure he felt at having been so honourably returned, and he declared, that if again returned, he would again endeavour to do his duty. But these sentiments were far from being distinctly heard, *even at a dis-*

tance of a yard or two from the orator. His address was very short, and he bowed and retired, as he had proceeded, amidst the most deafening and appalling yells, variegated with occasional, but somewhat more *un-ceremonious showers of the aforementioned different vegetables*.

"Colonel JONES next appeared to be desirous of addressing the meeting, but "The HIGH BAILIFF proceeded, *pro forma*, as no third candidate was even hinted at, to put the question whether they would have Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse to represent them in Parliament? The proposition called forth the most boisterous uproar. He, however, afterwards *declared them to have been duly elected*.

"The party on the hustings then quickly turned round *to retreat with all convenient speed from the platform*; and there was then a most tremendous rush to get to the steps leading from the platform. The electors of Westminster, however, then and there assembled, were too prompt for them. The moment the backs of the Members and their friends were turned, to *walk off the hustings*, they were *greeted with an immense volley of cabbages, bunches of turnip-tops, &c.*; and the volleys were often repeated long before the heroes of the scene and the obnoxious parties could get off the hustings and under the porch. They fell thickly on the heads and shoulders of the platform company. Every third man seemed to have provided himself with some vegetable; several cart-loads must have been destroyed; but in order that none of the ammunition might be lost, several of the populace, by a *coup d'assaut*, took possession of the platform and hurled back the missiles. The crowd were most grateful for this, and made active use of the *restored provision*. *Showers of cabbages attended the company even under the portico*, and as the Members, &c., entered the Church, the party *retreating that way*, instead of going out as they came at the side of the platform. Colonel JONES, however, remained in front of the hustings, and he became the mark for all to fire the cab-

"bages at; and he bravely withstood
 "the pelting of these pitiless storms for
 "some time, but eventually he was
 "obliged to retire, and was followed as
 "long as he remained within sight by
 "the greens."

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ON the 1st of September I shall publish No. I. of *The History of the Life and Reign of GEORGE IV.* When that is done, I shall go back to the earliest times, and publish, in similar Numbers, on the 1st of every month, a COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A true one; not a romance. The History of GEORGE IV. will be the end, of course, unless I should outlive another King. I begin with this last reign, because we want it, and particularly the history of our poor, unfortunate, and excellent friend, QUEEN CAROLINE, who, by her known hatred of corruption, gave the borough-villains a better blow than they had had for many, many years. They have, in fact, never been "their own men" since. These incomparable villains (for what is equal to their villany) shall have their due, their full due, in my history, which shall show how they got their possessions; and enable the nation to judge of the right that they have to keep them. Our histories are romances, written by pensioned and bribed slaves. It is high time that the people knew the truth; high time that they saw the degradation into which they have fallen, and the causes of it. This task was reserved for me; and, God giving me life and health, I will perform it. The Numbers will come out monthly, price 8d., as low as I can sell it, with any thing like compensation to myself; and I do this, because I wish people in even low circumstances to read it.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its plainness, its simplicity. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving clear definitions: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

In a few days will be published,

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF
 FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

From Paris, through Lyons, to Avignon and Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Rome, Naples, Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Baie;

AND
 By Rome, Terni, Foligno, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Milan, over the Alps, by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
 From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and condition of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian.*" Price 6s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "Introduction" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself; and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

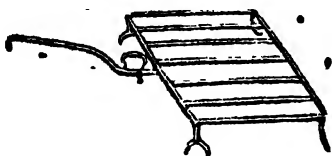
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"Instead of abusing the French, the English ought to endeavour to imitate them."
—PAINE: RIGHTS OF MAN.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER;

*On the glorious transactions in France,
and on the state of the English Boroughmongers and their bands.*

Kensington, 10th August, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

You who mourned with me, in 1814, when the insolent and base and rapacious boroughmongers and their bands of plunderers were exulting at the fall of freedom before the hosts (of whom CASTLEREAGH gave us the muster-roll) of 1,011,000 bayonets; you who saw the base wretches strutting about our streets and swaggering along our roads with the WHITE-COCKADE in their hats, and tied to the heads of their horses; you who had to be TAXED for the sham-fight on the SERPENTINE RIVER, where the French fleet was defeated and burnt, and where the TRI-COLOURED FLAG was hauled down in disgrace; you, who participated with me in the sorrows of that day, will participate with me in the joy of this day: the TRI-COLOURED FLAG again salutes the air; that symbol of the "RIGHTS OF MAN," and particularly of that right of rights, the right of freely choosing those who make the laws, again bids the oppressed not despair, and encourages them to exertion. For the FIRST TIME (ominous to the base boroughmongers!) that flag is streaming on the RIVER THAMES, where, from the top-masts of the French ships, the sight of it glads the hearts of the

burdened people, and fills with malice and fear those of the rapacious boroughmongers and their bands.

This subject has in it so many points of great and deep interest; it comes home to us directly in so many different ways, that I hardly know at what point to begin; every point is so full of interest, and presses on me with such force, that I am at a loss which to prefer. The events in France, as they affect the French themselves, are of deep interest; for who can refrain from exulting in the thought of a great nation, of thirty millions of people, bravely tearing to pieces the trammels that tyranny had prepared for them? Who can refrain from exulting in the thought of this brave nation, that had been overpowered by the combined bayonets of all the rest of Europe, rising again, and in a moment, shaking off the masters that that combination had imposed upon them? Who can refrain from exulting in the thought of this gallant people, who had had their MUSEUMS stripped of the trophies of their wondrous valour, who had been compelled to UN-NAME the bridges of JENA and of AUSTERLITZ, and had seen effaced, by coward hands, every memento of their glory; who can refrain from rejoicing that this same gallant people have again triumphed over aristocratical malice, and have restored the glorious ensigns of their deathless fame?

The insolence of our boroughmongering foes is never to be forgotten. When they had seen the tri-coloured flag pulled down and trampled in the dirt, they thought that they might, for the future, look upon us as dogs, or beasts of burden, and their language and manners corresponded with their savage thoughts. Let them now go and feast on the "FIELD OF WATERLOO," where there is a mound, A HUNDRED FEET HIGH with a LION THIRTY FEET HIGH on the top of it, where there are TRIUMPHAL COLUMNS OF HANOVER and PRUSSIA; where GEORGE IV. was, along with Welling-

H

HUKKARU

LIBRARY.

ton, in 1823, standing on the mound, surveying the spot on which the tri-coloured flag was defeated: let the boroughmongers and their rapacious and base bands NOW go, and, in the fulness of their malice, exult in the thought, that, ON THAT SPOT every freeman in the world received a stab, and every slave an addition to the weight of his chains. Let the boroughmongers go to their "WATERLOO"; but let them go soon, lest they go TOO LATE; for never will the gallant French nation rest contented as long as those insulting and lying monuments remain. Ages of repentance are in store for those, and the descendants of those, who have exulted in so insolent a manner at the affair of the "FIELD OF WATERLOO." Near this field is erected a *grand hotel* to entertain the travelling boroughmongers and their tribes, the *sign* having several *crowned heads* upon it, being called, "LA BELLE ALLIANCE"; or, the "FINE ALLIANCE." Who will bet two to one that this sign is not *already down*? And who will bet one to a hundred, that sign, columns, mound, lion, and all, are not *swept away before this day three years*!

A question of deep interest to us is now under discussion at the seat of triumph and of glory, the city of PARIS, relating, to the *conduct and views of foreign power: in this case*. There is a very able weekly paper, published in London, in *French* (which every young Englishman ought now to learn), called *LE REPRESENTANT DES PEUPLES*; the *REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE*. This paper, which is sold by *RINGWAY* in Piccadilly, by *WILSON* at the Royal Exchange, and others, contains, in the Number of 7th August, observations that every enemy of boroughmongering ought to read. The author is a man of great talents, and of extensive knowledge; and he gives an opinion and states facts, relating to the part that *Prussia, Austria, and England*, have acted in this affair of France. He speaks with the greatest contempt of the feelings and designs of the two former; and with regard to the latter he says, that the *Duke of WELLINGTON* was in-

formed of the intention of the French ministry. He says a great deal more, and all that he says is worthy of attention; but, as the whole truth will soon come out, we need not attempt to fish it out ourselves. Certainly it is curious, that at *one and the same time*, the *PRESS* should have been an object of a *REGULAR ATTACK* in FRANCE, in the NETHERLANDS, and in ENGLAND. It does seem strange, that just at the time when *POLIGNAC* was preparing his *coup d'état* (state-stroke), the Prussians and Austrians should have been *exercising their armies so near to the frontiers of France*, and that the *PRINCE OF WATERLOO* should, just at that same time, have *made the occasion* of saying, in the House of Lords, that England was, if the necessity arose, "*completely prepared for war*." This solemn and official declaration was *wholly uncalled for*; there was nothing in the debate to call it forth. It might be a mere overflowing of eloquence, à l'Irlandoise, but it was *strange*, and very strange it was thought by everybody.

Aye, my friends! And, if the brave French people had *hesitated*; if they had submitted only for *a week*; if the mercenary troops had kept them down only for *one day*, you would have seen the boroughmonger part of the London press, and almost the whole of the *country press* (which is nineteen twentieths of it boroughmongering), *justifying* *POLIGNAC's Ordinances*, abusing the French press and the French people, calling them seditious and rebellious, reviving all the old lies against them, exciting an abhorrence of them here, and even calling for *new measures for curbing our press and for keeping reformers down*. This is what we should have seen; but, the gallant people of France did not hesitate a moment; the laws of the act of tyranny and that of the crushing of the tyrants reached us at *one and the same moment*; the mercenary literary slaves of the malignant and insolent boroughmongers were *astounded*; they were compelled to join in the cry against the tyrants, and thereby to condemn their own rapacious and bribing employers, in the

work of whose final destruction they were thus constrained to concur, by laying before their readers an account of the acts of a people, who had poured out their blood like water, rather than suffer tyrants and their soldiers to rob them of their right of being represented in parliament.

But, now, how will this affair AFFECT us? No tongue, no pen, can describe how it will affect us. Our feelings are our instructors here. Does not every man of you feel differently from what you did twenty days back? Do you not all feel that this event changes the whole face of things? Do not all the hopes of relief from the efforts of the sham-patriots and sham-reformers sink away out of your minds? Do you not, in contemplating this great and wonderful event, feel a sort of shame at having built hopes on the little scratchings of the political mice, who talk about "economical reform;" and do you not laugh at HUME's professed "attachment to the established church", and at BROUGHAM's pledge to advocate LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S REFORM; that is to say, the EXTENDING of corruption, under pretence of putting it down? You, without any reasoning, feel that all this is nonsense; and that there must be, and will be, A TOTAL CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM.

Of all the parties that will be annoyed by this grand event, none will be so much annoyed as the SHAMS. Burdett, Hobhouse, Brougham, Hume, Denman, Waithman, Russell, Althorp, Morpeth, Mackintosh, Maberly, and a whole tribe of this description, (all of whom dread real reform more, much more, alas! than they dread the devil,) already feel, that they shall not know what to do, or what to say. They have endeavoured to excite hopes, not one particle of which they will be able to satisfy. We shall have France and the blazing glory of real freedom and prosperity full and constantly in our sight; and we shall turn with disgust from the twinkling of these farthing-candle sons of humbug. They are expected TO DO SOMETHING for us. That they know; and, what CAN they do? They

do not wish to do any thing to make any change at all; and, as far as their own interests are concerned, they would be fools if they did; for what change can be wanted by Burdett and Hobhouse, for instance, who sit for a city, from the hustings of which the people pelt them? What can the Broughams want a change for? What can any of them want a change for? And yet! and yet! How are they now to steer their way? A real reform would extinguish them all for ever; and yet, they must be for reform. All eyes will be upon them; and their lives will be worse than those of the asses that carry the cabbages and turnips to be taxed by the Russells in Covent Garden, there to be flung at the heads of "sham reformers."

But JOSEPH HUME will tot-up more than ever, and he says he has "a party already formed to support him." To support him? In what? In his propositions for retrenchment. What, reduce taxes with that armed nation with the tri-coloured flag staring us in the face; with Belgium in half insurrection; with the triumphal mound and the lion and Hanoverian column to be defended; and with the French at the mouth of the Mediterranean Straits! O, fie, JOSEPH, take away taxes, tot-up estimates, grudge money to our "false defenders" in a state of things like this! Alas! Joseph, your occupation is gone! But our news-papers really are talking of war to expel the French from Algiers! There is every reason to believe (indeed as much was said in parliament) that the French expedition had the consent and approbation of our government. Indeed, the expedition seems to have been a part of the Poulignac plot; now that it has failed in that respect, we may not like it; for now it gives strength to feeders in France. But we shall let it alone, I guess. We might, indeed, send a fleet to overpower that of France; and the first consequence of our fitting out such fleet would be the march of the French to Brussels, and the second consequence, a hundred steam-boats, each to carry a thousand men and two

pieces of cannon, lying at BOULOGNE, with a bill upon each, "*bound to Peace-level, the first calm day or night.*" Pretty state of things to *reduce taxes* in! Fine scope for *totting-up* estimates and making "*retrenchment!*" A SECOND, and even a FIRST consequence, might be a few steam-boats (two would be enough) sent across, in two hours, to GUERNSEY and JERSEY! And *whether we go to war or not*, we must, *as long as the mound and the lion stand at Waterloo*, be armed for war, and even for the defence of our own coasts. This is so plain that no man in his senses can doubt of it; and this is a pretty state of things to favour the occupation and the lofty ambition of a Scotch *totter-up* and "*his party.*" Brougham, in one of his harangues in Yorkshire, said, the other day, that which I have said a hundred times over, that "*the figure of eight and the eight cyphers forbade us to think of war.*" But if we do not think of it, does not this shallow and noisy man know that *others* may think of it? Does he not know that there are *two parties* to abstaining from war, as well as to going to war? To be sure, if we be ready to *give up all that can be demanded of us*, we may have peace; but if not, and if the other party insist upon our giving it up, how are we to avoid war? This man has been so long accustomed to hear and repeat the boroughmonger insolence, that he has concluded, at last, that the question of war or peace is dependent *solely on us*; that we can go to war when we please, and that we can keep at peace as long as we please, and that, too, without any loss or disgrace! He seems to think that, *of course*, as we are too much in debt to think of war, nobody else will think of war. He says that we are unable to make war upon our neighbours, and that, THEREFORE, *we must have peace.* This is a pretty "*statesman*" that the Yorkshire people have got to represent them!

While CHARLES and his family were at the head of the French nation, the triumphal mound and the lion and the Hanoverian triumphal column were *satie* enough; but the case is different now.

The present king (or chief-magistrate) does not "*owe his crown to the Prince Regent*;" he has not been *forced* upon the French by 1,011,000 foreign bayonets; he will not have an English army in France for three years to keep him on the throne; he will have no dependence on our government for support; he will not be bound up in a sort of partnership with our government; he will have no tie, no motive, to restrain the nation from acting on the recollection that the stripping of the Museums *was first suggested in the English parliament*, and that, too, *by the principal manager of our own Museum*; and will have no motive to restrain them from endeavouring to make us taste the effects of having stripped them of their frontier towns, and having imposed a tribute upon them. Thus, all is changed: instead of a nation pressed down by an incubus, placed on it and kept on it by the government of England, it is a nation that has roused itself up, flung the incubus aside, and is ready to avenge the wrongs and insults so grossly heaped upon it.

"Well, then," some thoughtless people will say, "this change in France is *bad* for us." But, who is US? Not *bad* for the industrious and tax-paying people; for worse off than they are they cannot be, unless there be something *worse than ruin and starvation.* Worse for the base boroughmongers and the swarms that move under their corrupt influence and fatten thereby. But would I, then, have the country *subdued*, rather than see this base and corrupt influence remain? It does not signify *what I would have*; I have no power to have any thing of the sort. The question is, *WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE?* And, without troubling ourselves with the stating of *wishes*, I give it as my decided opinion, that it is impossible long to defend this country without a *radical reform of the Parliament*, including the *voting by ballot.* Then we might dispense with a great part of these monstrous taxes; then those immense masses of public property, commonly called *church-property* and *crown-lands*, might be applied to the

liquidation of the Debt, agreeably to the Norfolk Petition; then the monstrous salaries, pensions, and sinecures might be lopped off: then we might maturely consider Mr. RUGGLES's proposal for relieving the poor, in great part, at least, by assessments confined to the Abbey Lands; then we might dispense with the ruinous Corn Bill, or tax on our bread; then we might, amidst a happy people, dispense with all standing military force; then the country would be defended by *the people*, as France has now been defended; then might we cherish peace, and yet never be afraid of war.

This is my opinion, my firm conviction; to this conviction the nation may be sometime in coming; but come to it she will, at last, because come to it she *must*, and the later she comes to it the worse it will be for her. No *little* measure will be of any use; such measures would only drawl the country along from misery to misery, from discontent to discontent, till they brought it to a dreadful convulsion; no *tottings-up* can be of any avail in a state of things like this. What! when in one single item we have to pay 30,000,000 of pounds a-year, a man amuse us with efforts to save us from paying 900 pounds, and, having succeeded, trumpet it forth as a *victory gained for us!* And this man avowing, too, that he will neither deduct from the 30 millions, nor touch the public property, by the sale of which it might be paid off!

Ah! my friends, this grand event sweeps away all this *quackery*, as it was truly called by Mr. DRUMMOND, at Guildford; the *tri-coloured flag* is aloft; it bids us recall our rights to mind; and it admonishes us, that, to be *safe* as well as *free*, we must recover those precious rights. In the mean while, we ought to do all that we can to let our brave neighbours see clearly that they have nothing to apprehend from this country; to convince them *that this country will not go to war with them on account of any measures that they may adopt for their own internal security and freedom*; and the best way of producing this conviction in their minds,

and to prevent them from entertaining suspicions with regard to our wishes and views, is to lay before them a plain, clear, and frank description of *our internal situation*, and of the consequences, to us, of war with them. This is a duty, which circumstances impose upon me, who understand this matter as well as most men, and who possess a vehicle fit for the purpose. This duty, therefore, I have *begun* to discharge in two short numbers, the like of which will be continued weekly in the Register, in the hope and expectation that they will be translated and published at Paris, where they cannot, if read, fail to tend to allay that irritation which is said to exist in France against *the people* of England; and when you shall have read these two little numbers, I think that you will be of opinion that they are likely to produce that salutary effect.

Having, in the first part of this letter, recommended to your notice "*LA REPRESENTANT DES PEUPLES*," it is right to inform you that in his No. 7, he says that on *Friday night last*, the 6th instant, *he* and *his printers* were sent for by Sir RICHARD BIRNIE, who, he says, *put some questions to him relative to himself and to his journal*, telling him, that he did it, *according to instructions received from the minister of the interior*. He says that he *answered all the questions frankly*, and that he thinks himself bound, *in conscience*, to say that Sir Richard treated him with urbanity and politeness. Now, I wonder what the illustrious PEEL could want with this gentleman! Questions? What questions? What questions had he a *right* to put to him? Leaving you to guess at this, I remain, my friends,

Your faithful and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. There is to be a DINNER at the LONDON TAVERN on Monday next, the 16th instant, the object of which is to consider of, and agree to, an ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE, congratulating them on their gallant resistance of the atrocious principle of *borough-mongering*, and thanking them for the

bright example that they have given to the world. I am to have the honour of being the CHAIRMAN at this Dinner, which is to be at five o'clock in the evening, and the price of which is to be 10s. 6d. It is an occasion which is worthy of our cause; and our ADDRESS will, I trust, be worthy of the acceptance of those who are the objects of it. We should wear (if we can get them) pieces of *tri-coloured ribbon* at our coat button-holes. The insolent boroughmongers and their tribes wore *white ribbons* in 1814. They wore this mark of the *triumph* of despotism: shall we not hoist the mark of the *fall of that despotism*? I went to every *ribbon-shop* in Oxford-street last Saturday, and *could not find a bit of tri-coloured ribbon*. I hear that there is some to be got now. If any shop-keeper has this ribbon (*blue, white, and red, in straight stripes of equal width*) to sell; and if he will send an advertisement of it to the Register, it shall be inserted gratis. If *several* send, the names of all of them shall be mentioned; but, *first come first served*. There should be some *narrow ribbon* for *watch-ribbons*; some *broad* for *ceintures* and *caps* and *bonnets*. The *red* should be *bright*, or, rather, *scarlet*, and the *blue* *bright*, not of the *dark*, or *purple* cast. Cockades for men and rosettes for horses should be made, in preparation for *conducting the French Ambassador into town*, when he comes. I do hope that he will not enter with *less than half a million of people*. The delicate "Ladies," who ran to kiss "OLD BLUCHER," will not, I dare say, be eager to wear caps and bonnets *à la tri-color*; but the *tax-paying* women will, I hope. I hope that we shall have some FRENCH gentlemen to *dine with us*; and I am sure that there will be some YOUNG Englishmen to volunteer to form a DEPUTATION to *carry our address to Paris*, there to behold *real representatives of the people*. I should like to see some young men *from the country* join others in London in the discharge of this *honourable duty*. The expense to each would be about 15*l.* at the outside, going down the Thames to

Boulogne, and thence to Paris. The *greater the number the better*. As to the *time and manner*, of going, these may be settled at the *Dinner on Monday*. But, now, to the YOUNG MEN of England: are *their bosoms* not moved by the deeds of those of Paris? Have *they* not also parents, and sisters to rescue from the grasp of boroughmongers and their rapacious tribes? Are *they* content that, according to the saying of the coolly insolent pensioner, HUSKISSON (in his late pamphlet), "*the present generation*" shall bear these cruel burdens? Are *they* content that their children shall be taxed by men sent from GATTON and old SARUM? Oh, no! They ought to, and they will, form POLYTECHNIC REFORM SOCIETIES, I trust, in every part of the kingdom; for, as I have said a thousand times, it is *on them* that the fate of England rests. Our press, generally speaking, has behaved well; but the *parsons* and *boroughmongers*' papers are most sadly down in the mouth, and tell us very plainly *what their patrons think*, and how they feel. I have not time now to show how *wise* as well as *brave* the French have been in *all* that they have now done. I shall perform this pleasing task in my next. The Morning Chronicle works hard to *get out the Aristocracy* upon this occasion, but it will fail. Oh, no! *they* have quite enough to do, to think of how *they* shall *parry this thrust*; of how Reigate and Gatton and Cuckermouth and Appleby and the like are to be preserved; of how the 113 Privy-Councillors are to keep receiving the 650,000*l.* a year out of the taxes; of how the *tithes* and *crown-lands* are to be kept sacred from the vulgar touch. They have quite enough to do without troubling their *dignified* selves with *subscriptions* and *addresses* in favour of the assertors of the right of the people to *choose those who impose taxes upon them*. The town of BIRMINGHAM, to its great honour, is stirring in this glorious cause. Mr. ATTWOOD will now find that *sham-reform* will not do. He will now see, that the *ballot* is the thing that will be

demand and obtained, though the hero of the *cabbages and turnips* has declared, against it. Only think of this pelted thing *having been sent for* to give *his countenance* to the "BIRMINGHAM UNION!" Long as this Postscript is, I must add to it. The MORNING CHRONICLE has, for many months past, published occasionally articles from Paris, under the signature of "O. P. Q." The ability of the writer, and the strict correspondence of his account of the political state of France with the accounts given me by gentlemen who have travelled in that country, made me read those papers with great attention; and I find that he has all along been correct, to the very letter, *in all his predictions*. Now, then, take the following passage from his letter of the 6th instant. "You must not suppose that it was the *Bankers of Paris*—the *Capitalists of Paris*—the *Nobility* or *Deputies of Paris*, who commenced and carried into effect this revolution. No, it was the people—the labourers—the mechanics—the 'unwashed artisans'—those who earn their bread by the 'sweat of their brow,' and who find life troublesome enough even with liberty, but who would prefer a thousand deaths rather than to live without it. I assert as a fact, which no one can deny, that the *Bourgeois remained in their houses* on Monday, Tuesday, and even the greater part of Wednesday, in last week. The *journeymen Printers and journeymen Tailors and other artisans* formed the mass which took the cannon—defeated the artillery—beat down the Lancers—routed the Royal Guards, and raised the siege of Paris." This, then, has been the work of those whom our insolent aristocrats called the "lower orders." This is no "Glorious Revolution" effected by the holders of Church and Crown lands, and by a Dutch army! This is a revolution made by the *industrious classes*, and by the *working part* of those classes; and will any man now be so impudent as to assert that these people are unworthy of being permitted to vote for representatives! Will false Burdett NOW justify his having been the prime

mover in *stripping the 40s. freeholders of their rights*! Will he NOW repeat that it is not to the POOR MEN that he owes his seat, but to the rich!

No. I.

STATE OF ENGLAND, in 1830;

ON,

TABEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE,
en 1830.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

London, 8th August, 1830.

FRIENDS,

It is of the greatest consequence, that you be now correctly informed with regard to the *state of this country*. I do not mean the state of the public mind with regard to your last most glorious exploits; the joyous feelings of the people of England you will have learned through the channel of our press; and, through the same channel, you will have perceived the sulky silence and deep gloom which those same exploits have caused to pervade the ranks of our *Boroughmongers*. But, at this time especially, you ought to be well informed upon various parts of our situation, other than those which are visible to all eyes. It is my intention to address to you, weekly, a paper, under the above title, and thus to convey to you knowledge, which, under the present circumstances, I think calculated to be of great benefit to both countries. In future Numbers I will explain to you what *Boroughmongers* are, what *Reformers* are, and what is the nature of the struggle between the latter and the former, which you will find to be much about the same as that of your recent struggle. On many other matters of the greatest interest, I propose to give you information; but, as the very first on the list of important matters, I shall, in this present Number, endeavour clearly to place before you facts to convince you, *that you need not apprehend*

open hostility from this country, on account of any measures that may be adopted with regard to your form of government, or with regard to any other of your internal concerns.

It is well known, that this government made war on you in 1793, because your ~~EXAMPLE~~ was dangerous to many of its establishments in Church and State; and, as it must be evident that the example which you have now set is still more dangerous to those establishments, some men may be ready to conclude that it will now AGAIN MAKE WAR UPON YOU. Certainly such war would now be as JUST AS the war was in 1793. There is perfect analogy here; but, there is no analogy in the circumstances in which this government is now placed, and the circumstances in which it was placed in 1793; and it is my business to prove to you the vast difference in the circumstances of the two periods; 1. With regard to pecuniary resources; 2. With regard to the state of the industrious classes; 3. With regard to the state of the public mind, and to the feelings existing amongst the people relative to you and to your proceedings. It is not for me to say what this government's wishes are: I am no searcher of hearts: but, I know what it is ABLE and what it is UNABLE to do; and, when I have laid my FACTS before you, you will want nothing more to guide your judgment correctly. You will hear our periodical press putting forth opinions, differing widely according to the different wishes and interests of the parties who write, or who influence the writers; but I will lay FACTS before you, and from those facts you will be able to form opinions for yourselves.

I. WITH REGARD TO THE PECUNIARY RESOURCES OF THE GOVERNMENT. The whole annual amount of the expenditure, in 1792, was fifteen millions of pounds sterling: it is now sixty millions. The *Debt* OF THE STATE then demanded annually, to pay the interest, eight millions; it now demands thirty millions. Besides this FIXED charge, there are other nineteen millions yearly required for OTHER FIXED CHARGES; so

that there are but eleven millions out of the sixty, which is not a fixed and permanent and perpetual charge; and, out of that eleven millions come the means of *carrying on the government*, civil and military, domestic and colonial. Thus, by the war for crushing the Republic of France, are we loaded with perpetual taxes to the amount of forty-five millions of pounds sterling a year.

II. WITH REGARD TO THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES. Such a load of taxes has produced their natural and inevitable effect. The farmers, formerly the most opulent in the world, are, generally speaking, in a state of insolvency and ruin. Thousands of them are fleeing to the United States of America with the remnant of their means; those that remain become labourers, or, at best, can pay only a part of their rent, which, in their turn, makes the landowners poor. Trade and manufacturers follow, of necessity, the fate of agriculture; and the wages of the working classes are reduced so low, that the people in those classes are clad in miserable rags, are fed on bread alone at best, more often on potatoes alone, and, in many cases, ACTUALLY STARVED TO DEATH FOR WANT, though there is a LAW to compel each parish to relieve poor people in want. From this misery have come crimes innumerable: additional jails of immense capacity have been built in all the counties; new and severe laws have been passed; the trial by jury has been set aside in many cases, in order to cause more summary punishment; but still the crimes increase. Witnesses, examined by the House of Commons, have proved that the common food of the labouring people is *potatoes alone*; that the allowance to a labouring man is only about *six sous a day*, while bread sells for *five sous a pound* (French money); that the felons in the jails are fed better than the labouring people; and that these latter COMMIT CRIMES IN ORDER TO GET INTO JAIL TO BE BETTER FED. In many parts of the country, men have been compelled to draw carts and wagons, like beasts of burden; it has been pro-

posed in Parliament to mortgage the lands to raise money to send the people away out of the country; in some parts the husbands have been, by the public authorities, kept forcibly apart from the wives, to prevent the sexual intercourse between them; in one case a great proprietor of mines has ordered any man to be turned off, who shall marry before the age of thirty years; all over the country, labouring men are put up to auction (*à l'encan*) and sold for a certain time to the highest bidder, just as the labour of African slaves is sold in the West Indies. In short, misery and degradation, such as are now seen in this country, never were before witnessed in any country in the world. While such is but a faint picture of the ruin and misery of the industrious classes the aristocracy, the fundholders, and all who live on the taxes, are wallowing in riches and in splendour, just as they were in France at the close of the reign of Louis XV. In 1792, before the fatal war against the French republic the people were well off, agriculture, trade, and manufactures were flourishing, the working people were well clad, and fed with abundance of bread and meat; and the country had the means to spare for additional taxes and for war.

III. WITH REGARD TO THE STATE OF THE PUBLIC MIND, AND TO THE FEELINGS NOW EXISTING AMONGST THE PEOPLE RELATIVE TO YOU AND YOUR PROCEEDINGS.—When, at the end of the war, the people discovered that it had entailed upon them such an enormous load of taxes and of misery, while it had added to the power, riches, and splendour of the aristocracy, they began to repent of that war, and to hate those who had plunged them into it, and who had deluded them as to its real object. They saw France without tithes, without an insolent and overbearing aristocracy, without corrupt boroughmongers, without penal game-laws, without gabelles and corvees; they saw France with representatives in the legislature; and they envied the French. By a change recently made in the value of money, the taxes, hardly supportable before, have been nearly doubled in weight.

Hundreds upon hundreds of petitions to the Parliament were presented last session, praying for relief from this load, and complaining of the monstrous sums taken, in various ways, by the aristocracy. It was proved to the House that 113 of these received annually 650 thousand pounds sterling of the public money; and every body knew that this was a mere little specimen of the sums swallowed by that body. Discontent, on this account, prevails from one end of the country to the other; and, as men are satisfied, that these taxes and these sufferings have arisen from the want of the people having the power to choose representatives, petitions were framing and societies forming all over the country for the purpose of recovering this important right, every man being convinced that there was no hope of redress, UNTIL THIS RIGHT SHOULD BE RECOVERED. It was in this state of agitation, on our own account, that your glorious success, IN EXACTLY THE SAME CAUSE, burst upon us! So that the joy, the applause of you, the admiration of your wisdom and valour, all the meetings and addresses and the subscriptions that you will hear of, are for OURSELVES as well as for YOU. We are quite sincere in our applause and our admiration; but our interest concurs with the feeling that your matchless deeds have excited. In 1793 how different the state of things! The main part of the millions of the industrious classes were prejudiced against you; they had not then been crushed by Debts and Taxes, raised to put down republican government; they had not then known ragged clothes and potatoe-food; they had not then seen the trial by jury set aside to ensure their prompt punishment; they had not then seen a great nation in peace and prosperity without tithes; they had not then experienced the dreadful effects of a want of power to choose their own representatives; they were taught to believe that you wished to destroy their happiness; and, therefore, they then abhorred you with as much sincerity as they now applaud and admire you: ninety-nine

out of every hundred were for the war of 1793; not one in a thousand would be for war against you now, be your measures of internal government what they may; nay, the only fear amongst the great body of the people is, that you will not make the Government popular enough. For my own part, I am against all interference, even by the expression of opinion or wishes. That which you like best, I shall think is best. You deserve all the glory and all the happiness that a nation can enjoy; and that you may have them is the prayer of

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The next number will contain facts relating to the inevitable CONSEQUENCES OF WAR, if this Government were mad enough to enter into it; of which, however, there is no danger. The power which our PAPER-MONEY, and which STEAM-NAVIGATION would, in case of war, give you, is now too well known to have escaped any man of common sense. Rest assured, therefore, that you will have no interference on the part of this country.

No. II.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE, en 1830.

TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

London, 9th August, 1830.

FRIENDS,

If you have not read No. I. of this series, pray read it before you proceed further. Remember, then, the distress and misery that pervade the whole of this country, which was so happy before our government began the war against the Republic of France. Remember, that all this misery comes from the cruel load of Debt and Taxes, entailed on us by that war. Remember that that war was undertaken to crush for ever the great principle, THAT THE PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE THOSE WHO MAKE THE LAWS. Remember that the people of England have been for

FIFTY YEARS endeavouring to recover that precious right. Remember that we ascribe ALL OUR SUFFERINGS TO THE WANT OF IT; and that we were in a state of agitation to recover this right just at the moment when we received the news of your triumph over the tyrants who had attempted to take that right from you! When I come to explain to you the various means by which we have been gradually brought down, you will cease to wonder at our present abject state. But, at present, it is my object to make you see that YOU NEED NOT APPREHEND OPEN WAR ON THE PART OF THIS COUNTRY, no, nor on the part of any other country PAID BY THIS COUNTRY. You have on your side the wishes of nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of the PEOPLE; but, in the circumstances that I am about to describe, you have a much better security than the WISHES and PRAYERS of the people, who have, in fact, NO POWER at all.

Your security against the hostility of this country consists, first, in the state of our PECUNIARY AFFAIRS. During the last session of parliament incessant petitions were presented for the DIMINUTION OF TAXES, at the same time that the REVENUE WAS FALLING OFF, in consequence of the extreme poverty of the people. The government, in order to appease this loud and general cry, took off some imposts, but laid on others at the same time; and, indeed, the fact was that one of THREE THINGS was necessary; that is to say, 1. to disband a great part of the army; 2. to deduct from the fundholders (rentiers) a great part of the interest which they receive; or, 3. to maintain and enforce all the taxes without diminution. This was, and this still is, the plain state of the case. To deduct from the interest of the *rentiers* would be to blow up the whole system of government; to *disband the army* is, certainly, not the way to prepare for war; and yet to continue for any length of time to enforce the payment of all the present taxes is impossible. Notwithstanding the enormous amount of taxes, the government is now RAISING MONEY ON ANNUITIES; and in this man-

ner is ADDING TO THE DEBT OF THE STATE, in order to be able to CARRY ON PEACE! How, then, is it to find the means of CARRYING ON WAR? A little anecdote will make you see our situation in this respect. We have a Scotchman, named HUME, who has been several years a member of parliament for a Scotch burgh, (bourg), and who has distinguished himself by constant efforts to make the ministers reduce expenses, PARTICULARLY IN THE ARMY. This man, though without talent and without learning or rank, has been *by the rich people*, chosen member for the great county of Middlesex, in which London itself is situated; and he has been thus chosen, (even *by the enemies of liberty*), because they believe that his efforts will force the ministers to REDUCE THE EXPENSES OF THE STATE, and particularly THE EXPENSES OF THE ARMY! Judge you then, whether war be like to assail you from this country. It is curious to know that JUST ABOUT THE TIME THAT YOUR CHAMBERS WERE DISSOLVED in the spring, the Duke of Wellington said, in the House of Lords, that, "if an occasion called for it, England was COMPLETELY PREPARED FOR WAR." All the world laughed at this, and asked why this assertion was made. That the fact was NOT TRUE was evident to every one; but no one could discover the *POYRAVOIR*.

But, now, look at the consequences of war on our PAPER-MONEY, for this is the most vulnerable part of all. During the war, our Banks did not pay in gold and silver at all. Now, the law compels them to pay in specie, IF IT BE DEMANDED. We have now no notes (billet de banque), in England, for less than five pounds sterling; in Ireland and Scotland they have notes for ONE POUND. A very small part of our circulating money consists of specie. There may be about a FIFTH PART in specie; the rest is PAPER. Any event that would cause a general demand of specie in exchange for the billets de banque would throw every thing into confusion; and this is so well known and so openly avowed, that ALEXANDER BARING, the great loan-maker, declared, in parlia-

ment, a little time past, that we COULD NOT GO TO WAR without a "BANK-RESTRICTION," that is to say, without ABOLISHING PAYMENTS IN SPECIE, or, in other words, without a NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY. This was the opinion expressed by BARING. It is that of every man of sense; judge you, then, whether you have any ground to fear, that this government will attempt to INTERFERE WITH YOU, be your measures what they may, relative to form of government. I love to indulge the hope, that it has no wish to do it; but, be that as it may, you may now judge of its power to give effect to any such wish.

However, I have, thus far, spoken of only a part of the danger to which the PAPER-MONEY would expose us in case of war. War would, as BARING says, MAKE INSTANTLY DISAPPEAR ALL THE SPECIE; and then our PAPER would be what the Assignats were in France in 1793. If left to produce their natural effect, that effect would be anarchy in a very short time; but, our government must know, that you would not permit the effect to come of itself. Our government knows, that BALES OF FRENCH ASSIGNATS WERE MADE IN LONDON, AND SPREAD OVER FRANCE AND THE COUNTRIES ADJOINING FRANCE. It knows, that the proof of this fact exists in the ARCHIVES OF OUR COURT OF KING'S BENCH. It knows, that that court declared the transaction NOT TO BE AGAINST LAW. It must know, that that which it was JUST for it to do against France, it would be JUST for you to do against England. It must know, that it is as easy for you to spread billets about England, Scotland, and Ireland, as it was for it to spread assignats about France. It must remember, the *dreadful confusion* that this spread of forged assignats produced in France. It must know, that here is an arm, against which fleets and armies are no protection. It must know all these things; and, therefore, you may safely despise the insinuations of the Boroughmonger part of our press, which is expressing its hopes, that you will not make a sort of government that will call forth

THE HOSTILITY OF NEIGHBOURING POWERS. You may safely despise this ; and may proceed in your work of justice and of freedom, in the full assurance, that, whatever may be your pleasure, as to your own internal government and affairs, this country will not be so mad as to attempt to interfere with you, even in the gentle way of ADVICE, much less in the way of FORCE, direct or indirect.

Besides these considerations, there are others of great weight, connected with the discovery of STEAM-NAVIGATION, and with the vast increase of the MARITIME POWER OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Les affaires de ce monde-ci sont diablement changées depuis 1814 ! The affairs of this world are devilishly changed since 1814 ! On the subjects that I have just mentioned, I will treat in the NEXT NUMBER. I will now take my leave with a few observations on the present state of the public mind in this country. You have worked MIRACLES here. Scores of rich men, who FIFTEEN DAYS AGO SNEERED at us, who were contending for the right of choosing our representatives, have now JOINED US, and are become the most violent in demanding this right. One BROUGHAM, a lawyer, who in 1827, declared that "THE PEOPLE DID NOT WISH FOR ANY CHANGE IN THE REPRESENTATION"; and who, only SIX MONTHS ago, declared that he would oppose, and did oppose, "such a change as should enable the people to vote BY BALLOT," as you do in France, is now going about the country, calling upon the people to IMITATE YOUR EXAMPLE, and to insist upon the enjoyment of their rights freely to choose their representatives : and thus it is with many others.

In the meanwhile, the ARISTOCRACY and the CLERGY are silent as mice ! There are PUBLIC DINNERS and PUBLIC MEETINGS and SUBSCRIPTIONS going on IN HONOUR of your valiant deeds : the YOUNG MEN are mad with admiration of those of France : all but those who live on the taxes are full of joy : not one of the PRIVILEGED ORDERS has yet appeared in your favour : but of their sentiments you may judge, when you

are informed, that *before the 27th July*, their JOURNALS expressed their approbation of the measures of POLIGNAC, and that now these same Journals try to prevent the people from subscribing for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the brave citizens of Paris. We, however, laugh at their malice, knowing that it cannot now produce actions hurtful to our cause.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. We have just heard of the proclaiming of the DUC D'ORLEANS, KING. For my part, that which you *like best*, I think *is best* ; and 'his is the feeling of the PEOPLE of England. Quite another thing with the BOROUGHMONGERS : they are mortified beyond all description at seeing that France is not to be deluged in blood : they are ready to die at the thought of your having a kingly government WITH REPRESENTATIVES CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE, and at your having RELIGION WITHOUT TITHES. Besides, this aristocracy HATE the DUC D'ORLEANS ; and this alone, if we knew nothing of his interesting history and excellent character, would be enough to convince us that you have made a wise choice.

FALL OF BURDETT.

He that is down can fall no lower.

WE have seen many men fall from a great height : Charles X. has had a pretty decent tumble ; but Charles X. in a lodging in Welbeck-street (where Pitt had him once), or in a country-box in Buckinghamshire, with the people of England laughing at him, will not have had fall equal, in point of *disgrace*, to that of Burdett. Charles openly defied the law, and the people, and by that gallant, that glorious people, that ever-to-be-admired people, was openly met and defeated. But here we have a man who was upon the *pinnacle of popularity*, and who, by a series of mean and self-degrading acts, has brought himself down to the very *lowest state of popular contempt* ; a man who had literally a

crown of laurel put on his head by the people of Westminster, and who has now been *pelted from the election hustings by that same people*, and compelled to run into a church to save his carcass! I dare say that when in the *sanctuary*, he accused the people of "inconsistency."

When this man was a candidate for MIDDLESEX, in 1802, a quarter of a million of people conducted him, every day for fourteen days, from Brentford to London (seven miles), hundreds of flags waving in the air, with the inscriptions of "BURDETT AND REFORM; BURDETT FOR EVER; BURDETT AND LIBERTY; BURDETT AND NO BASTILE; BURDETT THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE." When he was imprisoned in the Tower, *deputations* from the cities, towns and counties, came up to him *with addresses*. On the day when he came out of the Tower, in 1810, a million of people came forth to witness the procession; for in addition to the people of London, there were supposed to be a quarter of a million of people from the country. There were *five hundred carriages* of different sorts, ready to join in the procession, and *more than a thousand men on horseback*. Never was there upon earth, king or emperor, honoured as he was honoured, or offered to be honoured on that day, when, and even after which, he was styled, "WESTMINSTER'S PRIDE AND ENGLAND'S GLORY"; and, at his approach, upon all public occasions, the music played "THE CONQUERING HERO COMES."

And what is his state now? On the 31st of July, 1830, was held the *election for the city of Westminster*. BURDETT and HOBHOUSE, who were the late members, had *nobody to oppose them*. The Government and the aristocracy *liked them well*; they had the name of patriots, and were the most efficient means of *preventing the people from being heard*; they kept out good men, because if such opposed them, then the Government and the aristocracy were ready to come to their support. I, for instance, *knew them to be detested by the people of Westminster*; but if I had offered myself as a candidate, the con-

sequence would have been, that instantly the Government and the whole of the aristocracy, including *army, navy, and church*, would have set to work with all their united power, in favour of these two "sham-reformers"; a majority of the votes would have been for them; people at a distance would have believed that the people of Westminster *really preferred them*; they would have had a triumph; and all that I should have accomplished would have been the ruin, or at least the great injury, of hundreds of virtuous tradesmen and mechanics, who would have preferred their duty to their pecuniary interest.

These considerations, and the last particularly, made me resolve to let them alone; not even to go near the place of election; but to leave them to the spontaneous indignation and acts of the people themselves; and, as I am now about to record, that indignation was expressed in a manner highly honourable to the people of Westminster. The place for holding the election is on one side of the SQUARE OF COVENT GARDEN, so called because the spot once belonged to the Convent at Westminster, and because it is now used as the grand market for *garden produce* of all sorts. The election-day was, as it happened, on a *Saturday*, which is a *market-day*. For performing the ceremony, or rather the *farce*, of the election, a *platform* was erected on the west side of the square, where there is a high iron palisade, separating the market-square from the CHURCH OF ST. PAUL, the large portico of which comes very near to the iron palisade, in which palisade there is a door-way, leading from the square *into the portico and the church*.

To this platform, about twelve o'clock in the day, the Two HEROES, accompanied by HUME (the *toller-up*), a Colonel JONES, and other persons, who appear to have been wholly unknown to the people, came out of a hotel near by, and with the High-Bailiff (the returning officer) and his deputy and constables, marched in a sort of procession to the platform, the people in general

laughing and hissing, some expressing their contempt, and some their anger.

When the heroes came forward upon the platform, the people began to *hoot* and *hiss* them in the most indignant manner. They both endeavoured to obtain a *hearing*, but in vain. Their gesticulations and the contortions of their features are, by those who saw them, described as being so expressive of chagrin and humiliation and fear and shame, as to have awakened pity in all who were unacquainted with their demerits. "*No select vestry fellows*"; "*Nosham-reformers*"; "*No Burdett and Hobhouse*"; "*The master has two faces under one hat, and Like master like man.*"

These cries prevented them from being heard at two yards from them. From reproaches, hissing, groaning, and hooting, the people came to *pelting*. Luckily for the heroes there were no stones, and no brickbats at hand; and the weather being fine and dry, there was no mud or dirt, except what had proceeded from the market-horses and other cattle that morning. The missiles, nearest at hand, were *hard cabbages, turnips, turnip-tops, and lumps of horse-dung*; and with these they were actually *driven from the platform*, HUME having kept back all the while out of sight. They had got the means of opening the gateway into the church porch. Thither they retreated, thither they were pursued, and thence they got into the church, and locked the door after them, staying in that sanctuary till their "*constituents*" had dispersed, when they sneaked away home. Their hack, Colonel JONES, who was not aware, it seems, of the unpopularity of the heroes, was less discreet than HUME: the Colonel, like a man of mettle, scorned to retreat to the sanctuary, and remained on the platform to *argue* the matter with the people. The pelting he got surpasses all description: not an inch of his body remained unhit by cabbage or turnip: *slap, slap, slap*, from head to foot, kept at him. At last, he beat a retreat; but, as he turned, a cabbage came and knocked off his hat. Bare-headed he continued his route, still,

however, for a great distance pursued by volleys of vegetables.

What made the mortification of the heroes the greater was, they, thinking that they had nothing but their OLD HUMBUR to pay off, had hired a FINE BALCONY in the hotel near the platform, in which, the reporters say, were placed some of BURDETT's family and HOBBS's wife and brother with other admirers! When the missiles began to fly, the "*belle assemblée*" prudently retreated into the hotel, for the people began to *cast their eyes on the balcony*, and were probably thinking of *casting* something else. But, now, can this be *an election*? There are scores of respectable men to declare, upon oath, that the QUESTION WAS NEVER PUT to the electors, who were assembled in great numbers; that there was NO VIEW (or show of hands), and that NO VIEW WAS CALLED FOR. How, then, can this be *an election*; and will these heroes, whom the French have now frightened into professions in favour of reform, pretend that this was *an election*, or that it ought to be considered such? For of all the farces ever acted under the name of "*an election*," was there ever one equal to this!

There is to be a *petition* presented against this return; and then we shall hear what the "*conquering heroes*" will say. In the meanwhile each has come forth with a *blazing letter*, and with a tender of money, in *behalf of the French*. I would insert these letters here: they are curious documents, and would be memorable ones; but the grand event, the *re-hoisting of the tri-coloured flag*, extinguishes all such rubbish; but does not forbid us to bear in mind, that these men were *pelled off the scene of election* by the people of that great city of which they *call themselves the representatives*; and of which they would not so call themselves, if we had the *ballot* as the people in France have. Burdett is just like a *jadish horse*. Did you never, reader, see one of these nasty false devils, when the cart or carriage behind him begins to make the collar press against his shoulders? Did you never see him squeezing his ears back

into his neck, dancing, prancing and patting the ground, turning his back from side to side over his shoulder, to see whence the whip is coming; and then when some other power has set the vehicle in motion, starting off and tearing away at the expense of whiplash, traces, and every thing else? Just such is the conduct of this shoy-hoy of reform, who stuck his knees in CANNING'S back, and pledged himself to support him, just after Canning had declared, that he would oppose reform to the last hour of his life; who spent three days in endeavouring to induce the Irish deputies to call for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders; who proposed that disfranchisement in Parliament, and finally voted for it: who, last winter, kept away when O'CONNOR made his motion for reform; but who, NOW, when he sees the decisive blow given to corruption; when he finds the vehicle pushed up against his hams, is tearing away in the cause of reform, and calling on those who pelted him the other day, to rouse themselves, to seize the standard of reform, and to plant it on the citadel of the constitution! Just thus did he call on us in 1816 and 1817; but when the up-hill, when the time to tug came, he stood as still and as mute as a post; and saw us go into dungeons or into exile, without so much as uttering a single word in our defence, though we had committed no fault and no folly except that of trusting in him. As to his MAN, the son of the Commissioner of Arcot Debts, he comes after the old jade, like a little galled tit-up-a-tit in a Sunday taxed cart. It is curious that the two "conquering heroes" remained, after pelting on the 31st July, five days before they ventured to stir; but the news of the defeat of POLIGNAC having reached town, and set all in motion, on the 3rd and 4th of August, out they come on the 5th, with a brace of blazing letters in favour of reform and of the French! Hobhouse says, that he has sent money to Paris; and if he would get his father to be so good as to give us back a little of that which he has been receiving for the last thirty years, or would get him

to stop now, we might begin to think him sincere in his professions about reform. Ah! if Polignac had succeeded, never should we have heard of any coaxing letters from these heroes to the Electors of Westminster! When, Oh when shall we, the tax-paying people of England, be able to show sufficient gratitude to the French for the good which they have done us!

IRELAND.

I WONDER whether a body might just ask, What maggot has bitten the "first flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea," at this moment! Or, rather, what torpedo has got hold of her! Still as a mouse, while all England is stirring. Well, it is a queer devil! Just so in the time of the poor Queen!

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *coup d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

THE LAW OF TURNPIKES; or, an Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Commentaries on, all the General Acts, relative to Turnpike Roads. By WILLIAM CORBETT, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ON the 1st of September I shall publish No. I. of *The History of the Life and Reign of GEORGE IV.* When that is done, I shall go back to the earliest times, and publish, in similar Numbers, on the 1st of every month, a COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A *true one*; no a *romance*. The History of GEORGE IV will be the *end*, of course, unless should outlive another King. I begin with this last reign, because we want it, and particularly the history of our poor, unfortunate, and excellent friend, QUEEN CAROLINE, who, by her known hatred of corruption, gave the borough-villains a better blow than they had had for many many years. They have, in fact, never been "*their own men*" since. These incomparable villains (for what is *equal* to their villany) shall have their *due*, their full due, in my history, which shall show *how they got* their possessions and enable the nation to judge of the *right* that they have to keep them. Our histories are romances, written by pensioned and bribed slaves. It is high time that the people knew the truth, high time that they saw the degradation into which they have fallen, and *the causes of it*. This task was reserved for me; and, God giving me life and health, I will perform it. The Numbers will come out *monthly*, price 8d., as low as I can sell it, with any thing like compensation to myself; and I do this, because I wish people in even low circumstances to read it.

COTTAGE ECONOMY. I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the Labouring and Middling Classes of the English Nation; and I knew that the lively and pleasing manner of the writing would cause it to have many readers, and that thus its substance would get handed to those who could not read. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest mode of making *Beer* and *Bread*, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. It was necessary, further, to treat of the keeping of *Cows*, *Pigs*, *Bees*, and *Poultry*, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details; and I think it impossible for any one to read the Book without learning something of utility in the management of a Family. It includes my Writings also on the *Straw Plait*. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

In a few days will be published,

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

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From Paris, through Lyons, to Avignon and Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Rome, Naples, Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Baie;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Foligno, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

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A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and condition of the people;

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By JAMES P. COBBETT.

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WANTED, by a MARRIED MAN, 35 Years of Age, a SITUATION as BAILIFF or BAILIFF and GARDENER; is well acquainted with the Management of Cattle; has been engaged for the last Twelve Years both in Farming and Gardening on his own account; could have no objection to the Management and Marketing of a considerable Market-garden Concern, having attended most of the public Markets. Can be well recommended.—Address (post paid) to A. B., Office of the Register, 183, Fleet-street, London.

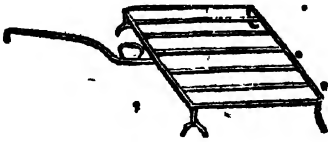
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 70.—No. 8.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 21st, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



In 1825, Burdett passed three days in endeavours to prevail on the Irish Deputies to consent to a law for *disfranchising the Irish 40s. freeholders*.

In 1827, Burdett, in the House of Commons, declared that he would *support Canning*; and this, too, in the very same hour that Canning declared, *that he would oppose reform to the last hour of his life*.

In 1829, Burdett voted for a Bill to disfranchise the Irish 40s. freeholders.

In 1830, Burdett and his man (the son of the Commissioner of the Nabob of Arcott's Debts) were *pelted by the people from the hutings of Covent Garden*, and were compelled to take shelter in the church.

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

On the Dinner at the London Tavern, on the 16th instant; and on other matters of great importance to all Reformers, particularly on the apparent views of the great PRINCE OF WATERLOO.

Kensington, 18th August, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

WE have had our Dinner, at which the TRI-COLOURED FLAG waved over our heads; we passed our "ADDRESS to the brave people of Paris"; we requested Sir THOMAS BEEVOY, Baronet (who was present), to go to Paris to present the address; he instantly yielded to the request; and the very next day, Tuesday, he set off for Paris (as Ambassador of the Reformers of England), accompanied by Mr. JAMES COBBETT, as his "Secretary of Legation." So that, not only will the people of France hear the sentiments that we express, but they will see the proof of our being in earnest. We have been prompt as well as just; and it will be said of our representative as it was of Cæsar, "Chiefest

of all, HE CAME IN TIME." Let us hope that our example will have a good effect, and that ambassadors will go to Paris from many bodies of men in England. Care should be taken, however, not to send men whom the people of England despise. I will not name any body; but when there are so many good men and true, those should not be sent who are hated by the people, and who have been *pelted by them*, and very recently too. Such men really should, at this time, be *kept out of sight* as much as possible. Their malice against the people will thrust them forward, in the hope that they shall make the people disgusted with the cause that they appear to espouse. I read of a *public meeting in Westminster*. The *shams* dare not appear at such a meeting; the *shams* dare not show their faces to the people of Westminster. They can congregate in places, out of which the people are shut; but they will never meet the people again; no, not even at the Crown and Anchor. Therefore, such people should, if possible, be *kept out of sight*: our gallant friends at Paris know that the people of Westminster have *pelted them*. They should be kept out of sight; indeed they should. I hope that those who have influence over them will be able to restrain their malice; but if not, I shall be compelled to interfere, and effectually restrain them myself. One way of restraining them, is to point out to the people by NAME, who their abettors are. They are now terrified out of their lives at seeing that there *must* be reform; and they will do every thing in their power to make it as small and as worthless as possible.

I now proceed to an account of our DINNER, first remarking, however, on some material misrepresentation that have gone forth respecting it. We were not to expect fair play from the *reporters*, nor from some of the editors. In the *Herald*, *Chronicle* and *Advertiser*, we have been pretty fairly treated; but the *reporters* have misled the editors in two points especially; 1st, in saying that the company consisted of 140 per-

sons; another says 150. *There were 202 sat down to dinner*; and several joined afterwards, who could not come in time to dine. The price (10s. 6d.) was high; but at *such a place* we could not have it lower; and it was necessary to have it in the city of London. There were about *forty gentlemen from the country*. We had *no stewards; no constables; no police*. We needed none. All was harmony; all was joy. We met at 5 o'clock, and separated at 10 o'clock, having done our business well. Not a man was intoxicated; not a man had uttered an angry or a foolish word. To give a report of one's own speeches is very wearisome; I will, therefore, take the report, just as it is given in the *MORNING HERALD* (the *Chronicle* and the *Advertiser*, *I sent to France* on Tuesday), and will just correct some errors which are very material, because they relate to *facts*. I am, for instance, made to say, that in 1815, France was attacked by 1,100,000 men in arms. It was 1,011,000. I am made to say, that Sir JAMES GRAHAM showed, that 13 of the aristocracy took from us 50,000*l.* a year. It was 113 of them that took from us 650,000*l.* a year. There are other errors *in words*, which in justice to *the company*, much more than to myself, are corrected in the following report. With these preliminary remarks, I insert the report, and shall then notice the omissions.

Yesterday evening, in pursuance of Mr. Cobbett's notification, about 140 persons [202] sat down to dinner at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, to celebrate, under the above designation, the late events in France. Mr. Cobbett was in the chair, supported on his right by Sir Thomas Beevor. Over the head of the Chairman waved the tri-coloured flag. The company was both numerous and respectable. All wore the tri-coloured riband at the button-hole, or as a watch riband.

The cloth having been removed, Mr. COBBETT said—I can truly say, though I have lived sixty-four years, that this is the happiest day of my life. This time renovates me. It makes me believe myself young; and if I can believe

so, it is as good as being so. You can all recollect the year 1815, when this flag (pointing to the tri-coloured flag) was torn from the gallant French nation by 1,011,000 men, whose muster-roll was laid before the House of Commons. You can remember the bragging of Castlereagh, the pride of the aristocracy who pulled down the flag, how they exulted in the thought that they had their feet upon our necks for ever. Yet the time is come when that flag is up again, and we are met to thank those who have been the workers in this glorious achievement. I am here for the purpose of tendering to you that which I think a proper address for us to present to the gallant people of Paris. We ought to be particularly careful that in an address of this sort, nothing shall go forth but what is perfectly true. I hope that you will concur in that which I shall submit to you from beginning to end. To have your approbation of this address will add to the pride I already feel. Having read the address, I will submit to you, without “playing at Parliament,” without sham motions, or sham secondings, such as the *shams* make use of, and by the aid of which we have been so long defrauded, cheated, and robbed. The Address is dated the 16th August 1830; a very ominous day, Gentlemen (though it occurred by mere accident): it is the day on which the reformers bled at Manchester.

Mr. COBBETT here read the following Address:

“THE REFORMERS OF LONDON (ASSEMBLED AT THE LONDON TAVERN, ON THE 16TH OF AUGUST, 1830), TO THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF PARIS.

“FRIENDS,—We, the reformers of London, speaking the voice of millions of Englishmen, present to you our congratulations on the victory that your valour has obtained for yourselves, and our best thanks for the good that must arise from your noble example.

" We who, and whose fathers, have
 " been for fifty years striving in vain
 " to recover our right of choosing re-
 " presentatives; we who, during that
 " struggle, have sometimes seen the
 " champions of our cause crammed into
 " gaols and dungeons, and sometimes
 " reduced to silence by military force
 " we, who have heard it declared in th
 " House of Commons itself, that th
 " sale or barter of seats in that House
 " was as notorious as the sun at noon-
 " day: we, who know that that House
 " has, for thirty-seven years, had on its
 " table an offer to prove, that a ma-
 " jority of the Members are put in it
 " by the sole will of one hundred and
 " fifty-four Peers and rich men, the
 " truth of which statement has never
 " been questioned; we, who have a
 " press held in heavy bonds, beset with
 " perilous traps, and so loaded with
 " taxes, that the Government receives
 " fourpence and the quarter of another
 " penny out of every sixpence for which
 " a newspaper is sold by the proprietor;
 " we, who behold the industrious and
 " laborious classes, of whom we form
 " a part, brought down to ruin, and in
 " great numbers reduced to the lowest
 " stage of human degradation, clad in
 " miserable rags, deprived of a suffi-
 " ciency of food fit for man, and, in
 " many cases, actually starved to death,
 " while those who receive the fruits of
 " our labour wallow in wealth, luxury,
 " and splendour; we, who well know
 " that this shameful and hateful state
 " of things arises entirely from our not
 " being permitted freely to choose our
 " representatives; we, who thus suffer
 " and thus know the cause of our suffer-
 " ing; we, who have so long been
 " bereft even of hope, now feel, in con-

" templating your glorious achievement,
 " that hope once more revive in our
 " bosoms, and bid us look forward to
 " happier days.

" When we saw the tri-coloured flag
 " torn from you by combined Europe
 " with a million of men in arms, we
 " mourned from the bottom of our
 " hearts. In that flag we saw the sym-
 " bol of the valour and patriotism of
 " free-men; the principle of the sove-
 " reignty of the people; and, above all
 " things, the assertion of that most pre-
 " cious of all rights, the right of the
 " people freely to choose those who
 " make the laws; and we had the sad
 " foreboding, that, along with this glo-
 " rious flag, under which freedom had
 " won her thousand battles, these sa-
 " cred principles and rights would be
 " trampled under foot.

" It is, then, with joy unbounded that
 " we again see this immortal flag in the
 " air. In it we behold the fall of ty-
 " ranny decreed; in it we behold the
 " humiliation of insolent and rapacious
 " aristocracy; in it we behold a sure
 " guarantee for the real freedom of the
 " Press and for the right of representa-
 " tion; in it we behold the pledge of
 " peace and friendship between the
 " people of England and the people of
 " France; and, while this ensign of
 " virtue and of justice waves over our
 " heads, to an expression of our admir-
 " ation of the valour and the wisdom
 " of those who have again raised it aloft,
 " we add our fervent prayer, that the
 " survivors of the combat may enjoy,
 " through life, God's choicest blessings,
 " and that every fairest and sweetest
 " flower may bloom on the graves of
 " the slain."

Mr. CORNBETT resumed—It is not solely from gratitude to the French; it is not solely from admiration towards them, that we are met here. Every one, except the gloomy boroughmonger, who retreats to his shades and trembles for fear, not only rejoices, but comes forward to express his joy. We rejoice, in the first place, as all Englishmen ought, that tyranny has received a blow; that the people themselves have come forward and put down tyrants; that they have asserted their rights; but we rejoice more feelingly on our own account. It is impossible that this flag can keep aloft, and we continue in our present degraded state many years longer. Before that set be called together who have now been what they call *electors*, I trust that we shall have fallen upon some plan of assembling together somewhere or other; that we shall have adjusted some mode of assembling, legally, no doubt, and collecting one another's thoughts, and laying those thoughts before the set. The last time we laid those thoughts before them in 1817, a million and a half of us presented our humble prayers that they would let us have the power of choosing our representatives. What answer did they give? No answer at all. They saw the bulk of the petitions, and down they came to the Houses with green bags, containing certain papers relating to certain plots. They would let none of us see the papers, but they referred them to a Secret Committee of their own choosing, and the Secret Committee said that there was reason to take away our liberty. The whole of the people of England and Scotland were made liable to be put into dungeons at the pleasure of two Secretaries of State. I trust we shall again make our voice heard, and I do believe that this time they will not put us into gaols and dungeons. It is notorious also that nothing ever equalled the pride, insolence, and exultation of the boroughmongering ruffians and their satellites when this flag was pulled down by the 1,011,000 foreigners. You remember that white cockades were stuck on their horses' heads. The boroughmongers drove about their country cross-roads with white cockades in their hats. You remember at what a low ebb

you were then, at least I remember at what a low ebb I was then. Never, not even when they crammed me into a gaol amongst felons, did I feel the depression which I felt when they hoisted the white flag, because I foresaw there was no hope for the world if they could succeed. You all know the connexion that has lately existed between this Government and that of France. The thing is different now. Freemen can go to France. There is a communication between the freemen of each country. Hitherto there has been no communication except between the tax-eating Englishman and the tax-eating Frenchman. How much ought I to feel for the misfortunes of the King of France and his family you may guess: they never would, on any account, suffer my *Register* to go to France. They would suffer any paper to go to France but that. To prevent its going they opened a banker's parcel, to see if they could find the *Register*, and, having found it, they took it away. There was nothing in the *Register* to injure France, or to reflect on the French Government, but there was something in it to expose this Government; they did not like that the French people should read how they treated this country. What a change is there now! Every communication may be made which may contribute to the success of our own cause and the recovery of our own rights. How can we sufficiently admire the people of Paris, and particularly the working men of Paris! It was not the aristocracy, it was not the gentlemen, but it was the working men of Paris, who felt oppressed, and who came forwards and conducted themselves in a way which ought to be imitated, under like circumstances, by every people on the face of the earth. What was it which the fallen King and his fallen Ministers wanted to do? They wanted to deprive the people of all their real rights, by depriving them of the power of choosing their representatives. Have we our real rights? No. What does it arise from? From the circumstance of our not choosing our representatives. How comes it that 113 of the Aristocracy receive amongst them 650,000*l.* of the public money yearly? It is certain that if we,

the people, had to vote the sum, we should not vote them as many pence, nor as many farthings. The Aristocracy know that well, and that is the reason they will not let us have the choosing of our representatives. Why, for instance, should Mr. Herries's mother and sister receive the public money to live like ladies, as they did up to 1808, and may do now? Mr. Herries is said to be worth between 2 and 300,000*l*. How is it that we are to be forced to keep them? Is that the way the aristocracy do for us? No, there is one law for them and another for us. Who is there amongst us who, having a large fortune, would suffer his mother and sisters to go and beg? They talk of the middle classes, and the lower orders. They call themselves the upper class, they talk of the feelings of honour that people in the upper class have. Feelings of honour! Have they feelings of honour? Look at the pension and sinecure list. Look at the list of paupers. See the tribes quartered upon us, made to be kept by us. This is the thing that angers me most of all; it is not one, but whole tribes of them: mothers, fathers, daughters, sons. Mrs. Herries and her daughters are perhaps living in some village where the very people who are taxed every day to keep them pull off their hats and courtesy to them. They are splendid paupers. I had the book containing the list of these pensioners bound up, and I told the bookseller to stamp upon the back, "Splendid Paupers." To satirize them, to speak of their meanness, their baseness, is not enough. We should think seriously how we are to go to work, to take from them that which they receive. That we never shall do without a reform in Parliament. When we have made a beginning we shall get on, and we shall not stop till we have a reform in reality. Five years since, some people proposed seriously to compensate the borough-mongers for the loss of their boroughs. It would be the same as awarding compensation to a thief at the Old Bailey. A thief might say, "If I leave off thieving I shall starve." Then say the others, "Come, we'll make a provision for you, we'll give you compensation." But who would think of compensation now? If

the borough-mongers were to come forward frankly and say, "We have been corrupters and bribers; we have been of those dastardly, mean, mercenary wretches, who have robbed the people for so many years, we'll be borough-mongers no longer;" the generosity of the nation would now be inclined to say, "Go and sin no more." But, if they defer the time much longer, the nation will not be satisfied with the mere abolition of the boroughs, but will demand a restitution of all that has been taken in consequence. If the nation should be brought to such a state as to be obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means to recover itself, who would hesitate to say, "Let us take the public property, commonly called church-property, and let us save the 300,000 families of fundholders, generally in the middle classes of life, from total ruin." With an honest reform, affairs may be settled; but, without it, no man can believe that matters will go on in the same way for another six years.

Mr. Cobbett's speech was greeted continually with applause, and the Address was unanimously adopted.

It was proposed and agreed, that the Address should be signed by the Chairman on behalf of the Meeting.

Mr. COBBETT then informed the company, that the Hon. Baronet on his right hand had been applied to, and consented to become the bearer of the Address. The Hon. Baronet was no borough-monger, but an independent country gentleman, who did honour to the title.

A resolution was then passed, requesting Sir Thomas Beevor to be the bearer of the Address.

Sir THOMAS BEEVOR expressed his exultation at the events which had recently taken place in France. He called to the recollection of the company that this was the anniversary of that day upon which a peaceable meeting had been assaulted by an armed body of cavalry. He trusted that there was no people in Europe who would not follow the example of the French nation. He invited every person to subscribe his name to the suffering French. I shall most cheerfully (said the Hon. Baronet) obey your call to carry the Address to

France. It is most gratifying to me, stranger as I am, to be elected to this honourable office. It will give me the greatest pleasure to be accompanied by others. I wish it to be understood, that no time will be lost in following up your instructions, and that to-morrow morning, if possible, certainly in the course of to-morrow, I shall set out.

Mr. CONNETT then announced, that Sir Thomas Beevor would take upon himself the office of Treasurer, the worthy Baronet himself subscribing 50*l*. This deputation would be a great tie between us and the people of France; why should not that tie exist? The two people had been kept separated for 200 years, to the great gain of their respective Governments. Thousands were slaughtered in war, on either side, and yet the Royal Family and the borough-mongers in the respective countries were upon terms of friendship with each other; so that when one of the Royal Family of either country died, the other Royal Family went into mourning, though the people were kept at war. Nothing would tend so much to promote friendship as this deputation. Formerly French wine was sold for 4*d*. a gallon, and now, were it not for the custom and excise duties, it might be drunk at 4*d*. a quart. In proposing a toast, he begged to state that the toasts this evening would be wholly in honour of the French nation. The meeting was in honour of the French, and of the people of Paris. He therefore proposed "The French Nation," three times three, and "The King of the French."

A letter was read from Mr. O'Connell, apologising for his absence, and calling upon the people of England to imitate the people of Ireland, and refuse to take bribes for their votes at elections.

The next toasts were, "The Memory of the brave People of Paris, who fell in resisting the attempt to deprive their country of the right of choosing Representatives; and Health and Happiness to the Survivors of the glorious combat." "General Lafayette, and the National Guard of France, a speedy arrival to some of them, in London."

Mr. CONNETT said, that we surely had as much right to receive and entertain

the national guard, the armed protectors of the liberty of the citizens, as the borough-mongers had to receive and entertain Polignac and other traitors. Though we could not always, like the borough-mongers, afford the French "mourning," we could, at any rate, afford them a pint of porter. Let the people of London meet the national guard of France on Shooter's-hill, and welcome them into the metropolis with 100 such flags as that which was now hoisted. Be assured that this would do more for Parliamentary reform than 1,000 petitions.

The next toast, Mr. CONNETT said, was one on which he had set his heart. Lord Grey once said, in the House of Lords, that he would stick to his order; his order was the *higher* order. Now, he (Mr. C.) was what was called one of the lower orders, his grandfather was a road-wagoner, his father was not much better, therefore, he was of the order of "road-wagoners," and he would stick to the order. It was this "order" that had done the work in France, and therefore he proposed, "The working people of Paris, who began the open resistance to the tyrannical acts."

The following toasts were also drunk with enthusiasm:

"The Students of the Polytechnic and other Schools, who so nobly joined the working people."

"May the sufferings which England has long endured, and which she still endures, from the boroughmongering villany, be a warning to France."

"May the soil of England never be disgraced by its being made a place of retreat for tyrant Kings or Ministers, who have been expelled from their native land."

"The soldiers of France, who refused to shed the blood of the people."

Mr. GALE JONES and others subsequently addressed the meeting.

Subscriptions were announced to the amount of 98*l*.

The subscriptions announced amounted to more than 130*l*. However, the *reporters* might have gone away before the close of the business. As we were *five hours* in the room, and as nearly *four* of them were occupied in hearing the different *speakers*, you, my friends, will

see, that the above can only be a mere sketch of the speeches. For my own speeches, of which I made several, all that I shall say is, that they were full of *useful truths*, particularly that part of them in which I spoke of the conduct of the *boroughmonger press*, and of our "glorious revolution," as compared with that which has now taken place in France. This is wholly omitted in the *report*; no notice at all is taken of it, and, therefore, I will give a *sketch of it here*.

"Gentlemen, the boroughmonger press (and nineteen-twentieths of it is such) has, in this case, been *dragged along with the public voice*, and by the noble *promptitude* of the French working people. If Polignac had succeeded only for a few days, he would have had this press on his side. Dragged forward in spite of itself, and compelled to *praise the French*, it is doing its best for the boroughmongers by *leaving its readers to infer* that WE do not want any thing of the *same sort*. That we had our *revolution* in 1688; that that was like *this French one*; and that we do not *want any such change now!* [Here was a good deal of *laughing*. Every face was expressive of attention.] Let us see how this matter stands. Let us see how much alike these two revolutions were. The French has been *made by the people of France*, who fought and beat a *Swiss army*. The English was made by the *aristocracy*, aided by a *Dutch army brought into the country for the purpose*, and kept in the country for many years. And Canning said in the House of Commons, in June, 1829, that, *if the people of England had had their way*, the 'glorious revolution' would never have taken place! Then as to the cause, what had James done? He had not oppressed the people; he was a very honest man; very tender of the people's purses; he kept up a noble navy, and yet the whole of the taxes that he took from the people amounted to less than *one million and a half in the year*. What, then, had he done? He was a sincere Catholic himself, and he wanted to do *that which has been done now*; namely, put

"the Catholics *upon a level with Protestants!* That was his offence; the aristocracy had the church property in their hands; they thought that *restoring the Catholics to their civil rights*, would endanger that property; and, therefore, they brought in the Dutch army, and set him and his sons and their descendants aside. And as to the *consequences*, his *million and a half* a year soon became *ten millions*; then came the DEBT, and then came the SEPTENNIAL BILL, and then came the BOROUGHMONGERS and the American and French wars, and our present *millstone* of debts and taxes, which the pensioner, HUSKISSON, has the audacity to tell us, that we must *endure for the present generation!* I have four sons, Gentlemen, that I love as well as fathers in general love their sons; but, I solemnly declare before God, that I would see their four corpses stretched on that floor, rather than believe that they will contentedly and silently submit to the doom pronounced on them by this insolent pensioner.

"Oh, no, gentlemen, we do not want another 'glorious revolution!' We want no change of *dynasty*, and no new *form of government*. But we do want those things which the '*glorious revolution*' took away from us; namely, to *choose our own representatives*, and to pay but a very small part of the *taxes* that we now pay; in other words, we want that which the people of Paris have died rather than lose, the power of *freely choosing those who make the laws*."

Mr. GALE JONES, whom I had never even seen before in my life, made a very able speech, which was loudly and deservedly applauded; and I, in giving the next toast, took occasion to observe, that, if I had to make out a list of the '*champions of our cause*,' alluded to in the address, as having been crammed into jails and dungeons, justice would compel me to include Mr. JONES amongst them: and the boroughmonger press are greatly deceived, if they imagine that they can *mortify me by coupling my name with his*. This is one of their arts; but, let the whole of those who *write for the boroughmongers publish*

their names, and then we shall see whether there be a man amongst them whose character is so good as that of Mr. JONES. He has always had *great talent*, and has always been in *earnest*: there has needed *nothing more* to bring down upon him their implacable and united hostility.

Such, my friends, was the character of, and proceedings at, this dinner. Agreeably to his word, the worthy Baronet, the plain, sincere, sensible, and spirited Sir Thomas Beavor, started for France, at the time, before mentioned, to convey to Paris the pledge of our admiration and our friendship. The affair was, altogether, too important not to awaken some serious thoughts in the minds of the Boroughmongers; and, to these thoughts, one of their vile tools, the COUNTER, has given vent in the following article, which appeared on the 17th, the day after the dinner, on which article, when I have inserted it, I shall make some remarks; or, rather, I shall take it bit by bit, and hang it up to scorn.

"A very general opinion is gaining ground in the metropolis, that the important events which have recently occurred in France will furnish the *enemies of order* in this country with an opportunity of making proselytes amongst the thousands whose sympathies have been roused in favour of the French *Constitutionalists*, and who, under the influence of excitement, may encourage doctrines which, under ordinary circumstances, they would indignantly reject. Entertaining this opinion, *there are many* who would bestow *serious attention upon the radical reformers*, and oppose, by *some strong and public demonstration of dislike*, the display of false benevolence among the leaders of that party."

Indeed! And *who* are these "*many*?" And what sort of "*demonstration of dislike*?" A *public* one and a *strong* one, it seems; "*Loyal Associations*," perhaps? "*Addresses from the Merchants and Bankers*" in favour of *gagging* and *dungeon-bills*? "Eh! is that it? Oh, you baffled, you hired, vagabond, how we laugh at you now! Do we not remember your infamy of 1817? Do we not remember the crimes

committed by you, by the *Old Times*, and by the *Quarterly Review*, in that year of tyranny! You want a "*demonstration of dislike*," do you! Base vagabond tax-eater, tell us *your name*, and tell us *where you live*. Yes, it is well for the Boroughmongers to "*bestow serious attention upon the radical reformers*;" for, from *them* they will learn *their fate*, which they will not learn from anybody else. I told them, for instance, at the dinner, which has alarmed this hireling slave, that if they were to *give way now*, the generosity of the nation might say to them, "*Go and sin no more*;" but, if they continued two years longer in their iniquitous traffic, they would lose the boroughs and the *fruit of them into the bargain*. And this is my sincere conviction. I trust that some one, who has the leisure, will take, 1st, the Petition of Lord Grey of 1793; 2d. the *List of Boroughmongers, their names, titles, and the number of members that each puts in*. These two important documents are to be found in the Annual Register for 1793. To these might be added an account of the places, officers' commissions, pensions, sinecures, grants, contracts, church-livings, and other emoluments, enjoyed by each boroughmonger, or by members of his family, or by the tutors or dependents of his family, during the last *fifty years*. With these documents ready at hand, the Radical Reformers might *make up the accounts* of the several boroughmongers, just as tradesmen make up their Christmas bills. There was a little work published, during the Queen's trial, called *PEEP AT THE PEERS*. That would greatly assist in making out these accounts! Now, fool-slave, what do you get by your cull for "*a strong public demonstration on the part of the friends of order*?" Lie still, if you're wise.

"We do not *exactly* see the necessity of any such proceeding, even though Mr. COBBETT, throwing off the little regard which he professed to feel for "*the duration of order*, invites the French National Guards to the foot of Shooter's-hill, there to meet all the *idle and dissolute* persons of the metropolis, with tri-coloured flags, and to be accompanied by them *into the*

"heart of the Capital. That Mr. COB-
 BETT, and Mr. GALE JONES, and other
 "persons of a similar stamp, have only
 "a mischievous object in view in getting
 "up public dinners and delivering in-
 "flammatory speeches, must, we think,
 "be admitted by every person; but it
 "should not be overlooked that there is
 "in the character of these men a gua-
 "rantee against the perfection of the
 "design which they entertain, and which
 "they no longer affect to conceal; and
 "although it is certainly to be regretted
 "that they should be able, with the
 "public feeling in favour of the French
 "Revolution, to get up meetings which
 "are comparatively numerous and even
 "respectable, considering what they
 "have mustered on other occasions, yet
 "there is nothing very alarming in
 "COBNETT and GALE JONES addressing
 "a hundred or a hundred and twenty
 "weak-headed persons, who will repent
 "of the disgrace which they have
 "brought upon themselves, when the
 "enthusiasm which led them into such
 "disreputable society shall have abated."

The boroughmongers have so long
 been used to practise insolence, that they
 will, I suppose, keep on 'till the politi-
 cal Noah shall actually step into the ark.
 Here is this slave, who dares not tell
 us his name, but who is notoriously fed
 in part out of the fruit of my labour;
 here is this villanous slave, who ought
 to be thumping hemp in some bridewell,
 accusing me of a wish to destroy all or-
 der; of entertaining wicked designs,
 which I do not now conceal; of having
 a bad character; and of misleading
 weak-headed men. One of the crimes,
 of the great crimes, of the borough-
 mongers, is, the employing of a base
 press to traduce those who have stood
 forward in defence of the people's rights;
 if possible, to ruin and destroy all such
 persons; and, in many cases, they have
 succeeded. This is one of the great
 crimes of these bribing villains; and for
 this crime they will have to answer.
 Sticking a pin there, or tying a knot in
 our handkerchief, so as to be sure not to
 forget this crime; let us now see the
 amount of the observations of this im-
 pudent and half-fool slave. I say no-
 thing to destroy order; I invite no idle
 and no dissolute persons to assemble; I

say, that it becomes the working people
 of London to receive with every mark
 of honour and affection any deputation
 that may come from the working people
 of Paris, and that I hope they will do. But,
 what has this to do with my complaints?
 I explain, that out of every SIX-
 PENCE that I receive for a Register, I
 am compelled to pay FOUR-PENCE-
 FARTHING TO THE GOVERN-
 MENT, having SEVEN-FARTHINGs
 left to pay for paper, print, publishing,
 and authorship; and that, besides this,
 I have to pay tax on my house, win-
 dows, dog, horse, malt, beer, candles,
 soap, tea, sugar, and on every thing that
 I want to eat, drink, wear, or warm me.
 I say, that the government takes from
 me nearly all my earnings. I know that
 it treats other people in the same man-
 ner; but this is my specific complaint;
 and, in answer to this, the borough-
 mongers, by the pen of this their base
 slave, talk of my having no regard for
 the duration of order, and of my "getting
 up" public dinners, and of my charac-
 ter; and all this the slave does without
 one fact to sustain his insinuations.
 Ah! boroughmongers, time was, when
 this would have done; it will now
 do no longer; but, mark me, if the
 slave can do you no good, he can
 do you some harm: he can assist to
 heap hot coals upon your heads; and
 mind I tell you, that you will have, at
 last, to answer for the insolence of your
 tools. There is Brougham, too (who
 really seems to be half mad, or more),
 bawling forth against me, even while
 he is laying on upon the French tyrant-
 fools with the fury of a hyæna! This
 is a grand boroughmonger tool; but
 the nation will see how I will turn him
 up, just as a greyhound does a hare;
 how I will give him a nip in the back;
 then give him a twirl in the air, and
 catch him as he comes down. To the
 documents before-mentioned, as mate-
 rials for making out the accounts of the
 boroughmongers, the Christmas bills of
 these gentry, there ought to be a list of
 all those who have been their tools for the
 last fifty years, and the number of years
 that each tool has been in their service.
 Oh, it is, it is, it is, a long account to
 settle; but yet no account was ever more
 easily made out! But, now, for some

pretty work! Do, pray, my friends LISTEN! "List! Oh, list!" if ever thou didst a boroughmonger hate!

"The radical reformers, as they style themselves, in contradistinction to the advocates of *real and reasonable reform*, will not be able to turn the events of France to their own profit; nor will they, on the other hand, induce Ministers to *relax in that gradual and temperate amelioration of the old system*, which the circumstances of the times, the improvement of mind among the lower classes, and their own convictions of right and propriety, have produced, and are daily producing. The able statesman who is now at the head of affairs has too much firmness to be driven into concessions which are improper, or to be hurried into improvements which he may have to propose, but for the successful development of which time is necessary. On the other hand, he will not, like some of his obstinate and less strong-minded predecessors, be deterred from doing what is right, merely because some persons, who desire to overthrow the Constitution, mix up in the recommendation a little good with a great deal of evil. From the Duke of WELLINGTON and Sir ROBERT PEELE, who are really and essentially reformers in the way which the true friend to human enjoyment and good government desires, we may fairly expect all that reason and right feeling dictate, more than which would be as prejudicial to happiness and good government, as was the contrary course adopted by the French *et-Sovereign*."

Well done, slave! "By heavens, if I had three ears, I'd hear thee. We do not want, God forbid we should, to *hurry*" the Duke of Wellington into the adoption of the "improvements which he may have to propose." We do not want to *hurry* him. The Parliament is summoned to meet in September; but if we have the "REAL and REASONABLE reform" by Christmas it may do. I do not think that it will do well if it come much later; that is to say, I do not think that it will come so harmoniously if it come much later. Right glad am I to

learn that the Duke will not follow the example of "his obstinate and weak-minded predecessors;" right glad to hear that the Duke and PEELE are "REALLY and ESSENTIALLY REFORMERS;" but there is this drawback to my joy, that the slave says that these two worthy reformers are "daily at work in making improvements;" for all the improvements that they have hitherto made are, the disfranchising of the 40s. freeholders of Ireland, the establishment of a gendarmerie in England, and the new law to hold the press in bonds; which last was their very last act passed, and the present King's first act assented to! Aye, aye, but they are become "really and essentially reformers" since the 23d of July, when that act was passed! Very likely, very likely; and I am right glad of it. And, as "we may fairly expect from them" all that REASON and RIGHT "FEELING dictate," I am sure that I shall want nothing more. Reason and right feeling say that every man who pays taxes should vote in choosing those who impose the taxes; reason and right feeling say that the Septennial Bill (which was passed under the pretence of keeping out a popish faction) should be repealed; reason and right feeling say, with voice of thunder, that bribery and corruption and perjury should be put an end to by the ballot. Now this is all we want; and as the PRINCE and PEELE are ready to give us it, we are contented, or shall be when we get it; BUT NEVER TILL THEN. So that they will do well to make up their minds either to give us all this at once; or, to carry on the strife to its natural and INEVITABLE termination. Brougham, Hume, and the rest of that tribe, lugging such things as Burdett and his man along in their train, are, they say, "organizing a party" against the Duke, whom Brougham, in his Yorkshire rants, is *becalling* in a most beastly manner. There is a great talk about this party; and it would seem, that there is to be a *dead set* made at the Duke. But, of all God's creatures the most shallow is the bawling Brougham. The Duke is a cool man; and has as much common sense in his little finger as Brougham has in his whole body.

Brougham will be the leader of *"the party;"* HUME the totter-up; Burdett and the like of him will be occasional ranters. These men, who are, in fact, *boroughmonger tools*, will worry the Duke out, unless *he make the radical reform himself*; and then *he blows them into the air, and ensures his power and popularity for life*. And this he must do, or down he comes, and the whole system along with him; for Brougham and his crew could not carry it on for a month. If the Duke come, and *I really think he will*, with a Speech or Message from the King, *recommending reform*, Brougham and the "Great Liar of the North" and Hume and Burdett and his man will all *drop down dead* as if shot through the heart, for a *real reform* extinguishes the whole of them for ever, and that they know well. Even this article in the COURIER has, I am certain, frightened them half to death. But, if the Duke *boggle*; if he *hang back from reform*, they will bawl for it like furies, and will throw *all the odium upon him*, while he will be *doing the very thing that they will want him to do*. Brougham and his set have with them a great body of the meanest and most hypocritical of the boroughmongers and loanmongers, *who hope that the BAWLERS will be able to SAVE THEM by cheating the people with a SHAM reform*. They cannot cheat the people; the people see through them all, as the Duke may learn from the *petting of Burdett and Hobhouse at Westminster*; but, if the Duke *oppose reform*, the *shams* will clamour for it, and the people will cheer the *shams* so far; and then down comes the Duke, and, as I said before, the whole system along with him: the ship is at once upon the rocks, and to pieces she goes. By *making the reform himself*, the Duke preserves his own fame and power and the country also. But it must be a *radical reform*; the measure must not, like the Catholic one, *take away more liberty than it gives*.

"We would, therefore, advise all who look for *retrenchment and reform*, and who do not want *revolution*, to expect with confidence more from those to whom they owe so much already, and to treat with contempt the ravings of men who desire the destruction of

"every thing that is respectable in society. As far as Mr. CONNETT and his immediate partisans are concerned, *the character of the parties* is a guarantee against any ground for alarm, but we regret to add that there are others holding a different rank who do not blush to avow doctrines of a similar character, and against these persons we would really caution the well-meaning but credulous portion of society."

It is curious, that this slave has taken up the old Whig-cant about "*retrenchment and reform*"; and the further cant, that there are some "*who want revolution*." Why *I want revolution*; for revolution means a *great change*; and *I want a great change*. Have I not told the slave that I pay the Government 1½d. out of every 6d. that I sell a Register for; and that I want to pay none of this? Have I not told the slave that I help to pay a pension to Burke thirty years after that slave has been dead, and that I want to cease thus to pay? This is what the wretch means by *revolution*; and this is what I, and what all tax-payers in the country want; and it is what *we will have* too. We *will cease to pay Burke's pension*: in spite of all the tricks of the *shams*, who are now racking their imagination for the means of preventing reform and for saving the base and false and cowardly boroughmongers and loan-mongers, who are creeping under the gaberdines and kelts (not *belts*, as the printer put it before) of Brougham and Hume and their "*party*," and whom I do hope that the Duke, *with the people at his back*, will blow to the devil.

I am, my friends,

Your faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

DINNER OF THE SHOYHOYS.

FOR about nine days, "A GRAND DINNER," in honour of the French, had been advertised to be held at the FREEMASONS' TAVERN, Burdett, the Grand Master of the Shoyhoys, in the chair. Advertisements, placards, all sorts of means were made use of, to get a com-

pany together. It was notified that Lords Milton, John Russell, Nugent, and that Brougham would be there. All these people *sent apologies*; and the *cortège* of the shoyhoy consisted of his MAN, who is the son of the *Commissioner of Nabob of Arcott Debts*; FISHIE TALLMER, whose *wife is a pensioner*, and whose pension might have remained unnoticed if her husband had kept from Burdett; WARBURTON, who brought in the *Dead-body Bill*; Colonel JONES, who as back (not *hack*, as the printer before put it) of the two Westminster shams, got so severely pelted by the people at Covent Garden; and a Mr. BUCKINGHAM, who has been lecturing on the East India Charter, and who has now a scheme for *going round the world*. This was the *cortège* of *known persons* that surrounded the Grand Shoyhoy; and when Mr. Buckingham comes back from going round the world, I should like to see him to ask him, whether he have seen, on any spot of this globe, an exhibition *more despicable* than that which he saw that day at the Freemasons' Tavern!

It was advertised that there would be, and it appears there were, a *band of music* and *hired singers* and a *gallery for ladies*. Never was there such a display of *promise*. The *reporters* (all *feed* and *fed*) say, that there were *ABOUT* three hundred persons present. Ah! *about* two or three or so! And yet, I'll engage, that a half or more of the tickets were *given*; for it would have been hard indeed, if Glory and the Nabob Commissioner would not bleed upon this occasion. In my neck I shall notice the whole of this affair, not excepting the *letters* sent to the meeting, particularly that of Lord Milton, who has quietly *slipped in for Peterborough*.

But I cannot conclude, even now, without expressing my anger against Mr. BUCKINGHAM, for suffering two *French gentlemen*, the Count de MORNAY, and an *officer* of the name of VINCENT, to be brought to this place. I do not confound Mr. BUCKINGHAM with the rest; he is said to be a man of great talent, of spirit, and a *sincere* hater of tyranny; and he certainly has been a sufferer from its hellish fangs. He does not *know*, perhaps, the *sham* politics of

Burdett and his man; but he must know, that, only EIGHTEEN DAYS *ago, they were pelted by those whom they call their constituents, and were compelled to flee into a church, to save their bones*; and, if he chose to degrade himself by being the manager, upon this occasion, he ought not to have suffered two French gentlemen to be exposed to the sneers of the English people, which must be the necessary consequence of their appearing to be associates of these two pelted things. It is said that, upon seeing a dish of *cabbage* before him, Burdett "*started*," and discovered manifest uneasiness;" and that Colonel Jones, "upon observing Mr. Hobhouse's eyes vindictively rivetted on a dish of "*whole turnips*," restored that gentleman's good humour, by significantly "*beckoning to the waiter to take that dish away*." This is all very well amongst ourselves; but those two French gentlemen ought not to have been brought into such company. It appears to have been a sad affair altogether; no *address*, no *embassy*, no one good sentiment uttered; our own king (who deserves it from us on all other occasions) toasted the first; and a speech from the grand Shoyhoy containing not one word to show WHY we ought to rejoice on this occasion. Even Sir BOBBY and HUME kept away! Aye, and Burdett and Man showed that they wished themselves a thousand miles off. How different from all this was the Dinner of the Reformers at the London Tavern! The truth is, that Sir BOBBY and HUME smell powder in this famous revolution; and so do BURDETT and MAN. They were all cock-a-hoop at first; and, according to the custom with fools, suffered their tongues to run before their reflections. Upon second thoughts; upon seeing that *I was filled with joy*, they began to fear that the thing was *bad for them*. And *bad for them it is*; for it will produce a *real reform*; and I most sincerely hope, through the means of the Duke of Wellington, to whom I shall next week address a letter, the object of which will be to convince him that his own fame, that the peace and happiness and greatness of the country, that his duty to his

Sovereign, call upon him to make this reform. He is no boroughmonger, and never has been one, nor has, I believe, any one of his family. He must feel the difficulty of getting on at all with this system as it is, especially with this change in the temper, the interests, and the views of France; and, if I can show him that a radical reform would get him out of all his difficulties, will he suffer the Broughams and Humes to bark him into his grave as an enemy of the people? I do not mind the revilings of the base *COURIER*. I will do my duty faithfully by the Duke, whom I know to be able, if he be willing, to save the country from all the mighty dangers that now surround it.

SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE BRAVE PARISIANS.

At the dinner at the LONDON TAVERN, Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, Bart. accepted the office of Treasurer, subscribed 50*l.* himself, and received in the room subscriptions to the amount of 130*l.*, or thereabouts. It was, at the same time, settled, that a book should be opened at the Office of the Register, No. 183, Fleet Street, for receiving subscriptions; and at that Office, sums, *by letter*, or *otherwise*, will be received; the name or initials entered in the book, and receipts given in the name of Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, by the gentleman whom he has authorised to receive the money. Those friends who have collected money for the SEAT may now RETURN IT TO THE CONTRIBUTORS. They will accept of my best thanks; their conduct has made my country more dear to me, if possible, than it was before, and no man ever loved it better; but NOW their efforts in that way can be of no use: we shall have reform, and I shall, if I have health, have a seat without being soiled by the dirty trafficking of boroughmongers. I request such friends as can make it convenient to collect money, however small the amount, and to send it to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR as above. They may be assured that they CANNOT SERVE OUR OWN CAUSE in a more effectual manner!

No. III.

TABEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE, en 1830.

TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

London, 15th August, 1830.

FRIENDS,

It was my intention to speak to you, in this Number, of the effect which the discovery of STEAM NAVIGATION would have in any future war between our government and you, and also of the change which has been made in our position by the creation of the FINE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; but I will put off these topics till my next; because I perceive that you want very much to be enlightened ON THE STATE OF OUR PRESS, which you appear to regard as being FREE, and which, as I am going to prove to you, is the most *enslaved* and the *vilest* thing that has ever been heard of in the world under the name of press. I say, that I am going to PROVE this; and proof consists of *undeniable facts*, and not of vague assertions. Take, then, the following facts:

1. All paper is *taxed*, and this tax, together with the expense attending it and paying of the tax in advance, and with the *monopoly* that arises out of these, makes the paper cost the double of what it would cost, if there were no tax.

2. No man dare use a printing-press, or types for printing, without a *license* from the authorities of the county in which he resides. All the presses are recorded in the archives of the counties, and the keepers of those archives are compelled to communicate the records to the Minister of the interior, who has, thus, a complete surveillance over all the presses in every part of the country.

3. Suppose you are going to begin the publication of a journal. First, you must send, in writing, the *title of the journal*, and the names of the *proprietor*, the *printer* and the *editor* (or publisher), to the *commissaires du bureau des Timbres* (commissioners of the board of Stamps). Second, the proprietor, printer, and editor, must go in person before these Commissaires, and declare, *on oath*, that they are the proprietor,

printer and editor of said journal ; and each of them must make declaration *on oath* of the town, street, and house, in which each of them lives ; and they must all declare *on oath* the house in which the journal is to be published. THIRD, having advanced thus far, you leave these Commissaires for a little, and you, the proprietor, are obliged to go before A JUDGE, taking *two bondsmen* with you ; and this Judge makes you all three enter into bonds to the amount, each of you, of *four hundred pounds sterling*, to pay the amount of *four hundred pounds*, if a fine to that amount should, at any time, be inflicted on the proprietor on account of libel in the said journal. FOURTH, having had the good luck to find two friends, rich enough to be able to declare *on oath*, that they possess four hundred pounds each, over and above all their debts, and courageous enough to run so great a risk, and having purchased some paper to print the journal on, you are not yet permitted to print ; but must go back to the *Commissaires du bureau des Timbres*, and have your paper *timbré*, or stamped. FIFTH, your journal sells for *sevenpence* by retail, and you, the proprietor, sell it for *sixpence* to the retailers, and these *Commissaires* make you pay (before you print) *fourpence for every sheet of paper* ; that is to say, for every single journal ; and, as the *tax on the paper* is a quarter of a penny, or more, you have (before you can print) *fourpence and the quarter of another penny* to pay to the Government ; out of your *sixpence*, having one penny and three quarters left to pay the *paper-maker*, the *printer* and the *editor* (or publisher), and to compensate you for your time and your talents !

“ Eh bien ! but you will have *advertisements*, and you will get a great deal by those.” FIRST, it is not certain that you will have any ; and if you have, the *Commissaires des Timbres* must have a word with you about them too ; for you must pay them THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE TAX for every advertisement, though it be but *on a single line* ; and here you see how *impartial* this Government is, for it makes the poor servant man or woman, who advertises for a place, pay just as much

tax as the lord who advertises the sale of an estate worth a hundred thousand pounds ! However, this *advertising* is the great source of *revenue* with our journals, except in very few cases, such as mine, for instance, who have no advertisers. Hence, these journals are an affair of *trade* and not of *literature* ; the proprietors think of the *money* that is to be got by them ; they *hire* men to write in them ; and these men are ordered to write in a way to please the classes who can give most advertisements. The Government itself pays large sums in advertisements, many hundreds a year, to some journals. The aristocracy, the clergy, the magistrates (who are generally *clergy* too) in the several counties ; the merchants, the manufacturers, the great shopkeepers ; all these *command* the press, because without their advertisements it cannot be carried on *with profit*. If a man scorn to carry on this vile *trade*, and write and publish for the information of the people, then the Government takes from him, as it does from me, *fourpence farthing out of every sixpence*.

Now let us see what sort of *liberty* you have to express your thoughts upon this paper, thus loaded with imposts. The Attorney-General sees in your journal something that he does not like. That is enough : he, of his own authority, and without consulting any body, puts on record in the Court of King's Bench (*cour royale*) an *accusation against you*, and, without letting you know what it is, has you seized and put into jail until the time for trial, which may be, if he please, for six or nine months. You are permitted to be at large until the time of trial, if you can find *two bondsmen* to give bail for your appearance to take your trial. You are not furnished with any copy of the accusation against you ; without it you cannot defend yourself ; and if you have it you must pay for it ; so that from the moment he puts his hand on you your ruin has already begun. When you come to trial, it is not before a jury taken at hazard and by ballot, but a *special jury* ; that is to say, a *jury of rich men*, who are appointed by an officer of the Government, in the following manner : from the list of these rich men of the

county he names 48; the 48 names are given to you, and you are allowed to strike out 12; the Attorney-General strikes out 12; and the first 12 of the remaining 24 who come into Court are your jury. But, observe, this officer appoints the whole forty-eight! At the trial, the public prosecutor begins; you then defend yourself; and then he speaks again, and you are not allowed to reply. As to what may be a *crime*, or *libel*; in the first place, *truth* may be a libel; and, in fact, *any thing* may be a libel that a special jury will say is a libel, there being *no law* to define what is, or what is not, a *libel*. As to the *punishments*, they are *fine*, *imprisonment*, and *bonds*; and of these I am well qualified to give you a full description. During our war against the Republic of France, we had an army of *Hanoverian troops brought into England* and kept here for many years. In 1809, some *English militia men* had offended their officers at a town called ELY. These men were sentenced to be *flogged*; they refused to be flogged, and some of the *Hanoverian troops* were brought from the distance of fifty miles, and were *drawn up round them while the flogging was inflicted*! I expressed my indignation at this; and, for this I was sentenced to pass two years in a jail amongst *felons*, to pay to the king a thousand pounds sterling at the end of two years, and to be held in bonds of 5,000 pounds sterling myself, with two bondsmen in bonds of 3,000 pounds sterling each, for seven years; all which punishment was executed upon me; except that, by paying the jailer and his people about two thousand pounds sterling, I redeemed myself from the society of the *felons*.

What do you now think of the *liberty of the English press*? Ah! but you have yet seen only a *part*, and by no means the *worst part*. I have said, that, when the Attorney General has deposed, in the court, his accusation against you, he can, without giving you a copy of the accusation, put you into jail at once to await your trial, which trial he may put off, at his pleasure, for six months or more, unless you can find men of property to be bound for your appearance to take your trial.

But they, and you along with them, must be bound for much MORE than this. You must all three be bound to forfeit *any sum that the public prosecutor and the judge may choose* (for there is *no law* to limit them here), if you, before your trial, publish any other libel, or commit any breach of the peace! I pray you to mark this well. Suppose you to have been accused by the public prosecutor in the month of January, and to have been kept out of jail by bail till June; suppose you to be convicted in June; suppose you to have committed an *assault*, or to have published a *libel*, between January and June; you have then to be tried for the assault and the second libel, but besides the two punishments, you have to pay for the FORFEITED RECOGNIZANCES! Nay, even worse than this: if you be acquitted of the first libel; if it be proved by that acquittal that the public prosecutor has accused you *falsely*; if it be proved that *no bail ought to have been taken from you*; even then, if you commit a real offence in the interim, you are to pay the forfeited recognizances, though your acquittal has proved, that it was unjust to demand them at all!

Eh bien! "There is nothing worse than that, to be sure!" Oh, yes! There is something far worse even than that; for any ill-natured neighbour may be your prosecutor, and cause you to be crammed into prison or held to bail. England is full of *Justices of the Peace*. Almost all the *Aristocracy and Clergy*, and many of the *Naval and Military Officers*, are justices of the peace; all appointed by the government, and dismissed at the sole will of the government; and, therefore, wholly dependent on the government for their offices. Suppose you to publish any thing that any Justice of the Peace may choose to consider a public libel, he can, upon the oath of any man, that you have published the thing, published it only, SEND YOU TO JAIL AT ONCE TO WAIT UNTIL YOU TAKE YOUR TRIAL; or, he can compel you to bring men of property to be bound for your appearance to take your trial, and for your not publishing any libel or committing any breach of the peace in

the mean while ; and then follow all the forfeitures and all the other consequences, as in the case of proceedings by the Public Prosecutor !

Observe that, in all these cases, the public prosecutor or the justice of peace may stop when he pleases ; he is not obliged to bring you to trial at all ; he may accuse you ; he may send you to jail to await your trial ; he may hold you to bail ; he may never bring you to trial on that accusation, and, if you commit a real offence before the day of trial, he can punish you for that real offence, and make you pay for forfeited bail, which he has made you give on account of the groundless accusation on which he has not brought you to trial !

I have, in my farm-house, for my labourers to see, a picture sent to me from New York. It represents a ragged, half-starved man, who has a padlock on his mouth ; who has his hands tied ; who has heavy irons on his legs ; and who has written over his head, "*The free-born Englishman,*" or "*L'Anglois né Libre.*" In that picture you behold the English press, about which I shall have to say more hereafter ; but, in the meanwhile, let not the language of that press deceive you. There are some clever and good men belonging to it ; but the far greater part are merely tools of corruption ; and though the popular voice is now urging them to stop your praises, be assured that, if POLIGNAC had succeeded, only for two days, they would have sided with him against you ; and, be assured that they now, generally speaking, wish for nothing so much as your confusion and destruction ; and of this you will be satisfied when I come to detail to you the conduct of the TIMES and other journals in the years 1814 and 1815. If POLIGNAC and his allies had succeeded, you would, with regard to the press, have been better off than we are now, in the degree that no press at all is better than a corrupted and lying press, a press monopolized by the rich, and naturally the enemy of the rights of the industrious and laborious classes. Without the aid of this press, England never could have been reduced to her present degraded state. This bribed press will, in a short time, begin, little

by little, and *tout doucement*, to turn against you. The popular enthusiasm prevents them from doing this now ; but when that has cooled a little, it will begin to find faults in your measures ; it will decry every thing you do in order to ensure the real liberty of the people ; and finally, it will belie you, and call on the people to shun your example. I pray you therefore, disregard this vile press ; keep your eyes on the real state of England ; learn what she can do, and not what she would wish to do (*apprenez ce qu'elle peut faire, et non pas ce qu'elle voudroit bien faire*) ; and pay no attention to either facts or opinions of the mercenary, servile, and corrupt press of England.

WM. COBBETT.

TRI-COLOURED RIBBONS. Mr. John Rodgers, of Nos. 39 and 40, Chiswell Street, has begun to manufacture these beautiful ribbons, of which he has sent me a very handsome specimen. His manufactory is Spitalfields, and he can make any quantity at a short notice. There ought to be some of all breadths and all qualities.

TRI-COLOUR RIBBONS, of all Widths, may be had at Mr. C. STEWART's, No. 38, Cheapside.

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

This day is published, No. I., in 18mo., price 2d., to be continued Weekly, illustrated by Engravings,

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By A RADICAL REFORMER.

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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court ; and published by him, at 183, Fleet-street,

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 28TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.

No. IV.

No. IV.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE

,en 1830.

en 1830.

TO THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

AU DUC DE WELLINGTON.

LETTER I.

LETTRE I.

On the necessity of Parliamentary Reform, in order to prevent any dangers to the English Government from the recent Revolution in France.

Sur la nécessité d'une réforme parlementaire, afin de prévenir les dangers auxquels le gouvernement anglais se trouve exposé, par suite de la révolution qui vient de s'opérer en France.

London, 21st August, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

1. On a great number of occasions I have addressed myself to you; I have expressed my opinions to you with regard to future consequences; and as you must now, if you look into the addresses to which I allude, confess that my opinions have been always verified by the events, I hope that you will not deem it unreasonable, if I think that you ought to pay attention to that which I am now about to address to you, "On the necessity of a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, in order to prevent danger to the English Government from the recent Revolution in France." I intend to do this in a series of letters; and in justice to myself as well as to you, I will publish these letters in French as well as in English. Your commissaires of stamps, who watch over the press, make me pay *four pence* and the *quartier* of another penny out of every *sixpence* that I receive for my journal, leaving me *one penny and three quarters* to pay for *paper, print, publishing*, and for my *time and talents*; and surely I may be permitted to enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that my writings are read by the French as well as by the English. I am compelled to send a bag of gold every week to your commissaires of stamps; myself and my people are held in heavy bonds; but, God be praised, there is, *as yet*, no

MILORD DUC,

1. JE me suis adressé à vous dans bien des circonstances. Je vous ai soumis mon opinion sur les conséquences des événements auxquels je faisais allusion, et si vous parcourez les écrits que je vous ai adressés, vous serez forcé d'avouer que les suites ont toujours justifié mes prédictions, et que j'ai, par conséquent, quelque droit d'espérer que vous tournerez votre attention sur ce que j'ai à vous communiquer maintenant "concernant la nécessité d'une réforme parlementaire, afin de prévenir les dangers auxquels le gouvernement anglais se trouve exposé par suite de la révolution qui vient de s'opérer en France." Je me propose d'en faire le sujet d'une série de lettres, et pour être juste envers moi comme envers vous, je les publierai en Français et en Anglais. Vos préposés au bureau du timbre, inspecteurs de la presse, me font payer quatre pence et un farthing sur les six pence, que je retire de la vente de mon journal; en sorte qu'ils me laissent un penny et trois farthings, pour payer l'impression, le papier, les frais de publication, et pour compenser mon temps et mes talents. Il m'est donc bien permis de me donner la satisfaction de savoir que ce que j'écris sera lu par les Français, aussi bien que par les Anglais. Je suis contraint d'envoyer, chaque semaine, un sac d'or à vos commissaires du timbre. Je suis forcé,

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positive law to punish me for publishing my words in the French language. This, therefore, I will do, as far as relates to this series of letters; and perhaps with the regard to all the numbers to be published under the title of *Tableau de l'Angleterre*.

2. In the course of these letters, I shall have to show why we want a *parliamentary reform*; and the *great dangers to which a want of it will expose this country*, especially as we have now before us the example of the French people. But in this present letter, I shall speak to you of the publications in London, which give us reason to believe THAT THE TYRANNICAL MEASURES OF POLIGNAC WERE INSTIGATED BY PERSONS IN THIS COUNTRY. This is a very serious charge against our country; but it is not more serious than it is TRUE; and this I am now about to prove; not to insinuate or assert, but to PROVE.

3. There is a publication called the *QUARTERLY REVIEW*, which is published once in every three months. This work, the names of the writers of which are kept completely *secret*, is called by all who talk of it, a *Government publication*. I do not call it such, because I cannot *prove* the fact; but I can call it a publication of the *ARISTOCRACY AND THE CLERGY*, because it is sold by a bookseller devoted to them, and because they support it and circulate it.

4. From the time that the *POLIGNAC-MINISTRY* was formed, this Review and all the newspapers and other publications called "*ministerial*," began to inculcate the necessity of making the Government of France "*more monarchical*!" As *POLIGNAC* advanced in his plans, these publications advanced in boldness; and as soon as the Chamber of Deputies had been dissolved, they applauded the *wisdom* and *firmness* of *POLIGNAC*. When they perceived that the people of

ainsi que mes imprimeurs, de donner de fortes garanties; mais, Dieu soit loué! il n'existe, du moins pour le moment, aucune loi positive qui me punisse pour oser exprimer mes pensées en Français. Je continuerai donc à le faire, pour ce qui concerne du moins cette série de lettres; peut-être même à l'égard des numéros qui seront publiés sous le titre de *TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE*.

2. J'aurai à prouver, dans le cours de ces lettres, pourquoi nous avons besoin d'une *réforme parlementaire*, et à démontrer "les dangers que ce pays-ci aurait à courir," si elle n'avait pas lieu, depuis, surtout, que nous avons le bel exemple de la France sous les yeux. Cependant, je ne vous entretiendrai dans cette lettre que des journaux de Londres, dont la contexture nous donne sujet de croire que LES MESURES TYRANNIQUES DE POLIGNAC ONT ÉTÉ PRISES À L'INSTIGATION DE QUELQUES PERSONNAGES DE CE PAYS-CI. Cette accusation est grave, sans doute; mais elle n'est pas plus grave qu'elle n'est VRAIE. C'est ce que je vais prouver, et remarquez bien que je ne dis pas insinuer, affirmer; mais PROUVER.

3. Il paraît, tous les trois mois, une brochure sous le titre de *QUARTERLY REVIEW*. Tous ceux que j'entends parler de cet ouvrage périodique dont, par parenthèse, on ne connaît nullement les rédacteurs, l'appellent *Gazette du gouvernement*. Je ne lui donne pas moi-même ce nom, parce que je ne puis prouver qu'elle le mérite; mais je puis l'appeler *Gazette de l'aristocratie et du clergé*, parce que l'éditeur leur est notoirement dévoué, et parce qu'ils en favorisent la vente et la publication.

4. Du moment où le *MINISTÈRE POLIGNAC* fut formé, cette revue et tous les journaux, dits "*ministériels*," se mirent en devoir de faire sentir la nécessité de rendre le gouvernement de France "plus monarchique." À mesure que *Polignac* avançait vers l'exécution de ses projets, ces journalistes avançaient en hardiesse, et aussitôt que la chambre des députés fut dissoute, ils applaudirent à la sagesse et à la fermeté du premier ministre du roi de France. Lorsqu'ils

France had not been deluded by the Algerine expedition, and that the new elections would be against POLIGNAC; then they began openly to recommend an abrogation of the Charter, and the assumption of arbitrary and absolute power on the part of the king.

5. This, though the language of all these publications, was held more distinctly than common by the above-mentioned QUARTERLY REVIEW, which seems to have been the main organ of those who instigated POLIGNAC to proceed to the completion of his tyrannical purpose. The authors of the work (who are *gens à gages*) published in their work, which appeared on the 30th of May last, a long article to prove that the French press ought to be subjected to a censorship, that the Chamber of Deputies ought to be made dependent on the king, that the king ought to be nearly absolute, and that THIS CHANGE WAS NECESSARY TO THE PEACE AND SAFETY OF ENGLAND! That I do not misrepresent here, I will now cite the conclusion of this article, in the words of the hired writer, whose name is kept a secret; and when I have done this, there will remain in the mind of no man the smallest doubt, that the tyrannical designs of POLIGNAC were well known in London, and that he was instigated by persons in London to adopt his tyrannical acts.

"6. We, therefore, hope and trust, that the King of France and his present ministers may succeed, if such be their object, in establishing a censorship on the press, and likewise in acquiring so decided a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies, that its existence as an independent body capable of bearding the monarchy, as it has recently done, shall be no longer recognised. This, we own, will be a virtual abolition of the charter, but the question is obviously reduced to this: Shall the monarchy, which is suitable to the country, be overthrown, or shall the charter, which, in every possible view, is unsuitable to it, be abrogated? It will be asked, Why

s'aperçurent que le peuple français n'était nullement séduit par l'expédition d'Alger, et que les nouvelles élections allaient contre POLIGNAC, ils recommandèrent ouvertement l'abrogation de la Charte, et firent sentir la nécessité de conférer au roi un pouvoir arbitraire et absolu.

5. C'était là le langage de tous ces journaux; mais plus particulièrement du QUARTERLY REVIEW, qui paraît avoir été l'organe principal de ceux qui pressaient POLIGNAC de procéder à l'exécution de ses projets tyranniques. Les rédacteurs de cette brochure, tous gens à gages, remarquez-le bien, y insérèrent, le 30 mai dernier, un long article à l'effet de prouver la nécessité d'établir la censure en France, de mettre la chambre des députés sous la dépendance du roi, de rendre le monarque pour ainsi dire absolu; et ils ne craignirent pas d'avancer que TOUTES CES MESURES ÉTAIENT INDISPENSABLES À LA PAIX ET À LA SURETÉ DE L'ANGLETERRE. Pour vous convaincre, milord Duc, que je ne donne pas une fausse interprétation à leur langage, je vais citer la fin de cet article, dans les mots même de l'auteur, dont le nom est tenu soigneusement caché; et, lorsque je l'aurai fait, il ne restera aucune espèce de doute au jugement de qui que ce soit, que les projets tyranniques de POLIGNAC étaient bien connus d'avance à Londres, et qu'il était poussé par des personnages de ce pays-ci pour les mettre à exécution.

6. "Nous espérons donc," dit le pamphletier à gages, "ou plutôt nous avons la confiance que le roi de France et ses ministres actuels réussiront, si tel est leur but, à établir la censure et à acquérir une prépondérance si décidée dans la chambre des députés, que son existence, comme corps indépendant, capable de braver le roi, comme elle l'a fait tout récemment, ne sera plus reconnue. Cette mesure, nous l'avouons, sera une abolition réelle de la Charte; mais la question se réduit évidemment à ceci. La monarchie qui convient à la France, sera-t-elle renversée; ou bien abrogera-t-on la charte qui ne lui convient sous aucun rapport?"

"need we care what France does?
"Why not let her do what she pleases?
"What have we to do with her institu-
"tions, as a nation, more than we have
"with the domestic arrangements of
"our next-door neighbour in the street?
"The answer to this, unfortunately, is
"but too ready. If our neighbour
"merely beats his wife and children,
"and regulates his personal concerns in
"the worst way possible, we have no
"right to complain; but if he gets in-
"toxicated, and flings about firebrands,
"so as not only to set his own house on
"fire, but to threaten the destruction
"of the whole parish, we are compelled,
"in spite of our love of quiet, to take a
"lively interest in the proceedings. If
"the French could be circumscribed by
"a great Chinese wall, within which
"they might cut one another's throats,
"an experiment to their hearts' con-
"tent on irreligion and democracy, it
"would signify less to the neighbour-
"ing countries. But when the amplest
"experience proves, that no commotion
"of any extent in France ever fails to
"embroil the rest of the world, and
"when we know that there are in-
"numerable objects of ambition, of
"aggrandisement, and of national re-
"venge, all at this hour conspiring to
"stimulate a large portion of the French
"population to fresh wars, we cannot
"possibly view their present unsettled
"state without the deepest anxiety.
"We trust we have said enough to
"show that there is only one course of
"measures by which good order can be
"preserved; and however repugnant
"it may be to our English tastes, the
"necessity of the case requires that we
"should not shrink from the trial, but
"be prepared to witness, as the less
"grievous of the two evils, the tempo-
"rary re-establishment of a tolerably
"absolute authority on the part of the
"crown of France. If this be impos-
"sible, or if the attempt be BUNGLED
"IN THE EXECUTION, we may bid
"adieu to repose, and buckle on our ar-
"mour for another quarter of a century
"of wars. We think it is hardly pos-
"sible to doubt that, unless the existing
"government adopts, and succeeds in,

"Mais, dira-t-on, qu'avons-nous af-
"faire de ce qui se passe en France?
"Pourquoi ne pas la laisser faire ce que
"bon lui semble? Qu'avons-nous à dé-
"mêler avec ses institutions, comme
"nation, plus que nous n'avons affaire
"des arrangements domestiques de
"notre plus proche voisin? La réponse
"à cette question n'est par malheur
"que trop évidente. Si notre voisin ne
"fait que battre sa femme et ses en-
"fants; s'il règle ses affaires de la
"manière la plus désordonnée qu'on
"puisse imaginer, nous n'avons aucun
"droit de nous plaindre; mais s'il
"s'enivre; s'il répand des brandons de
"manière à mettre le feu, non-seule-
"ment à sa propre maison, mais à in-
"cendier la commune entière, nous
"sommes forcés, malgré notre désir de
"vivre en paix, de prendre le plus vif
"intérêt à sa conduite. Si l'on pouvait
"entourer la France d'un mur chinois,
"dans l'intérieur duquel ses habitants
"s'égorgeraient les uns les autres, et
"vivraient heureux et satisfaits au sein
"de l'irreligion et de la démocratie, peu
"importerait aux nations voisines; mais
"quand une longue expérience a dé-
"montré que toute commotion de
"quelqu'importance qui a lieu en
"France, ne manque jamais de répandre
"la confusion sur toute la surface de la
"terre; quand nous savons qu'elle
"couve des projets d'ambition, d'ag-
"grandissement et de vengeance na-
"tionale; quand tout enfin conspire,
"dans ce moment même, pour pou-
"ser la plus grande partie de la po-
"pulation Française à de nouvelles
"guerres, nous ne saurions voir leur
"existence précaire actuelle, sans éprou-
"ver la plus vive anxiété. Nous cro-
"yons en avoir assez dit pour prouver
"qu'il ne nous reste plus qu'une marche
"à suivre pour préserver le bon ordre;
"et quelque répugnance qu'elle nous
"inspire, comme Anglais, l'urgence des
"circonstances exige que nous n'hési-
"tions pas d'en faire l'essai; mais
"qu'au contraire, nous nous préparions
"à voir, comme le plus léger des deux
"maux, le rétablissement temporaire de
"la puissance absolue entre les mains
"du roi de France. Si la chose est

"carrying into effect, *some very decisive measure* IN THE COURSE OF THE PRESENT YEAR, there will ensue *another burst of convulsion*; and Napoleon has left no saying of more indisputable truth behind him, *than that a revolution in France is a revolution in Europe.*"

7. Here, then, we have it *all!* *Plot, execution and motive*; and here it is clear as daylight, that this hired writer (*cet homme à gages*) not only knew on the 30th of May of the designs that POLIGNAC attempted to execute on the 26th of July, but that that tyrant was *instigated* to the attempt by PERSONS IN THIS COUNTRY! And instigated too, not merely by writers, not merely by *des gens à gages*, but by OTHERS, who were in all the secrets of the affair. The object of this writer was to prepare beforehand a *justification* for the measures of POLIGNAC; to blind the people of England, and induce them to *keep silent* when the act of tyranny should have been committed in France. But how are we to believe that this hired writer (*cet écrivain à gages*) knew by mere self-information, that POLIGNAC intended a *ensorship of the press* and an *abolition of the rights of election*? How are we to believe that *in the month of May*, this man knew that POLIGNAC would attempt to do precisely these things *in the month of July*; unless we believe that this *écrivain à gages* had his information from SOME PERSON IN THIS COUNTRY? POLIGNAC would hardly communicate his horrible designs to this low hireling. Nobody can believe that he did this; and therefore we are constrained to believe that the hireling was, in the month of May, informed by SOME ONE IN LONDON of what was intended to be done in Paris. It was attempted just as is here recommended; the ordinances *imposed the Censorship, and abrogated*

"impossible, ou si par malheur *la tentative ne réussit pas*; nous devons dire adieu à la tranquillité, et nous préparer à une guerre qui durera un quart de siècle. Nous croyons qu'il est impossible de révoquer en doute, qu'à moins que le gouvernement actuel adopte, et parvienne à prendre quelque *mesure décisive dans le courant de la présente année*, on ne saurait éviter une *nouvelle convulsion*. Napoléon n'a jamais dit de plus grande vérité, que lorsqu'il a affirmé *qu'une révolution en France était une révolution dans l'Europe entière.*"

7. Ainsi tout s'est vérifié; *complot, exécution, et motif*; et il est clair comme le jour que, le 30 du mois de mai, cet écrivain à gages, non-seulement était instruit du plan que POLIGNAC tenta de mettre à exécution, le 26 du mois de juillet suivant; mais même que ce tyran commit cet attentat à *l'instigation de quelques personnes de ce pays-ci*, et à l'instigation, je ne dis pas seulement des écrivains, des gens à gages, mais encore de beaucoup d'autres individus qui étaient dans le secret de cette affaire. Le but du rédacteur du QUARTERLY REVIEW était évidemment de préparer d'avance une *justification* des mesures de POLIGNAC, de jeter de la poussière aux yeux du peuple anglais, et de *lutter* fermer la bouche lorsque cet acte de tyrannie aurait été commis en France. Le moyen, en effet, de croire que cet écrivain à gages aurait pu prévoir que POLIGNAC avait conçu le projet d'*établir la censure, et d'abolir entièrement les droits d'élection*? Le moyen de croire que, dans le mois de mai, cet homme saurait que *Polignac* tenterait de faire ce qu'il a précisément fait, dans le mois de juillet, sans être convaincu que cet écrivain à gages en avait reçu avis de *quelques individus de ce pays-ci*? On ne pourra jamais persuader à qui que ce soit, que Polignac eût communiqué ces horribles projets à ce vil mercenaire; et, par conséquent, nous sommes forcés de croire que, dans le mois de mai, il avait été instruit par QUELQUE HABITANT DE LONDRES de ce

the Charter; but the scheme was "BUNGLED IN THE EXECUTION;" the courage and the virtue of the brave Parisians made it fail; and now come to be considered the dangers which will arise to this country from the "BUNGLING OF THE EXECUTION."

8. This hired writer says that we must "buckle on our armour for another quarter of a century of wars." From the moment that the news of the revolution reached us, I put in motion *all the little means in my power* to prove to the French people that they had to apprehend *no open hostility from England*; and this I did not by vague assertions, but by laying before them facts, showing the state of our debts, taxes, and misery; by showing that even if we had the criminal wish to embroil and enslave them, we had not the *ability* to do it. If the wish were entertained (and I would fain hope that it was not), events have proved the correctness of my opinions: for it is now demi-officially declared that we shall *acknowledge the new order of things in France*, and that we shall consider the pretender to the throne merely as a *private person*!

9. What then becomes of this hireling's threat of "buckling on our armour for another quarter of a century?" Instead of this, all is peace and friendship; all is mutual good-will between the *people* of the two countries, who are literally rushing into each other's arms; and who, if left to follow the dictates of their own hearts and interests, may live in peace for a century. We may drink the wine from the vine-covered hills of France, and the French may wear the wool from our verdant downs. The *aristocracy* and the *high clergy* keep, indeed, a sulky silence on this grand event; they manifestly view it with

qu'on se proposait de faire à Paris. On a précisément tenté d'exécuter ce qu'il avait suggéré; je veux dire l'ordonnance *relative à la censure*, et l'ordonnance pour le *renversement complet de la Charte*; mais le plan a été *culbuté avant qu'il fût mis à exécution*. Le courage et l'énergie des braves Parisiens l'ont fait avorter; et il ne nous reste plus maintenant qu'à considérer les dangers qui peuvent résulter pour ce pays-ci de ce manque d'exécution.

8. Ce loyal écrivain dit que nous devons nous préparer à une guerre qui durera un quart de siècle, au moins. Du moment où la nouvelle de la révolution fut répandue parmi nous, je ne négligeai *aucun des moyens qui étaient en mon faible pouvoir*, pour convaincre les Français qu'ils n'avaient à craindre *aucun acte d'hostilité ouverte de notre part*. Pour y parvenir, j'eus recours, non pas à des assertions vagues, mais je citai des faits tendant à mettre au jour notre dette nationale, nos taxes et notre misère. Je leur prouvai que, lors même que nous aurions le criminel *désir* de les brouiller et de les enchaîner, nous étions dans l'*impuissance absolue* de le satisfaire. Si nous en avions le désir, (ce que je suis loin de croire,) les événements ont démontré que mon opinion était bien fondée; car on vient de déclarer, d'une manière en quelque sorte officielle, que nous *reconnaitrons le nouvel ordre des choses en France*, et que nous ne considérerons le prétendant au trône que comme *simple particulier*.

9. Que deviendra donc la menace de cet écrivain mercenaire, "d'une prétendue guerre d'un quart de siècle?" Tout est paix et amitié; tout est harmonie et bienveillance entre les deux nations, dont les individus se jettent, littéralement parlant, dans les bras les uns des autres, et qui peuvent vivre en paix, durant un siècle, s'il leur est permis de suivre l'impulsion de leurs cœurs et de consulter leurs intérêts respectifs. Nous pourrions désormais boire le vin produit par les côtes dorées de la France, et les Français pourront se couvrir des laines produites par nos plaines verdoyantes, *L'aristocratie* et le

feelings like those that gnawed the heart of Satan, when he saw the happiness of our first parents. No doubt at all that the **WHOLE** of this body **KNEW**, in the month of May, that which was then known to the *hiring* writer above cited. No doubt at all, that *they* anticipated **POLIGNAC's coup d'état** (state-stroke) with delight. No doubt at all that they exulted in the prospect of seeing *all real liberty of the press, and all real right of representation, extinguished for ever*; and therefore their sulky silence is natural; but not more natural than the loudly-expressed joy of the people of England; not more natural than their generous sympathy with the people of France, and their admiration of the valour, wisdom, and promptitude, by which they have vindicated their rights.

10. The observations of this hired writer on the motive *for our caring* what the French do, are just *forty-one years old*, when they first issued from the brain of the pernicious **BURKE**, who then, as this writer now does, talked about the "*flinging of fire-brands*." On this subject, and on the other dangers that this man anticipated from the "**BUNGLING**" of **POLIGNAC**, I shall speak in my next Letter, concluding, for the present, by merely observing, that the "*flinging of fire-brands*" is dangerous to those only whose houses are made of **PAPER**.

WM. COBBETT.

haut clergé gardent un morne silence sur ce grand événement; ils manifestent des sentiments pareils à ceux qui rongeaient le cœur de Satan, en voyant le bonheur dont jouissaient nos premiers pères. Nul doute que *tous les membres de ce corps savaient*, au mois de mai, tout ce qui était alors connu de l'écrivain mercénaire dont nous avons déjà parlé; nul doute qu'ils contemplaient d'avance, avec une joie secrète, le *coup d'état* médité par **POLIGNAC**; nul doute qu'ils jouissaient d'avance du doux espoir de voir disparaître à jamais et *la liberté de la presse, et le droit de représentation*. Leur morne silence est donc bien naturel; mais pas plus naturel que la joie si hautement manifestée par le peuple anglais; pas plus naturel que sa noble et généreuse sympathie pour le peuple Français, et son admiration de la valeur, de la sagesse, et surtout de la promptitude avec laquelle celui-ci a vengé ses droits.

10. Les observations de cet écrivain salarié sur le motif *de l'intérêt que nous prenons* à ce qui se passe en France datent de quarante ans, à laquelle époque elles sortirent de la cervelle du *pensionné* **BURKE**, qui alors, comme le rédacteur du **QUARTERLY REVIEW** désirerait le faire aujourd'hui, parlait de semer des brandons. Je reviendrai, dans ma prochaine lettre, sur ce sujet, ainsi que sur les dangers que cet homme veut nous faire redouter par suite de la *non-réussite des projets criminels de Polignac*. Je terminerai la présente par une seule observation: c'est que *les brandons* ne sont dangereux que pour ceux dont les maisons sont construites avec du **PAPIER**.

GMR. COBBETT.

TO THE YOUNG MEN

NOTTINGHAM.

MY FRIENDS,—Every where I have found the *young* men good and sound and sensible, and no where more so than at NOTTINGHAM; and therefore, on this occasion, I address myself to you. Those amongst us who have grey hair on our tops, may, if we be made of pretty elastic and lasting stuff, *point out what ought to be done*; but it is the young ones that must *do it*. I have, this week, matter, to do full justice to which, would require ten Registers; I must, therefore, be short upon each topic.

POLIGNAC PLOT.

READ my letter to Wellington, which I have published above, in French as well as in English. It may, besides the political lesson it contains, serve as an *exercise* to those of you who are learning French. You see that it is as clear as daylight, that the PLOT *originated* with our *boroughmongers* and THEIR TOOLS, and *who those tools are* I need not point out to you. The hired writer, who is a tool of the TOOLS, says that we *cannot live at peace* without the success of the Polignac Plot. This is not what the boroughmongers mean. If they had spoken out, they would have said this: "If the French be allowed to continue 'to choose ~~the~~ their representatives freely, and especially by ballot; if they be suffered to live without ~~the~~ *taxes*, and without an aristocracy upheld by primogeniture; if they be suffered to live without penal game laws, and without enormous taxes, expended in places, pensions, sinecures, grants, and com-tracts; if they be let go on in this way, we must give up our traffic in seats and all the profits of that traffic. Therefore, let the French be reduced to slavery again; and then, when OUR REFORMERS (whom God confound!) call for reform here, we shall point to the French, and say: 'What! do you not see, that, after having tried your wild and visionary schemes in France, they have given

them up, and have, *for the happiness* of the country, resorted to a Chamber of Deputies chosen, in fact, by the Ministers, and no more the representatives of the people than the members of old Sarum are." Such were the *thoughts* of all the boroughmongers and their relations and dependents; and such would have been their *words*, if they had spoken out. Their second-hand tool of the Review spoke out a part. They were all *talking of the plot* in June and July. They made *so sure of success*, that they used *very little disguise*. They knew that a river of blood must flow; but what have rivers of blood ever been to boroughmongers and THEIR TOOLS! The plot failed, and now they are like the tiger driven from his prey by the roar of the lion, skulking in their caverns, and endeavouring to smother their growlings.

SHAM-REFORMERS.

THE boroughmongers now build their hopes on these *shams*, or *shoohoyes*. Burdett and his *Man*, after their pelting at Covent-Garden, can do them little service, except by *bawling for reform*, and thereby throwing discredit on it. Alderman Shawl is laughed at, though, poor fellow, his heart is good. Sir Bobby is *hors de combat* for any good that he can do the boroughmongers. Brougham and Hume will be *their trumps*; for as to Denman, (whose seat some one amongst you ought to have filled), he, with his charnel-house voice, will be able, though his heart is excellent in the cause, to do nothing for them. THERE MUST BE A REFORM; mind that. Look at the state of the country; look at the debt, the taxes, the tithes, the pensions and the sinecures; look at the *paper-money*; look at the armed French nation; look at the insulting monuments on the "field of Waterloo;" look at a hundred steam-boats at Boulogne; look at the coast of Sussex and Kent; look at Jersey and Guernsey; look at the navy of the United States; *then look at our sufferings*; and then believe, if you can, *that a reform can now be*

refused any longer. It MUST COME; and now the boroughmongers will endeavour to make it *such as shall be of no use to the people*; such as shall have the name and not the substance. They will not hope to succeed in cheating us by "*Lord John Russell's Reform.*" That will now be too gross for them to attempt. But they will, above all things, try to *avoid the ballot*; and by that means *retain their power of corruption.* To effect this they rely mainly on their trump, BROUGHAM. CURTIS in Sussex, TREVOR in Wales, DENISON in Surrey, and many others, have *declared against the ballot*; and in every case they have cited the "HIGH AUTHORITY of Mr. Brougham!" We will make his authority pretty low before the day of operation shall come; and here I begin with him upon the spot.—In the year 1814, when Lord Cochrane had been expelled from the House of Commons, Brougham offered himself for the vacant seat in Westminster; but the committee, at the suggestion of Major Cartwright, demanded a declaration of his principles as to reform; and he declared, in the most explicit manner, for Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and all the plan of Major Cartwright. In 1817, when the *Green Bags* were before the Houses, and when the acts were passing to *dungeon the reformers*, he, like the rest of the false whigs, *voted against the acts*, but said every thing to show that *the acts ought to pass.* He condemned the conduct of the reformers; *ridiculed their plans*; and called the plan of Major Cartwright a set of "*little nostrums and big blunders.*" The Major and the Westminster committee, indignant at this, accused him of falseness in having declared for the Major's plan in 1814. Now mind! He denied that he had declared for it. But they had his *declaration in writing, written and signed by himself.* In 1827, when that poor squalling thing, Canning, was prime minister, and when it was said in the newspapers that Brougham was going to be *Master of the Rolls*, Canning was asked by Peel what he meant to do as to the question of Par-

liamentary Reform. Canning answered that he "*WOULD OPPOSE IT TO THE LAST HOUR OF HIS LIFE, IN WHATEVER SHAPE IT MIGHT BE BROUGHT FORWARD.*" Upon this, Burdett, who sat close at the back of Canning, rose and said, that he would support Canning notwithstanding this declaration against reform. Bobby Wilson said the same. Hobhouse said nothing. But Brougham rose and said, that "*THE PEOPLE NO LONGER WISHED FOR A REFORM OF THE PARLIAMENT.*" And that nice little man, Lord John Russell; that sweet little reformer, who has just been sent packing by the town of Bedford, rose and said, that, *in consequence of this indisposition to reform on the part of the people, he should not bring forward a motion which he had intended to bring forward in favour of reform.* In 1830, Mr. O'Connell made a motion for triennial parliaments, universal suffrage, and voting by ballot; and Brougham, in a most laboured speech, opposed his motion, and particularly that part of it that related to the *ballot.* Such is a brief sketch of his conduct as far as relates to the question of parliamentary reform. Of his other twistings and windings; of his various fooleries and half-mad political tricks; of that "all jaw and no judgment," which has become a saying amongst the reporters, as applied to his harangues and his conduct; of all these, I shall have opportunities enough of speaking hereafter, having here laid the ground for that work of demolition of him which will assuredly be accomplished, if he dare act as the trump of the boroughmongering crew. He has *nothing in him*; he knows nothing of the nation's affairs, either domestic or foreign; he has a vague hope that mere talk can keep this system together; he fancies that the name of "*member for Yorkshire*" will give him great weight; of three hundred thousand adult males in Yorkshire, he has had the votes of about *two thousand*; and that, too, only because there was nobody to oppose him. Silly browler as he is, he knows that *the ballot* would have kept him out of Parliament altogether; he

knows that he never would have been in Parliament if there had been a ballot; and, therefore, he is the enemy of the ballot. But **WE WILL HAVE THE BALLOT**, in spite of Brougham and the boroughmongers, too. The other trump of the boroughmongers is the *totter-up*, who is, it seems, gone to Scotland, to get out of the way of these French festivities. The *totter-up* will find himself in a new element; he will find himself on a boisterous sea instead of being on a duck-pond; and he will find that this nation is no more to be amused by his tottings-up, than soldiers in a battle are to be amused with a Methodist sermon. Yet the boroughmongers hope, and particularly those who are loan-mongers as well as boroughmongers, that he will be able to persuade the people that every thing can be put to rights *by his economical motions*. If the Parliament be not called together until February, the chances are that he will never make any motion at all; and at best, he must swim along with the stream of reform, or to the bottom he goes. So much for these shoyhoys.

GOLD.

THE newspapers say, that *two millions of ounces* of gold and silver, I believe they say two millions and a half, have been sent out of the country within about ten days (I write this on the 23d of August). They do not particularly say how much gold and how much silver. One million of ounces of gold is about a fifth part of the quantity that was ever in the country for many years past. The Bank has out about twenty-six millions of pounds in their notes. *How much gold* the old lady has to answer these notes, I cannot say; but this I know, that *new sovereigns* only are to be had at the Bank. There are about twenty millions of country bank notes afloat, compared with all which paper the quantity of gold in the country must be trifling. If the gold continue to go away, the Bank must do one of two things; make a **PANIC** or make a **BANK-RESTRICTION**. If she draw in her paper, in order to be able to make good her payments in gold, then there

is panic; then we come to barter in reality, to within forty-eight hours of which we were brought in 1825; then two hundred thousand families are without bread to put in their mouths in this town alone; then two hundred thousand men are out of employment in this town alone. Think of that boroughmongers! If, in Paris, where the paper-money is next to nothing, a mere temporary shock has produced, amidst a people in good humour with their present rulers, such dangers as we now behold there, what must be the effect of a total stagnation of dealings amongst the million and a half of human beings assembled on this one spot! In such a scene where would be the tottings-up of Hume, and where the sarcasms of the brawling Brougham against the right of voting by ballot? Not an ox, not a sheep, not a calf, not a pig, not even a fowl or a duck or a rabbit, would be brought to this place from the moment that the panic began to prevail. The vessels loaded with wheat and with flour and other provisions, would sail back again as fast as possible; and the consequences no man can describe or even imagine. This course, therefore, the government will not suffer to be pursued; because this would be manifest, certain, and swift destruction. They must, then, in case the gold should continue to go away, resort to Bank-restriction; that is to say, to the making paper-money a legal tender; and to the issuing of small paper-money again. The *end* of this measure would be very little different from the other, only it would be slower in coming; it would give a little time for preparation; it would raise prices enormously; it would lessen debts and taxation in the same degree; it would please farmers and landlords too, the one having rents and the other having mortgages to pay; but the paper would soon sink into a battle against the gold, and then would come that termination, which, upon the whole, would probably be the best. In either of these cases, how wildly Brougham and Hume would look about them! The wise thing would be, to make the Bank-re-

striction, and then, at once, to make the parliamentary reform. However, those that have the power must do as they please, and the consequence will be on their heads and not on the heads of those who have no power. In this state of things, common sense points out to every man who can do it, to furnish himself with **SOME GOLD**. I know that there is in the city, a very general expectation that a Bank-restriction and legal tender must take place before it be long; and that either that or panic must come before Christmas. This has long been my opinion. My position is this, that wheat must be, on an average of years and seasons, at five shillings a bushel, or less, or that the gold must leave this country. So to contract the issue of paper as to bring down wheat to five shillings a bushel, is to bring panic and all its horrors; to keep the wheat up at a higher price, is to fill the country with paper and to drive the gold out. Let no man deceive himself. One or the other of these must take place. Some people imagine, that, having got rid of the *one-pound notes*, we are safe from the consequences of panic, and that Bank-restriction cannot become necessary. These persons forget two things; first, that the one-pound notes still circulate in Ireland and Scotland; and, second, that there were no one-pound Bank-notes when the Bank stoppage took place in 1797, and that there was a run, a panic and a stoppage with no notes in existence under five pounds. If a Bank stoppage were now to take place, the bread would soon sell for sixpence or a shilling a pound, and a gold sovereign would sell for three or four pounds in paper. Let those, therefore, who can now get the gold, and who do not do it, have the full enjoyment of all the consequences.

WATERLOO-AFFAIR.

AMONGST the *signs of the times* are the following facts, which ought to be made known to the whole country. On the field of Waterloo, as it is called, which is in Belgium, and in the territories which the gallant French nation

was compelled to give up at the peace made with the Bourbons, there has been made a mound of earth a hundred feet high, upon the top of which there is the *statue of a lion* which is thirty feet high. On this mound, it is said, the late King of England stood with Wellington, and surveyed the field. On the same field there is a triumphal column to commemorate the prowess of the *Hanoverian* army, and another column to commemorate that of the *Prussian* army. The whole spot and lands about it are said to be the *property of Wellington*, whose name is emblazoned on all these monuments. In his peerage, printed in London, he is called amongst his other titles, *Prince of Waterloo*, and it is also stated in the peerage, that he has the grant of an estate in Belgium, worth *two thousand pounds sterling a year*. In England, we have, not only in London, but in all the great towns, *Waterloo streets*, *Waterloo houses*, *Waterloo cottages*, *Waterloo places*, *Waterloo squares*; and, in London, we have a *Waterloo bridge* across the Thames. But our grand triumphal monument is a *statue of Achilles*, erected in Hyde Park, just opposite the windows of Wellington's own house, and it was said, at the time when it was erected, "*to have been done by a subscription of the ladies of England.*" This statue has written on the base of it the following words:

TO

ARTHUR DUKE OF WELLINGTON

And his brave companions in arms this statue of Achilles, cast from cannon taken in the victories of *Salamanca*, *Vienna*, *Toulouse* and *Waterloo*, is inscribed by their countrywomen. Placed on this spot, on the 18th day of June, 1822, by command of his Majesty, King George the Fourth.

Now, I read in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 13th of August, the following words. "On the day of the Review in the Park, the people put a pipe in the mouth of the noble statue of Achilles,

"an oak branch in his hand, and pelted him with stones. And yet this statue is erected by the ladies in honour of Wellington, who destroyed Napoleon." It was not an oak branch; it was dirty, broken broom-stick. The statue was, indeed, severely pelted; and, the other morning when I saw it, the broken broom-stick was still in the hand of the statue. The statue had been wounded in several places, and the stones lay very thick about the base; but, what attracted my attention most was, a board put up near the statue, *commanding the public authorities to seize and bring to justice any persons that might be seen attempting to injure the statue!* I should further observe that the park is locked up in the night time; so that these acts of aggression must have been committed in open day. It is not for me to offer opinions upon the subject any further than to question the soundness of the logic of the writer above quoted, who seems to think that it argues *brutal ignorance* in the people of England, to despise and mock at, and insult, a statue that had been erected by the *ladies of England*. I should observe further that the inscription on the statue is something like the labels in the stocking shops:

ONE SHILLING

and eleven-pence halfpenny.

Poor *Achilles* makes but a very small figure. There, now, take the facts just as they are; make your own commentary, and say what they are, a sign of. Another fact: some days ago, it was announced, in the newspapers, that *His present Majesty*, William the Fourth, was causing to be built at Windsor, a new gallery, to be called the WATER-LOO GALLERY, which gallery was intended to contain and exhibit *all the trophies taken at the battle of Waterloo*. This morning (23rd of August), the *Morning Herald* is authorised to state, that the gallery was NAMED by his LATE Majesty, George the Fourth, and was intended by HIM for the aforementioned purpose; and that it is not true that the gallery is "erecting;" for that it has been formed out of apartments in

the Castle that were erected a long while ago! Very good: I like this well: it is a sign that useless grounds of irritation are to be avoided in future. That is all I shall say about these matters.

CHARLES THE TENTH.

It appears to be certain that this man and his family are to take up their abode at LULWORTH CASTLE, in Dorsetshire, which is a very fine place, about 130 miles from London, belonging to that most respectable Catholic family of WELD, who have expended a princely fortune from pure zeal in the cause of the religion of their fathers. This place was rented by Peel a few years ago as a sporting place. I always thought, and always said, that Mr. Charles Capet and his family would come to this country. It was nonsense to talk of their going to America, and is now nonsense to talk of their going to Austria. Whether it be just, now that they are in the country, to suffer them to continue here will depend upon circumstances. If they can remain here without giving just offence to the French people and their chief, it is right that they should be suffered to remain; but if they assume any titles incompatible with the laws and constitution of France; if they keep up here any intrigues or cabals tending to excite suspicions of the intentions of our government, and tending to embroil the two countries in war, then they ought to be sent away. The like of this was done at the peace of Amiens, and the like of it must be done now if their conduct should give umbrage to the French; for millions of human beings are not to be rendered miserable; rivers of blood are not to flow, to gratify the ambition, or the malice, of a few individuals. As far as our own King is concerned, we have, in his character, and in the real love which he has shown for the people, a sure guarantee that nothing will be done injurious to us; and though it is impossible to disguise from ourselves and the world, that some persons here feel great mortification at the failure of the schemes

of Polignac, every thing that I see leads me to hope and to believe, that the ministry will now do nothing to create a breach between the two countries, who both want peace, and whose mutual friendship may command that tranquillity in Europe which is so necessary to a peaceable and equitable arrangement of our own difficult affairs. In my last Register I gave it as my opinion that the Duke of Wellington would of himself propose a reform of parliament; and my reason for this I am now about to state more fully than I did then.

THE ELECTIONS.

In Norfolk the old Tory Woodhouse has been shoved aside, by a man who has *pledged himself to reform*; in Cambridgeshire the Duke of Rutland's brother, or cousin, or something, has been put out by a private gentleman, upon his making a solemn declaration that he would *vote for radical reform*. In Suffolk, my old friend, GAFFER GOOCH, has been fairly hooted down as a common nuisance, though sitting in a seat of twenty-five years old, looked upon as an heir-loom in the family; and though backed by the aristocracy and the parsons in phalanx. There is some precious good stuff in these eastern counties. In Kent, Honeywood has given way to one of the very best and most humane men that England ever contained. In other counties no very great change as to the principles of the men; but everywhere *reform* has been sounded in their ears, and no where has there been found a man bold enough to say, that he was *not for some degree of reform of Parliament*. Of those elected, DENNISON, in Surrey, TEVOR, in Wales, CURTIS, in Sussex, and WESTERN (if he be elected) in Essex, have declared *against the ballot*, and all upon the authority of Brougham; but they will all change their tone, and their high authority will take the lead in the change. The wretched creatures called Whigs boast that they have "ORGANISED A PARTY"; and they really think that they shall put out the Duke, and come scrambling into power and emolument. The poor creatures do not consider the state of the country at all. They do not consider that it is solely the NAME of this one man that keeps the system together, and that if that name were taken away, it would fall to pieces of its own weight; they do not consider that, in circumstances like these, a change of ministry is convulsion. However, if the Duke do not himself propose a parliamentary reform, they will have the ability to worry him out of his existence. They know that it cannot be carried peaceably without its being a measure of the Government. They want it not to be carried; but in order to annoy him, and to get his power from him, they will ask for what they do not want; they will get involved in the question so deep as to be unable to extricate themselves; they will have the whole country at their back upon this question; they will pull down the Duke, or create a commotion. If the Duke propose the reform himself, and do it at once and frankly, this party, as they call themselves, is down in a moment, and the Duke's popularity is established for the remainder of his life. The people look at this party not only without confidence, but with contempt. The people have long viewed them with contempt. They do not look upon the Duke with contempt. His silence and reserve, and the ostentatious display which his officious and foolish and servile satellites have made about him; all these *displease* the people; they draw a contrast between his deportment and that of the present king; but they do not despise him as they do the whigs, whose shuffling and treachery are everlasting subjects of invective. If he had appeared at Covent Garden, they would have showed him no respect; but they would not have *pelted* him with cabbages and turnips as they did Burdett and Hobhouse. Is it not plain, then, that the path for him to pursue is the path of reform, with all the people at his back? No maxim is truer than that desperate diseases require desperate remedies. Prudence sometimes dictates to men to risk nothing; but there

are times when the greatest of prudence dictates to them to risk every thing; and such are precisely the circumstances in which the Duke is now placed. When he looks at the debt, when he looks at the taxes, when he looks at the awful state of the paper money, when he looks at the grievous sores that afflict the working classes of this country, when he must know that there are millions of men who go to bed hungry after their day's work, when he beholds all this, he must, he must be convinced that *some great change must take place*. Power never listens to reason, except it be on its own side. POLIGNAC had two desperate remedies before him. One was to *abrogate the charter*; the other to *yield to the will of the people*, and thus make the monarchy *half a republic*. I confess that his choice lay between these two; but he never appears to have thought of the latter, which was the least desperate of the two; and therefore, he did not make his master half a republican chief; but made him an outcast and a wanderer. Parliamentary reform would, to a certainty, *greatly bring down* this aristocracy; but the choice lies between this and *something a great deal worse* for that aristocracy. I do not wish, and I never have wished, to see this worse take place; and I have always been particularly anxious to inculcate no opinion hostile to the kingly office and dignity. In short, all may be preserved that ought to be preserved, if those who have the power in their hands choose to preserve it; and, if they do not, be the consequences on their heads.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

ON the 1st of September, the fourteenth and last NUMBER of this little work will be published. It contains my Advice to the CITIZEN, and, if I could ensure its being read by every young man in England (who can read), between the age of fifteen and twenty-seven, I would be bound, if that were necessary to accomplish the purpose, to live upon bread alone (except something

else were necessary to preserve my life) for all the remainder of my days; for I am sure, that the reading of this one Number by *all* those young men could not fail to produce that restoration of the happiness and high character of my country, to cause which to be restored has been the great object of all the labours of my life for thirty years past. If there be readers of this work, who want their numbers completed, I will, for their convenience, and indeed for their interest, continue to sell detached numbers *until the 1st of November*; after which it will be merely accidental if an imperfect set can be completed. After the 1st of November, I shall sell the numbers in complete sets.

HISTORY OF GEORGE IV.

THE First Number of this work (larger than the Numbers of the Advice) will be also published on the 1st of September, that is to say, next Wednesday. The history will be that of the Regency and Reign of George IV. No man knows this history better than myself. I have lived under this Regency and this reign. I have witnessed all the transactions of them; I have known the actors, their characters and their motives. The Regency and the reign are at an end; and let us now have the true history of them put on indelible record. Peel says, that we are *too near* the various blessings of the late King's reign to be able to describe them with sufficient *coolness*. Yes, to be sure, the starvation of the Irish, and of the English too; the thanking of the soldiers for the deeds of the sixteenth of August; the persecution and the death, or utter ruin, of 1817; the Six Acts of 1819. the treatment of the Scotch reformers in 1820; the excruciating tortures of poor OGDEN; the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and all the accumulated injuries and perfidies of the poor unfortunate CAROLINE OF BRUNSWICK; it is very true that that we are "*too near*" to these to speak of them with "*coolness*;" but we

are not too near to them to speak of them with *truth*; and if we do that our great great grand-children will not read them with coolness. At any rate, I will speak of them *now*, for there is a time for all things, and this is the time for doing this work.

LECTURE.

HAVING a great desire to address the working classes on the subject of the recent events in France, and to offer them my advice as to the conduct which they themselves ought to pursue, in order to assist in obtaining a just reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, I have engaged the Rotunda, in Blackfriars' Road, for that purpose, for next Tuesday evening, the 30th instant. The lecture will begin at six o'clock precisely, the price of admission to be TWO-PENCE. The money, after paying the expenses of the place, and other matters connected with the lecture, I shall subscribe to the fund for the widows and orphans of Paris.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS AT PARIS.

SEVERAL subscriptions have been received this week by letter, which will be particularly acknowledged next week. I am happy to hear that they are making little collections *by parishes* in *Suffolk*, and hope it will be done in other counties. I hear, with delight, but not with surprise, that there is a subscription going on in the public-spirited town of *Wolverhampton*. Letters, with money or orders, may be directed to Sir *Thomas Beevor, Bart.*, or to me, at No. 183, Fleet-Street. Sir Thomas will be back from Paris in a few days, when he will give, or order to be given, answers to all the letters addressed to him.

NEW EDITION.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

JUST published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a *Postscript*, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Post-script.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,
A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree; and *all* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying-out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly dear to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

THE LANCET.

No. 365, published this day, contains:—

Mr. Lawrence's Eighty-first Lecture:—Palliative Treatment for the Stone.—Diseases of the Rectum:—

Calculus in the Bladder
Lithotomy
Lithotomy
Lateral Operation
High Operation
Recto-Vesical Operation
Fistula in Ano; Treatment
Abscess
Piles
Stricture
Use of Bougies

Mr. Lawrence's Eighty-second Lecture:—Varieties, Causes, and Treatment of Hernia:—

Definition of Hernia
Its Varieties
Causes of Hernia
Treatment of Hernia

Mr. Castle's Case of Stone treated by Baron Heurteloup. Communicated by D. O. Edwards, Esq.

Mr. W. B. Lynn's Letter to the College of Surgeons on the rejection of Mr. R. Elmore from the Council.

Report of the Meeting of the Freeholders of Middlesex in support of Mr. Wakley as Coroner

Inquest on Miss Cashin

Coroner for Middlesex; Letter from Mr. Walford

Letter of Mr. W. B. Lynn to the Council of the College of Surgeons

Letter from Mr. King to the Pupils of the Aldersgate Street Medical School

Dr. G. Henning on the Treatment of Scrofulous Swellings

Blackwood's Magazine; Dr. Armstrong's Operation for Phimosis

Dislike of the London Hospital by the Poor
Letter to the "Man of Letters"

Correspondents

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[Price 7d.

No. V.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE
en 1830.

No. V.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE
en 1830.

TO THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

LETTER II.

On affairs connected with the French Revolution.—Affairs in Belgium.—Affairs at the Bank in London.

MY LORD DUKE,

1. IN my last letter I proved, that the hired writer of the *Quarterly Review* must have known, in May, that POLIGNAC's blow was intended to be struck in July. A poor hired mortal like this could not have gotten this knowledge from POLIGNAC. It must have been communicated to him by *somebody in London*; and, when one looks narrowly into the affair, it appears evident, not only that the plot was *known in London beforehand*; but that it was *hatched in London*; that the whole thing was contrived here; instigated here; and that the object of the plot was, not to do any good to the Bourbons; not to uphold *their* throne and *their* power; but to *serve the purposes of the boroughmongers of England*; to secure to them the quiet enjoyment of the rich fruits of their traffic. Lest you should not know what a *boroughmonger* is, I will describe him to you. He is a man, or, rather, monster, who trafficks in corruption; who buys or sells seats, and who is called a borough-monger as we call a trafficker in iron an ironmonger, or a trafficker in cheese a cheesemonger. Perhaps it would be more proper to call him a *seat-monger*; or more proper still, a *vote-monger*; and then the French term would be *marchand de votes*.

AU DUC DE WELLINGTON.

LETTRE II.

Sur les affaires en rapport avec la révolution Française—Affaires de la Belgique—Affaires relatives à la Banque d'Angleterre.

MILORD DUC,

1. J'AI prouvé dans ma dernière lettre que le rédacteur du *Quarterly Review*, était instruit, dans le mois de mai, du coup que POLIGNAC se proposait de porter dans le mois de juillet. Un misérable mercenaire de cette espèce n'avait pu en être informé par POLIGNAC lui-même. Il fallait donc qu'il eût eu des communications avec *quelqu'un de Londres*; et en tournant cette affaire dans tous les sens, il devient évident, non-seulement que le complot était *connu d'avance à Londres*; mais même qu'on l'avait *tramé à Londres*; que toute l'intrigue y avait été ourdie et préparée, et que le but de ce complot était, non pas de servir les Bourbons, d'affermir leur trône ou de consolider leur pouvoir; mais bien de *favoriser les projets des boroughmongers* (brocanteurs de la représentation des bourgs) et de leur assurer la paisible jouissance des fruits de leur trafic. Si vous ne savez pas au juste ce que c'est qu'un *boroughmonger*, je vais vous l'apprendre. C'est un homme, ou plutôt un monstre, qui fait un vrai trafic de la corruption; c'est-à-dire qui achète et vend des *sièges* dans le parlement, et qu'on appelle un *boroughmonger*, comme on appelle un homme qui achète et vend du fer, un *ironmonger*, ou celui qui achète ou vend du fromage un *cheesemonger*. Peut-être serait-il plus exact de dire, un *seatmonger* (un marchand de sièges) ou plus encore, un *voitemonger* (un marchand de votes). C'est du moins ainsi qu'on l'appellerait en Français.

2. It being a matter of great import-

2. Il est très important d'abord que

L

ance that the French nation now clearly understand, not only what a borough-monger is, but also what is the extent of the traffick, that nation ought to be informed of the following undeniable facts; that is to say, that, in 1793, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, signed by himself and others, stating, "that a *decided majority* of that House was *returned by one hundred and fifty-four men, partly peers, and partly great commoners*, and by the ministry *of the day*;" that he offered to prove the allegation by witness at the bar of the House, and that he was not permitted to bring his witnesses to the bar; that there was an appendix to this petition, containing a list of the *names* of all the *peers* and *great commoners*, who thus returned the members, exhibiting the number of members returned by each; and that this list is recorded in the *Annual Register* for the year 1793; that, in 1779, the House of Commons had resolved, that an *attempt* to traffick in seats in that House was "*highly criminal in a minister of the king*"; that it was an attack on the *dignity and honour* of the House, an infringement on the rights and liberties of the people, and an attempt to sap the basis of our *free and happy constitution*;" that, on the 25th April, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, then a minister of the king, having been proved to have thus trafficked, the House resolved, "that it was its bounden duty to maintain, at all times, a *jealous guard on its purity*;" but the attempt, in the present instance, not *having been carried into effect*, the House did not think it necessary to proceed to any criminalizing "resolutions;" that, alas! in only sixteen days after this, Mr. MADOCKS, member for Boston, accused this same Castlereagh, together with two other ministers of the king, not only of trafficking in a seat, but of having *completed a bargain, and carried it into full effect*; that, having made this charge, Mr. Madocks moved, that the House should *inquire* into the matter; that the House then debated upon this motion; that there were *three hundred and ninety-five* members present; and that (hear it, Frenchmen!) *three hundred and ten voted against all inquiry*;

tout Français soit bien fixé non-seulement sur la vraie signification du mot *boroughmonger*; mais encore sur l'étendue de son trafic. Il faut ensuite qu'il connaisse les faits suivants que personne ne saurait nier: savoir; qu'en 1793, Mr. GREY, aujourd'hui le Comte de GREY, présenta une pétition à la Chambre des Communes, signée par lui et par beaucoup d'autres individus, où l'on déclara que la *majorité* des membres du parlement étaient élue par *cent cinquante-quatre* individus, tant *pairs* que *rôturiers de la première classe*, et par le ministère existant; que Mr. GREY offrit de prouver cette allégation par des témoins à la barre de la Chambre des Communes; mais qu'on ne lui permit pas de les produire; qu'à cette pétition était joint un appendix contenant la liste et les noms des *personnages* qui avaient la faculté d'élire cette majorité, et désignant le nombre de membres élus par chacun d'eux; et que cette liste se trouve enregistrée sur les registres annuels de 1793; qu'en 1779, la Chambre des Communes déclara que tout moyen de corruption employé par un *ministre quelconque* pour l'admission des membres dans la chambre basse serait réputé "*criminel*", et considéré comme une atteinte portée à la *dignité* et à l'*honneur* des représentants de la nation, comme une violation des droits et des libertés du peuple; et enfin comme une tentative de sapper les bases de notre *excellente constitution*;" que le 25 Avril, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, alors ministre, ayant "été accusé d'avoir brocanté un siège dans le parlement, la Chambre des Communes déclara qu'il était de son devoir impérial de veiller, en tout temps, et avec un *soin scrupuleux*, sur tout ce qui pourrait compromettre sa *pureté*"; mais attendu que la tentative de Lord Castlereagh n'avait pas eu d'*effet*, elle ne jugea pas nécessaire, dans cette circonstance, de procéder criminellement à son égard;" que, seize jours après cette déclaration, Mr. MADOCKS, député de Boston, accusa ce même CASTLEREAGH, et deux autres ministres, non seulement d'avoir essayé de vendre un siège, mais même d'avoir *conclu et exécuté le marché*; qu'à la suite d'une accusation aussi grave, Mr. Madocks fit une motion à l'effet de prier

and that, too, as the speakers in the debate openly declared, "*because this traffick was as notorious as the sun at noon day.*"



3. It is, then, évident, that the boroughmongers must have had a great desire to put an end to free election by ballot in France; for, if that system continued there; if France were happy and prosperous under that system, how was England, suffering so severely under this system, to be expected to remain long in submission to it? In fact, we, the Reformers (being nineteen-twentieths of the nation) now had, in addition to all our other arguments, this: "There is France prosperous and tranquil with free elections; and why should not we be the same? America, you may say, is no precedent for us; but France! France with a king and peers and an established church; if she be tranquil and prosperous with free elections, why should not the people of England have the power freely to choose their representatives?" To this argument there was no answer; and the boroughmongers saw, that they must either destroy the grounds of the argument; or must, before long, give up their profitable trade. The latter was not to be thought of; and therefore they resolved on the former; that is to say, to destroy the free elections in France. Our false or foolish newspapers talk of METTERNICH'S plots. Austria had no interest in plunging France into confusion; she had no interest in putting down free elections in France; she had no reason to fear the effect of the example; the French were tranquil and contented, because they were prosperous; the king of France was in the enjoyment of quite power enough; to disturb the tranquillity of France was the interest of nobody in the world, our boroughmongers only excepted; but, it was their manifest interest that precisely that should be done which Polignac attempted to do. For, if he had succeeded, the boroughmongers would then have answered our

la Chambre d'investiguer cette affaire; qu'il s'éleva des débats sur sa motion; qu'il y avait trois cent quatre vingt-quinze membres présents; et que, (entendez-le bien, Français!) trois cent dix membres votèrent contre toute espèce d'enquête, "par la raison, ainsi qu'on le déclara dans les débats, qu'un trafic de cette nature était aussi notoire que la clarté du soleil en plein midi."

3. Il est donc bien évident que les boroughmongers d'Angleterre avaient vivement désiré de mettre un terme à l'élection libre du scrutin en France; car si les Français continuaient à jouir de cet avantage; s'ils se trouvaient heureux et satisfaits sous ce système, le moyen que les Anglais qui souffrent tant sous le leur, s'y soumissent long-temps et avec patience? En effet, nous, avocats de la réforme parlementaire, qui formons aujourd'hui la 19^e partie de la nation, nous pouvons maintenant ajouter à tant d'autres arguments celui que la France est heureuse et tranquille, au milieu de ses élections libres, et pourquoi ne le serions-nous pas aussi? L'Amérique peut bien ne pas établir de précédent pour nous; mais la France, la France, qui, comme nous, a un roi, des pairs et une église établie, si elle est heureuse et prospère avec des élections libres, pourquoi le peuple Anglais n'aurait-il pas le pouvoir de choisir librement ses représentants? Il n'y avait pas de réponse à un pareil argument; c'est pourquoi les boroughmongers avaient senti la nécessité, ou d'en détruire les bases, ou de se voir forcés d'abandonner leur commerce lucratif. On ne pouvait songer à ce dernier parti, il fallait donc s'arrêter au premier; c'est-à-dire à détruire les élections libres en France. Nos journaux, mensongers ou ignorants, parlent des complots de Metternich; mais l'Autriche n'avait aucun intérêt à bouleverser la France; elle n'avait aucun intérêt à détruire la liberté de ses élections; elle n'avait, en un mot, rien à craindre de son exemple. Le peuple Français était heureux et tranquille parce qu'il prospérait; le roi jouissait d'un pouvoir assez étendu, qui donc, si ce n'est nos boroughmongers, avait intérêt à détruire la liberté des élections en France? Il n'y a donc pas le moindre doute qu'il ne fût de leur plus grand intérêt qu'on fût ce que Polignac a essayé de faire; car s'il

petitions thus: "There! you see the effects of free election in France! The French have *tried* the wild thing, and they have been obliged to abandon it; therefore, hold your tongues."

4. Thus, then, they had the most powerful of all possible motives to instigate POLIGNAC to the deed; and now let us see the facts in support of the opinion, that *they did instigate* him, and indeed, that amongst them the plot was hatched. 1. POLIGNAC had lived in England during a great part of his life, and had been constantly amongst our boroughmongers. 2. The plot began to be talked of in France, immediately after he went from England to France, in August 1829. 3. The pamphlet of CORTU, which was a sort of manifesto in justification beforehand of the *coup d'état*, was published at Paris early in 1830, and *before the Chambers were dissolved*. 4. That, in this pamphlet CORTU stated, that MONTESQUIEU was wrong in describing the English House of Commons as *representing the people at large*; for that of the 658 members, the *aristocracy and the crown chose the whole except 171*; and he asserted, that *this ought to be the case in France*. 5. That this CORTU, who is a lawyer (and a counsellor of the *royal court* at Paris), had, before he wrote his pamphlet, *been for several years, a part of his time, in this country*; that he was feasted by the boroughmongers, and particularly by those lawyers who are their tools; that he was taken about to public places, and was *seen frequently sitting even on the bench with the judges*. 6. That, after all this, he goes from London to Paris, and there publishes a pamphlet to show, that the aristocracy and the crown choose all the members of the House of Commons except 171, and that *this ought to be the case in France*. 7. That, returning now to the QUARTERLY REVIEW, the article, which I quoted from in my last letter (No. 4 of Le Tableau) is what is called a *critique* on this very pamphlet of CORTU! or, rather, it is an *eulogium* on it. But the curious fact is this, that CORTU's pamphlet was *first written in English*, and then *translated into French*! This is the curious and interesting fact; and

eût réussi, nos *boroughmongers* auraient répondu à nos pétitions: "Voilà les effets des élections libres en France; les Français ont *essayé* de ce mode absurde, et ils ont été forcés d'y renoncer: cessez donc vos plaintes, et taisez-vous."

4. Ainsi, donc, les *boroughmongers* avaient le plus puissant des motifs pour exciter Polignac à son entreprise. Voyons maintenant les faits qui viennent à l'appui de cette opinion, ou plutôt qui prouvent qu'elle avait été tramée par eux. 1°. Polignac avait passé la majeure partie de sa vie en Angleterre, et avait toujours été au milieu des *boroughmongers*. 2°. Il commença à être question du complot en France, peu de temps après son voyage de Londres à Paris, dans le mois d'Août 1829. 3°. La brochure de CORTU, qui est une espèce de manifeste pour justifier l'avance le coup d'état, fut publié à Paris au commencement de 1830, et avant la *dissolution de la Chambre des Députés*. 4°. CORTU, dans sa brochure, affirme que Montesquieu a *tort d'avancer que la Chambre des Communes d'Angleterre représente la masse du peuple*, attendu que sur 658 membres, l'*aristocratie et la couronne les choisissent tous*, à l'exception de 171, et il ajoute qu'il devrait en être de même en France. 5°. Ce CORTU, avocat, récemment nommé conseiller à la cour royale de Paris, avait passé, avant d'écrire sa brochure, *une partie de son temps dans ce pays-ci*, pendant *plusieurs années*; il avait toujours été parfaitement accueilli par les agents subalternes des *boroughmongers*, qui lui avaient donné des fêtes, ainsi que ces avocats, qui sont leurs instruments; on le conduisait dans tous les endroits publics, et on le même vit fréquemment assis sur les bancs des juges. 6°. Etant allé ensuite de Londres à Paris, il publia une brochure, dans laquelle il s'efforce de prouver que tous les membres de la Chambre des Communes, à l'exception de 171, sont élus par l'aristocratie et la couronne, et maintient que *cela devrait être de même en France*. 7°. Revenant au QUARTERLY REVIEW, l'article que j'ai cité dans ma dernière lettre (No. 5 du Tableau d'Angleterre) est ce qu'on appelle une *critique* de cette même brochure de CORTU, ou plutôt il en fait l'éloge. Mais ce qu'il y a de curieux dans tout ceci, c'est que la bro-

of this fact no man who understands the two languages can possibly doubt. The title is, at the head of the critique, given in *French*, thus: "DE LA NÉCESSITÉ D'UNE DICTATURE. Par M. Cottu, "conseiller à la cour royale de Paris. "Publié à Paris, 1830." But not a word is said about an *English translation*; and yet all the extracts are given in *English*, and *not in French*! So that though there was no translation published, the reviewer had a translation ready for his use; or, rather, he had the *original*! This must be clear to every man who reads the extracts, and who understands both the languages. In all the extracts there is not a single *gallicism*; and, in the French of Cottu, *Anglicisms* are incessant. If our friends at Paris look out sharply about Cottu, that will get at the proof positive of all this.

5. Be it also remembered, that we read of the *flight* of Cottu, as soon as the plot *had failed*! And whither did he flee? Not to Austria: not to Prussia: not to Belgium. No, but to the land of boroughmongers, or *marchands de votes*! He expected the plot to succeed: he had no doubt of this; and his worthy colleague of the Quarterly Review had no more doubt of the success than he had of his own existence; and he expressly says, that he publishes his article to "*prepare the people of England for what is to be done, and to prevent them from being shocked at it!*" How the boroughmongers must have been disappointed and mortified at the result! Little did they imagine that they should see their man, Cottu, be compelled to flee; and still less that they should see the people of England congratulating the French that they had prevented boroughmongering (*le brocantage des votes*) from being introduced into France! The people of France saw clearly what was intended for them; an honest and able press had explained to them what boroughmongering meant; it was against boroughmongering that the *Breton Associations* had wisely declared; and it was to keep out of their country this accursed system, that the valiant people of Paris

chure de ce Cottu fut d'abord écrite en *Anglais*, puis traduite en *Français*. C'est un fait aussi curieux qu'intéressant, et quiconque entend les deux langues, ne saurait en avoir le moindre doute. La critique, en Français, est intitulée: "DE LA NÉCESSITÉ D'UNE DICTATURE par M. COTTU, Conseiller à la Cour Royale de Paris, publié à Paris en 1830." Il n'y est nullement question de la traduction, et cependant tous les extraits sont donnés en *Anglais*, et non en *Français*, en sorte que, bien qu'il n'y eût pas de traduction *publique*, l'éditeur de la Revue devait en avoir une toute prête, ou plutôt il en avait l'*original*. Rien ne saurait être plus évident pour quiconque lit les extraits, et qui entend les deux langues. Il n'y a pas un seul *gallicisme* dans les extraits, tandis que le Français de Cottu est plein d'*anglicismes*. Si nos amis de Paris ont l'œil sur ce Cottu, ils auront des preuves positives de tout ce que j'avance.

5. Il ne faut pas aussi perdre de vue que ce Cottu a pris la fuite aussitôt que le complot a manqué; et où s'est-il réfugié? non pas en Autriche, en Prusse, ou dans la Belgique; mais dans le pays des *marchands de votes*. Il avait compté sur le succès du complot, ou plutôt il n'en avait aucun doute, et son digne collègue, le rédacteur du QUARTERLY REVIEW, n'en doutait pas plus que de son existence, car il dit qu'il publie son article à l'effet de préparer le peuple Anglais à ce qui va avoir lieu, et pour l'empêcher d'en être choqué. Combien les *boroughmongers* doivent avoir été désappointés et mortifiés du résultat! Ils ne s'attendaient guère à voir leur créature, Cottu, forcé de prendre la fuite; bien moins encore à voir le peuple anglais féliciter les Français d'avoir empêché que le *brocantage des votes* fût introduit en France. Le peuple français a vu clairement ce qu'on lui réservait. D'habiles et courageux journalistes lui ont fait sentir ce que c'était que le *brocantage des votes*; l'*association bretonne* s'était déclarée hautement contre ce *brocantage*, et c'est pour se soustraire à cet abominable système, que les braves Parisiens ont répandu leur sang. En combinant toutes ces circonstances, tout homme muni d'un peu de sens commun n'aura désormais

shed their blood! No man of common sense can, when he has put all the circumstances together, doubt that the plot was hatched and urged on to execution by the English boroughmongers; it was they who seduced POLIGNAC and his colleagues, and that, too, by means that they always have at command and always employ; and let the Bourbons remember, that to this corrupt and corrupting band they owe the loss of their crown.

6. And now, my Lord Duke, was it not rather curious, that the parliament should have been *dissolved just before the plot broke out*? The parliament was dissolved on the 24th of July, the ordinances signed on the 25th, and issued on the 26th. It is clear, that the hired man of the Review knew, *in May*, that the plot was prepared; and without supposing that *you* had any thing to do in *hatching* the plot; without supposing that you *approved* of the plot; without either of these, we must suppose that you knew something of what was *intended* to be done, and also something about the *time* for doing it. Now, *no reasons* were given for the sudden dissolution of the parliament: the business of the session was *not done*; the *supplies were not all voted*; many important matters *remained unfinished*; the season for a general election would have been better after harvest than before. However, without imputing *motives* for this sudden dissolution, one cannot help observing that you were *lucky* in it; for, if the Houses had been sitting only four days longer, what a questioning and motioning and speechifying about this French plot! In short, nothing ever was so *apropos* as this hasty dissolution; and, if you were not acquainted with the *very hour* for the execution of the plot, all that I can say is, that your *luck* in the field has not deserted you in the cabinet.

7. You seem, however, to be less lucky as to affairs in BELGIUM; with regard to which I shall, at present, only say that, however mortifying to you

aucun doute que ce complot avait été tramé par nos *boroughmongers*, et qu'ils en avaient pressé l'exécution. Eux seuls avaient séduit POLIGNAC et ses collègues par les moyens qu'ils ont toujours en leur pouvoir et qu'ils ne cessent d'employer; et les Bourbons ne doivent pas oublier que c'est à cette clique *corrompue et corruptrice* qu'ils doivent la perte de leur couronne.

6. De plus, Milord Duc, n'est-ce pas une circonstance remarquable que le parlement fut dissous peu de jours avant l'exécution du complot? Le parlement fut dissous le 24 de juillet, les ordonnances furent signées le 25, et publiées le 26. Il est clair que le rédacteur mercenaire du *QUARTERLY REVIEW* savait, dans le mois de mai, que le complot se préparait, et sans supposer que vous ayez pris part à cette *trame*, sans supposer que vous l'ayez *approuvée*, sans supposer, dis-je, aucune de ces deux circonstances, il est raisonnable de supposer que vous aviez quelque connoissance de ce qu'on *avait intention* de faire, comme aussi de *l'époque* où l'affaire devait avoir lieu. Remarquez bien qu'on ne donna aucune raison pour la prompte dissolution du parlement; que les affaires de la session n'étaient pas terminées, qu'on n'avait pas voté les subsides, et que beaucoup d'affaires importantes étaient encore sur le tapis. La saison, d'ailleurs, pour une élection générale aurait été bien plus favorable avant qu'après la moisson. Cependant sans mettre aucun motif en avant pour cette dissolution *soudaine*, on ne peut s'empêcher d'avouer qu'elle vous a bien *réussi*; car si le parlement eût siégé quatre jours de plus, que de questions, que de motions, que de beaux discours on aurait fait sur ce complot français! Rien, au fait, ne pouvait venir plus *à propos* que cette dissolution; et si vous n'étiez pas instruit de *l'heure précise* où le complot devait s'exécuter, tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que votre *bonheur* sur le champ de bataille ne vous a pas abandonné dans le cabinet.

7. Toutefois il paraît que les affaires de la Belgique ne vous sont pas qu'aussi favorables. A ce sujet, je me contenterai de vous dire, pour le mo-

may be the prospect of seeing the *high mound* and the *big lion*, and the *Hanoverian* monument and other triumphal signs, on the "field of Waterloo," swept away; however mortifying to you may be the prospect of seeing, in the hands of republicans, that estate of two thousand pounds, or 50,000 francs a year, mentioned in your peerage; however mortifying to you to bear, after that, the title of "PRINCE OF WATERLOO;" however mortifying all these, or any of these may be, I do hope, that no one will dream of *our meddling* with this matter, Waterloo having, in all conscience, already cost us quite enough. But them go, mon Prince, mound, lion, monument, title and all; and let us be content with our Waterloo-bridge, Waterloo-arch, Waterloo-gallery, and our squares, places, and streets, and especially with our *Waterloo-statue*, (which stands within sight of your own window) though the people did, the other day, put a dirty broken broomstick in his hand, and pipe in his mouth, and pelted him with stones!

8. However, the Belgians, and all other nations, have a better security for our pacific conduct than our moderation in desires; namely, that which is given them in the *emptiness of our purse*. I showed this clearly in the two first Numbers of the *TABLEAU*. Baring said, and he said truly, that we could not go to war without making paper a *legal tender*; that is to say, without an issue of *assignats*. But, is he sure that we shall not see this even *without going to war*? I am not sure of it, and I do not think that you are, though a prime minister and a prince. The newspapers are trying to disguise the fact from the people; but the drain of bullion and of gold coin is now so great, that it cannot continue long without producing an event similar to that of 1797! Upon what a thread, what a straw, what a cobweb, the whole system hangs!

From what have the *present little troubles at Paris arisen*? Not from political feelings or intrigues, but from

ment, que quelque mortification que vous puissiez éprouver en étant à la veille de voir ce *haut monticule, ce lion gigantesque, ce monument hanovérien*, et tant d'autres signes de triomphe sur "le champ de Waterloo," disparaître entièrement, quelque mortification que vous puissiez éprouver en voyant bientôt dans la possession des républicains ce beau domaine de 2,000 livres sterling, ou 50,000 francs de revenu mentionné dans vos titres de pair; quelque mortification enfin que vous puissiez éprouver en voyant ces événements ou un seul d'entre eux se réaliser, j'ose espérer que personne ne songera à s'immiscer dans cette affaire, car, en bonne conscience, Waterloo nous coûte déjà assez. Laissez tout disparaître, mon Prince; monticule, lion, monument, titre, et contentons-nous de notre pont de Waterloo, de notre arc triomphal de Waterloo, de votre galerie, de nos places, de nos rues, et surtout de votre statue de Waterloo, que vous voyez de vos croisées, quoique le peuple lui ait tout récemment mis un tronçon de balai à la main, une pipe à la bouche, et qu'il l'ait abîmée à coups de pierre.

8. Du reste, les Belges et toutes les autres nations ont une garantie plus forte de nos dispositions pacifiques que la modération de nos *désirs*; je veux dire celle que leur offre le vide de nos coffres. C'est ce que j'ai démontré clairement dans les deux premiers numéros du "*TABLEAU*." Baring a dit, et a dit avec juste raison, que nous ne saurions entreprendre une guerre, sans donner un cours légal au papier-monnaie, c'est-à-dire, sans faire de nouvelles émissions d'*assignats*. Mais est-il bien certain que cela n'ait pas lieu *sans faire la guerre*? Je n'en suis pas bien certain, et moi je doute fort que vous le soyez vous-même, tout premier ministre et tout prince que vous êtes. Les journaux essaient de cacher ce fait au peuple; mais les demandes d'or en lingots et monnayé sont si grandes, dans ce moment, qu'elles ne sauraient durer long-temps sans produire un événement semblable à celui de 1797. Vraiment tout le système ne tient qu'à un fil, à une paille, ou à une toile d'araignée.

9. D'où sont provenus les *petits désordres qui viennent d'avoir lieu à Paris*? non pas d'intrigues politiques, mais du

the want of employment, and that from the want of money, and that from the check given to the discounting of paper. Such must always be the final effects of every system of fictitious capital. But, if France feel this now, with no bank-note under 20*l.* sterling; with a metallic circulating money, and with a paper not amounting to, perhaps, a fiftieth part of her specie, what, in case of a shock, should we feel, whose paper, as compared with our specie, is as about four to five? What would a shock produce here? Even as things now are, people are, and very wisely too, pressing for gold in exchange for paper; what, then, would be the consequence of the sound of war? As there appeared no obvious reason for dissolving the parliament so suddenly before we heard of the coup d'état, so there now appears no obvious reason for calling it together at so early and unusual a season; and my opinion is, that the departure of the bullion is the main cause. This can, indeed, be put a stop to by an order in council, as it was in 1797; and, in this way it must be done, if done at all; because it must be done without people knowing that it is about to be done. But there is something to do besides stopping the demands for gold; there are small notes to issue; there is a legal tender to establish; and these were not, on the former occasion, the work of an order, in council. However, time will tell us all about it.

WM. CORBETT.

Kensington, 1st Sept. 1830.

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défaut d'emploi et du manque d'argent: et les deux ensemble de la répression de l'escompte. Tel doit être, à la fin, l'effet produit par tout système de capital factice. Mais si la France éprouve cet inconvénient, en n'ayant pas de billet de banque au-dessous de vingt livres sterling, avec une circulation d'espèces métalliques, et un papier-monnaie qui n'excède probablement pas la cinquantième partie de son numéraire, quelle sera notre situation, en cas de choc, à nous, dont le papier-monnaie est dans la proportion de quatre à cinq avec l'or? Quelles seraient, pour nous, les suites d'un choc? Dans l'état même où nous nous trouvons maintenant, chacun se presse et avec raison, de changer son papier en or; que serait-ce au premier cri de guerre? De même qu'il n'existait aucun motif apparent pour dissoudre le parlement d'une manière si soudaine, avant d'avoir appris le coup d'état, de même on ne voit point maintenant de raison apparente pour l'assembler dans une saison aussi précoce qu'extraordinaire. Pour moi, je suis d'avis que la disparition de l'or en est la vraie cause. On peut, à la vérité, arrêter les demandes d'or par un simple ordre du conseil, comme cela arriva en 1797, et comme on devra nécessairement le faire, si le cas y echoit, parce qu'il faudra que cela se fasse sans que le peuple se doute qu'une telle mesure va avoir lieu; mais il y a autre chose à faire pour empêcher une trop grande demande d'espèces; il faut émettre de nouveau de petits billets de banque; il faut leur donner un cours légal; et à l'époque dont nous avons parlé, ces deux mesures ne furent point produites par un ordre du cabinet. Le temps nous révélera tout.

G^R M^R. CORBETT.

Kensington, le 1er Septembre, 1830.

TO

THE CONDUCTORS OF THE JOURNALS OF PARIS.

Kensington, 1st Sept.,

GENTLEMEN,

FIRST I have to express to you my thanks for what you have recently done for the cause of freedom; and next to request of you to read the following HISTORICAL SKETCH, which is prefixed

to my History of George IV., the first Number of which is published this day. From our press, which, as far as relates to politics, is, generally speaking, at once the most stupid and the most corrupt in the world, you can, as to matters of government, learn nothing on which you can rely. In my whole life I have never, till now, been able to cause my voice to be heard in France. In all the ways that can be imagined,

direct and indirect, by bonds, by imposts, by restrictions, by prohibitions, levelled directly and solely at me, this Government and Parliament have been, for more than twenty years, endeavouring to check the circulation of my writings. During the war I was, of course, cut off from France, but not more completely than in the time of the Bourbons, whose government appeared to be as much under the beck of this, as if France had been a *colony* of England. Thanks to you, and to the brave people of Paris, France is now open to me, as well as to others; and I will show my gratitude by doing my utmost to enable you to form correct opinions relative to the state of this country. I intend to do this by the means of *weekly Numbers*, which I intend to publish here in French as well as in English, until I have settled on some regular mode of having them published in Paris.

In the meanwhile I hereby request my son JAMES, who is now in Paris, to translate the first, second, and third Numbers; to have them and also the fourth and fifth Numbers printed in Paris; to cause one copy of each to be sent to *each member of the legislature*; if practicable, to *every prefect* in France; one to every *proprietor of the Paris journals*; and as many Numbers as he may think proper to the *divers schools of science*, and particularly to the gentlemen of the *Polytechnic School*, whom I beg to accept of them as a mark of my admiration of their conduct in the glorious combat against the tools of the English boroughmongers. If, in the fulfilment of this my request, you, gentlemen, or any one of you, should be able conveniently to aid my son with your advice, you will by so doing very much oblige,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

SKETCH

Of the History of England, from the Protestant Reformation to the Regency of Geo. IV.

THAT change in the religion of England, which took place in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and which is generally called the REFORMATION, has produced, in pro-

cess of time, a still greater, and a most fatal, change in the nature of the English Government. Before that event, full one-third part, and, indeed more, of the real property of the country belonged to the church; that is to say, it was held in *trust* by the clergy of different denominations, as bishops, priests, monks, nuns, &c., for the maintenance of religion, and for the relief of the poor and the stranger. These trustees, were, therefore, in fact, the lords, or owners of something approaching to one-half of the whole of the houses and lands of England.

From the very nature of the Catholic institutions this state of things gave the common people great advantages, and in various ways, especially as it prevented them from being *borne down by the aristocracy*. Where there is an aristocracy who are hereditary lawgivers, and are sustained by a law of primogeniture, the commons, if left without some power to protect them against such an aristocracy, must, in the nature of things, be, whatever they may call themselves, the slaves of that aristocracy. This protection, the commons, or people of England, found in the Catholic church, which not only had an interest always opposed to the encroachments of the aristocracy, but which was, from the very nature of its institutions, the cause of a distribution of property favourable to the commons. In the first place, it took a tenth part of the whole of the produce of the earth, and out of it relieved the wants of the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphan: next, the celibacy of the clergy, that is of the great mass of landowners, necessarily took from them all motive for accumulating wealth, and caused them to distribute it, in some way or other, amongst the commons: next, the monastics, whose estates were immense, could possess no private property, and were, of course, easy landlords, let their lands at low rents, and on leases for lives, so that the renters were, in fact, pretty nearly the *proprietors*; one and the same family of farmers held the same farm for ages; and hence arose the *seignior*, which is retained in our law-writs, but which has now no application. The nobility were compelled to follow, in this respect, the example of

the church; and thus the commons were the *joint-proprietors*, in fact, of the whole country; they acknowledged the owner as *lord* of the soil; but they held the estates for lives; they had rents or fines to pay, at stated times, but with this reservation, the estates were theirs; they could not, like rack-renters, be turned out at the pleasure of the owner; and, of course, they were independent, free, and bold, just the reverse of the rack-renters of the present day. Another great cause of public happiness, arising out of this distribution of property, was, that those great landlords, the clergy, always, from the very nature of the institutions, resided in the midst of their estates, and, of course, expended their revenues there returning to those who laboured the fair share of the fruits of their labour; and, though the aristocracy had no such positive ties with regard to residence, example must have had, in this respect also, great effect upon them.

The Reformation broke up this state of society in England; and it has, at last, produced that state which we now behold; a state of rack-renters, of paupers, and of an aristocracy making the laws and burdening the commons, or people, at their pleasure. The Reformation took from the church, that is, in fact, from the people at large, of whom the clergy were the trustees, all their share of the property of the country. If the makers of this Reformation had *divided this property amongst the people*; if they had sold it and applied the proceeds to the use of the nation at large, as was done by the makers of the *French Revolution of 1789*, there would have been no real injury done to the commons; but this is what the makers of the Reformation did not do; they did precisely the contrary; and this too from a very obvious cause. The French Revolution was made *by the people*; the English Reformation was made *by the aristocracy* against the wishes of the people. The French revolutionists divided the property amongst the people; the English aristocracy took the property to themselves!

But this was not all that they did against the people. Having become the lords of the immense estates of the church, they, as was natural, began to

put an end to that *joint-proprietorship* which had before existed, and, the lives dying off, they assumed the absolute possession: the race of *yeomen* was, little by little, swept away, and the occupants became rack-renters, wholly dependent on the will of the aristocracy. From even the parochial clergy the aristocracy had taken a great part of their revenue, while, at the same time, they allowed them to marry; and thus were the poor left without relief, and the churches without revenues to keep them in repair. Yet it was absolutely necessary that provision should be made for these objects; for, in the reign of Elizabeth, so great and so general was become the misery of the people, and so manifestly was open rebellion approaching, that it was, after numerous efforts to avoid it, finally resolved on to make *by law* an effectual and permanent provision for the poor, and for the repair of the churches. And how did *reason* and *justice* say that this ought to be done? By a tax, certainly, exclusively on the property taken from the church and given to the aristocracy. This is what ought to have been done; and even this would have been but a poor compensation for all that the commons had lost; but instead of this a law was made *to tax all the people* for the relief of the poor and for the repairing of the churches; and this tax for England alone, now amounts to the enormous sum of seven millions and a half of pounds sterling in a year.

The STUARTS, who came to the throne immediately after the making of this law, besides being a feeble race of men, had not the protection which Elizabeth had found in the dread which the people had had of seeing the crown on the head of a Frenchman. The Stuarts, neither loved nor respected, had not the power to withstand the effects of the old grudge against the aristocracy, combined, as it now was, with the most furious fanaticism, hardly got quietly along through the reign of James I.; and, in that of Charles I., had to undergo all the sufferings of a revolution. The REPUBLICANS, amidst all their fury against the remains of the Catholic church, did not forget *its estates*; and, in spite of the arguments of the *Royalists*, proceeded very coolly, and, as all the world must say, very

justly, to take the estates back again for public use.

The restoration of the STUARTS, which, like that of Louis XVIII., was produced 'partly by the tyranny of the man at the head of affairs and partly by treachery, restored these immense estates to the aristocracy; but did not restore to the Crown the estate which the Republicans had taken from it; so that, while the aristocracy retained all their enormous increase of wealth and power, the king, like the poor, became a charge on the public revenue; and thus were king as well as people placed at the mercy of the aristocracy; a state in which they have remained from that day to this.

Next came the "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" of 1688; and here the reader must have his senses at command to enable him to set the delusion of *names* at defiance. This revolution was *made by the aristocracy*, and for their *sole benefit*, and, like the Reformation, *against the wish of the people*. It was forced upon the nation by *an army brought from abroad*; it was made by laws, passed by those who had not been chosen by the people to make laws; and that the revolution was for the benefit of the aristocracy, what need we of more proof than is contained in the following facts, well known to all the world; that James II., who was a Catholic himself, wished to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants as to all civil rights; that the nation was then but at only about fifty years from the death of many who had witnessed the transfer of the church-estates to the aristocracy, only at about forty years from the time when those estates had been taken from the aristocracy by the republicans, and applied to public uses, and only at about *thirty years* from the time when the estates had been given back to the aristocracy again; that it was evident, that if the king could be a Catholic himself, and were permitted to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants, all men would say, that the Reformation was *unnecessary*, and that the estates had been taken from the Catholic church *unjustly*, from which conclusion there could be but one step to the *resumption of those estates by the nation*.

To these facts add the following;

that the Prince of Orange was not invited to England by any meeting or assemblage of the people, nor by any person or body of persons chosen by the people for that purpose, or for the making of laws; that he was invited to England by the aristocracy, and through agents sent to Holland by them; that the Dutch army brought over by William, marched to London with him and displaced the English soldiers stationed there; that the general commanding the English army went over to William; and that laws were immediately passed for *disarming suspected persons*, and for enabling the new government to *put into prison whomsoever it suspected of designs hostile to it*. Add these facts to the former, and then nothing further need be said with regard to the actors in, or the motives to, this "*Glorious Revolution*."

But though, by these and similar means, and by a pretty free use of the gallows and the scaffold, the aristocracy secured the estates for this time, the thing was by no means *settled* thus. A war with France became necessary "*for the preservation of the Protestant religion*;" that is to say, the quiet possession of the church-estates. To carry on this war, and to bind the monied people to the new government, it was necessary to *borrow money*; and hence arose the *funds*, the *bank*, and the *national debt*. These brought *taxes*, and so heavy, as to create great discontents. The people felt themselves loaded with *ten or twelve millions* a year, instead of *the million and a half*, which they had had to pay in the reign of James II.; so that, soon after the accession of George I., the first king of the House of Brunswick, he had to encounter an open rebellion; and the aristocracy, though they had so pared down the independence and power and influence of the people, found it necessary to pare it down still more; and this they effected in the year 1715, by an act, called the *Riot act*, and by another called the *Septennial bill*.

By the first of those laws *all assemblages of the people out of doors* were, in effect, put down. And, why was this? Certainly not because they were favourable to the government. But the *Septennial bill* can leave no

doubt in the mind of any man. One of the charges against the STUARTS was, that they had not called new parliaments *frequently enough*; and that, thus, they had deprived the people of the power of changing their representatives as often as might be necessary. The right of the people was to choose a new parliament *every year*. But, those who introduced William, did not restore this right; but enacted, that, in future there should be a new parliament *every three years*. However, in 1815, they found, that the people had still too much power; and, in this year, they, whom the people had chosen for three years, made a law to authorise themselves to sit for *four years longer*! Aye, and that every future parliament should sit for *seven years* instead of three; though the declaration against the STUARTS stated, that "*new Parliaments ought to be frequently called*," and that this was an unalienable right of the people of England.

But, audacious as this was in itself, it was less audacious than the pretexts set forth for the passing of the law. These were, that such *frequent* elections were attended with "*grievous expenses*"; that they caused "*violent and lasting heats and animosities*"; and that they might, at this time, favour the views of a "*restless and popish faction in causing the destruction of the*" "*peace and security of the government*." Now, if this had been a mere faction, why take away the rights of *all the people*, in order to counteract its restlessness! Why, in order to keep down a mere faction, subvert the fundamental laws and usages of the country, and violate, in this daring manner, the solemn compact so recently entered into between the crown and the people!

It was, then, under the auspices of the *Riot act* and of the *Septennial act* that the House of Brunswick began its reign in England; and, though Mr. CANNING will not, by those who knew him, be deemed much of an authority upon the subject, he did say, in the House of Commons, in 1822, that, if the people of England could have had their will, the House of Brunswick would never have worn the Crown of this kingdom. The dislike of the

people was not, however, to the House of Brunswick, but to the exercise of the power of the aristocracy, who, by this last-mentioned act, left hardly the semblance of power in the hands of the people. The members of that house have, in general, conducted themselves with great moderation; but, in its name, the aristocracy has gone on with its encroachments, which, however, seem at last to be destined to counteract themselves.

The "*glorious revolution*" brought wars; first for the keeping out of James and his family, and second for the preservation of *Holland* and of *Hanover*. These brought debts; and these brought taxes. The American colonies, now the United States, all of which, observe, had been settled by the Stuarts, began, in 1770, to present food for taxation. The parliament (the *septennial* parliament) passed laws to tax them. The Americans had seen how their brethren in England had, by degrees, lost their property and their liberty. They raised the standard of "*No Taxation without Representation*"; the septennial parliament raised the standard of "*UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION*"; the battle began; and how it ended all the world knows.

It was impossible for these two standards to remain raised for seven years, as they did, without attracting the attention of the world, and particularly of the intelligent and brave people of France, especially as the latter had to take a part in the conflict. The success of the Americans, in conjunction with the armies of France, beckoned to the people of France to follow the bright example. As it was absolutely impossible for Lafayette not to imbibe the principles of Washington, so it was impossible that the French should not imbibe the principles of the Americans. And, now it was that our aristocracy began to see the effects of their septennial system recoil upon themselves. The French people, who, as FORTESCUE clearly shows, had never derived from the Catholic church the benefits which the English had derived from it; the French people, always borne down by a great standing army, while England had none; the French people, pressed to the earth by taxes, partial as well as

cruelly heavy, such as England had, at that time, never heard of; the French people, insulted in their wretchedness by a haughty, a squandering, and most profligate court, and higher clergy; this oppressed and brave people resolved, in 1789, no longer to endure the degrading curse, and, at one single effort, swept away their grinding and insolent aristocracy and clergy, and, in their rage, the throne itself; and, by that act, sent dread into the heart of every aristocrat upon the face of the earth.

Our Septennial law-makers remained, however, spectators for about two years and a half; but, in the meanwhile, the example was working here. The Septennial bill had produced all its natural consequences, wars, debts, and taxation; and, as the cause of the evils was seen, the people had begun, even during the American war, to demand a REFORM IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, as the only cure for existing evils, and as the only security against their recurrence for the future. When the standard of the right of representation had been raised by thirty millions of people only twenty miles from them, those of England could not be expected to be dead to the call. They were not; and it required no long time to convince our aristocracy that one of two things must take place; namely, that the French people must be compelled to return under their ancient yoke; or, that a change must take place in England, restoring to the people the right of freely choosing their representatives; the consequences of which, to this aristocracy, were too obvious to need pointing out, even to parties not deeply interested in those consequences. The obstacles to war were very great. There was the DEBT, which, by the unsuccessful American war, had been made to amount to a sum the annual interest of which demanded *six times* the amount of the taxes which had existed in the reign of James II. There were, besides, heavy burdens entailed upon the country by that war on account of half-pay and of other things. On the other hand, we had a most advantageous commercial treaty with France, which the Republicans in France were ready to continue in force. The interests of the people

of England manifestly pointed to peace: their wishes, too, were in favour of peace; and this latter is *proved* by their conduct, and still more clearly by the PROCLAMATIONS for checking French principles; by the ARISTOCRATICAL ASSOCIATIONS formed for that purpose; and by the TERRIBLE LAWS passed for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the people of the two countries.

But the alternative was, *Parliamentary Reform, or put down the Republic of France*. That really was the alternative, and the only one. The former ought to have been chosen; but the latter was resolved on, and that, too, in spite of the acknowledged risk of failure; for, so much did the aristocracy dread the other alternative, that failure, when compared with that, lost all its terrors. To war then they went; in war they continued for twenty-two years, except the short respite procured by the peace of Amiens, which was, in fact, a truce rather than a peace. At the end of twenty-two years, Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France; but of that event, and its causes and consequences, the details will come into the history to which this sketch is an introduction.

During the fight every thing but the dread of the effect of the example of the French appears to have been overlooked by our aristocracy; and, of course, they thought nothing of the DEBT which they were contracting, though that was, as the sequel will show, destined to undo all that they were doing against the French, and to render that parliamentary reform, which it had been their great object to root out of the minds of the people, more necessary and more loudly called for than ever. They had advanced only about six years in the war when they found themselves compelled to resort to a *paper-money*, and to make it a *legal tender*. This was a very important crisis in the affairs of the septennial parliament and of the aristocracy, and the consequences which have resulted, and will result from it, are to be ranked amongst those which decide the fate of governments. Therefore this matter calls for full explanation.

At the time when this war began,

1793, WILLIAM PITT, a son of the late Earl of Chatham, was the Prime Minister. He had established what he called a SINKING FUND, and had adopted other measures for reducing the amount of the DEBT, which had now reached the fearful amount of *two hundred millions* and upwards: A new war was wholly incompatible with Pitt's schemes of reduction; and he, of course, would be, and he *really was, opposed to the war of 1793*, though he carried it on (with the exception of the truce before-mentioned) until the day of his death, which took place in 1806. And here we behold the direct, open, avowed, and all-ruling power of the aristocracy! This body had, for many years, been divided into two "parties," as they called them, bearing the two nick-names of *TORIES* and *WHIGS*, the etymology of which is of no consequence. The *TORIES* affected very great attachment to the *throne and the church*; the *WHIGS* affected perfect *loyalty*, indeed, but surprising devotion to the *rights of the people*, though it was *they* who had brought the Dutch king and his army, and who had made the Riot act and the Septennial bill; so that, if they were the friends of the people, what must their enemies have been! The truth is, that there was no difference, as far as regarded the people, between these two factions; their real quarrels were solely about *the division of the spoil*; for, whenever any contest arose between the *aristocracy* and the *people*, the two factions had always united in favour of the former; and thus it was in regard to that all-important question, the war against Republican France.

PITT, who was the son of a Whig-Pensioner, and had begun his career, not only as a Whig, but as a parliamentary reformer, was now at the head of the *Tories*; and CHARLES FOX, who had not only been bred a *Tory* and begun his career as a *Tory*, but who had, and who held to the day of his death, *two sinecure offices*, was at the head of the *Whigs*. These were the two men of the whole collection who could talk loudest, longest, and most fluently, and who were, therefore, picked out by their respective parties to lead in carrying those "*DEBATES*," as they are called, which have been one of the great means of amusing

and deluding and enslaving this nation. Every effort was made by the respective parties to exalt their champions in the public estimation: they were represented as the two most wonderful men that the world had ever seen: as orators, Pitt was compared to CICERO, and Fox to DEMOSTHENES: Pitt, as a lawgiver surpassed LYCURGUS; Fox more nearly resembled SOLON! The people, always credulous and vain enough as to such matters, carried away by the jugglery, ranged themselves under one or the other of these paragons and took their respective names as marks of honourable distinction; and thus, for thirty long years, were the industrious and sincere and public-spirited people of this country divided into *PITTITES* and *FOXITES*; thus were they for those thirty years the sport of the aristocracy who employed these political impostors, while every year of the thirty saw an addition to their burdens and a diminution of their liberties.

In this state stood the factions, when, in 1793, came the question of war against the Republic of France. Pitt, for the reasons before stated, *was decidedly opposed to war*. The portion of the aristocracy that supported him were *for war*; but, they were for their leader too, because, if he quitted his post, Fox came in with the tribe of *Whigs* at his heels. Besides, a *vast majority of the people*, whether *Pittites* or *Foxites*, were against the war. So that Pitt had reason to fear that, with a war on his shoulders, he would be unable to retain his power. But the *Foxite* portion of the aristocracy, seeing the *common danger*, and seeing the grounds of Pitt's opposition to war, *went over and joined the Pittite party*; leaving Fox with a small party about him, to carry on that "*constitutional opposition*" which was necessary to amuse and deceive the people.

Thus supported by the two bodies of the aristocracy united, Pitt went into this memorable war, which, though attended with numerous important consequences, was attended with none equal, in point of ultimate effect, to the measures by which *paper-money was made a legal tender in 1797*. The aristocracy, in resorting to this expedient, were not at all aware, that, though it

gave them strength for the time, it must, in the end, bereave them of all strength; that it must take from them the means of future wars, or compel them to blow up that system of debts and funds which had been invented by them as a rock of safety, and without the existence of which the whole fabric of their power must go to pieces.

In the meanwhile, however, on they went with the war, and with the struggle between them and the people on the score of *Parliamentary Reform*; the people ascribing the war and all its enormous debts and taxes to the want of that reform, and the aristocracy ascribing their complaints to seditious and treasonable designs, and passing laws to silence them, or punish them accordingly. When this war began (1793) the Septennial bill had been in existence *seventy-nine years*, and that it had produced its natural fruits is clearly proved by the following undeniable facts; namely, that, at the time of the "*Glorious Revolution*," in 1688, one of the charges against King James was, "that he had *violated the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament*;" that, one of the standing laws of parliament is, "that it is a *high crime and misdemeanor in any peer*" to interfere in the election of members to serve in the House of Commons;" that, in 1793, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, signed by himself and others, stating, "that a *decided majority* of that House was returned *by one hundred and fifty-four men partly peers, and partly great commoners*, and by the ministry *of the day*;" that he offered to prove the allegation by witnesses at the bar of the House, and that he was not permitted to bring his witnesses to the bar; that there was an appendix to this petition, containing a list of the names of all the *peers and great commoners*, who thus returned the members, exhibiting the number of members returned by each, and that this list is recorded in the Annual Register for the year 1793; that, in 1779, the House of Commons had resolved, that *an attempt* to traffic in seats in that House was "*highly criminal in a minister of the king*;" that it was an attack on the dignity and

"honour of the House, an infringement on the rights and liberties of the people, and an attempt to sap the basis of *our free and happy constitution*;" that, on the 25th April, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, then a minister of the king, having been proved to have thus trafficked, the House resolved, "that it was its bounden duty to maintain, at all times, a *jealous guard on its purity*, the attempt in the present instance, *not having been carried into effect*, the House did not think it necessary to proceed to any criminal resolutions;" that, alas! in only sixteen days after this, Mr. MADOCKS, member for Boston, accused this same Castlereagh, together with two other ministers of the king, not only with trafficking in a seat, but of having completed the bargain, and carried it into full effect; that, having made this charge, Mr. Madocks moved, that the House should inquire into the matter; that the House then debated upon this motion; that there were *three hundred and ninety-five* members present; and that (hear it, every honest man on earth!) *three hundred and ten* voted against all inquiry, and that, too, as the speakers in the debate openly declared, "*because this traffick was as notorious as the sun at noon day*"!

Such was the state of things in the year 1809. The next year George III. became, from insanity, incapable of performing the office of king; then, therefore, began the regency of his eldest son and heir apparent. The ten years' reign that followed will be illustrated in the "*History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*," the First Number of which is now published.

THE REFORMERS

Who dined at the London Tavern, on the 16th of August.

GENTLEMEN,

AGREEABLY to your instructions, the ADDRESS which we agreed to was engrossed on a sheet of vellum; it was signed and sealed by me, as Chairman, agreeably to your resolution; Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, attended by Mr. JAMES COBETT, set off with it for Paris on the 17th; he presented the ADDRESS by

appointment, at the HOTEL DE VILLE (or City Hall) on the third day after his arrival; the PREFECT OF THE SEINE presided on the occasion, attended by M. LAFAYETTE and a DEPUTATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD, and also by MUNICIPAL OFFICERS, representing the people of Paris; SIR THOMAS and his SECRETARY made speeches upon the occasion, which were answered by the Prefect; who did our Envoy and his Secretary the honour to invite them to a dinner. Every thing took place agreeably to our wishes; and our proceeding, from the beginning to the end, was worthy of men of sincerity and of sense, and calculated to prove to the world, that we are as superior to the boroughmongers in energy as well as in every other estimable quality. We owe in this case, and our cause owes, a great deal to SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, who left at home a harvest spread over a thousand acres of land; who came to London from Norfolk on the Sunday night, who dined with us on the Monday night, who went to Dover on the Tuesday night, who passed the two next nights in a carriage going to Paris, who came back to London on last Friday night, and who went back to Norfolk last Saturday night! That's the man for us! Not a poor shilly-shally creature frightened at a "heavy fall of snow." He has *all* the qualities required; and, like those of the lover who had a virtue for every letter in the alphabet, "though last not least, *YOUNG* and *ZEALOUS*." I am sorry that I have not room for the speeches at the HOTEL DE VILLE. I will insert them next week. The mortified ferocious OLD TIMES newspaper said, upon hearing of this reception of these gentlemen at Paris, "*Lord Stuart de Rothsay*, who is, it seems, our ambassador at Paris, ought to have *interfered*, to prevent these Cobbettites from acting thus!" Poor old she-devil, what would she have had him do! But, what will she say, when I tell her, that SIR THOMAS BEEVOR and his secretary of legation; when they went to hear the debates in the Chamber of Deputies, were seated in the *Lodge of the Corps Diplomatique*! Ah! the days of deception are gone; the government of France is no longer under the beck of the English Ministry: France is no

longer a *Colony*! I hope they will send deputations from Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, and other places. They have had a noble meeting at Manchester. I shall be happy to give any body information as to the mode of proceeding in the sending of address, &c.

COBBETT'S LECTURES.

ON MONDAY EVENING NEXT, the 6th instant, Mr. COBBETT will deliver a Lecture to Working People, at the ROTUNDA, Surrey-Road, near the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge. The Lecture to begin at *eight o'clock*. The payment for entrance *twopence each person*. The proceeds to go to the widows and orphans of the brave men, who recently lost their lives at Paris, in defending their country against the tyranny of would-be French Boroughmongers.—N. B. There will be another Lecture, at the same hour and place, on Thursday next.

Were published, 1st September,

The 14th and last Number of Cobbett's *Advice to Young Men*, price 6d.

The 3rd Number of *Two-Penny Trash*.

The 1st Number of *Cobbett's History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*. Price 8d.

SUBSCRIPTION

FOR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS AT PARIS.

I HAVE received two pounds from Stow-market, Suffolk, which I have paid to the fund, and entered in the book. Divers other subscriptions have come from the country. I collected, on Monday, at the Rotunda, from nearly a thousand working men, *twopence each*. I shall continue to do this for another week or two. And then, if I can possibly find time, I will go and do the same in *Warwickshire, Lancashire* and *Yorkshire*. It is the pennies of the working people, that I want to present to widows and orphans of their brave brethren of Paris.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]

No. VI.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE
en 1830.

TO THE

PRINCE OF WATERLOO.

LETTER III.

*On the Affairs of Belgium, and on the
Debts of England and other Countries.*

MON PRINCE,

1. I HAVE first to beg your pardon for having, in my two former letters, addressed you as *a Duke*; and, having dispatched this point of ceremony, I now proceed to offer you some remarks on the affairs of Belgium. There is no doubt that the revolt in that country was *hastened* by the revolution in France; but, it is clear that the causes of it existed before the revolution in France was so much as thought of, for we know that public writers were *banished* from Belgium before the month of July, and we know they were banished for making known the *grievances* of the people. In all cases where revolutions are made by the people, the chief cause ever has been *THE TAXES*. When the government leaves the people to enjoy the fruit of their industry, they seldom revolt; as, amongst individuals, ninety-nine quarrels out of every hundred are about *property* of some sort or other; so it is between governments and people. Men never revolt, if they have the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labour, skill, and care: and whenever we see restraints put on the press, we may be sure that the government knows that the people have *cause for complaint*; because, it must know that no writer, however able, can persuade a man that he is badly off, when he is well off; no writer can persuade a man that he is hungry and naked, when that man's belly is full, and his body well clad.

No. VI.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE
en 1830.

AU PRINCE DE WATERLOO.

LETTRE III.

*Sur les Affaires de la Belgique, et sur
les Dettes de l'Angleterre, et des
autres États.*

MON PRINCE,

1. JE vous prie de m'excuser de vous avoir donné le titre de *Duc* dans mes deux lettres précédentes, et après avoir rempli cette formalité, je vais vous faire quelques observations sur les affaires de la Belgique. Nul doute que l'insurrection de ce pays-là n'ait été *accéléérée* par la révolution française; mais il est évident que les causes qui l'ont produite existaient, avant même qu'on eût la moindre idée de cette révolution; car nous savons que des écrivains publics avaient été *bannis* de la Belgique avant le mois de Juillet, et nous savons aussi qu'ils furent bannis pour avoir publié les *griefs* de la nation. Toutes les fois qu'un peuple se met en révolution, ce sont *LES IMPÔTS* qui en sont la cause principale. Le peuple se révolte rarement, lorsque le gouvernement le laisse jouir en paix du fruit de son industrie. De même que, parmi les individus, quatre-vingt-dix-neuf querelles sur cent proviennent d'un *motif d'intérêt* quelconque, de même l'intérêt désunit les gouvernements et les peuples. Les hommes ne se révoltent jamais, si on leur laisse la pleine jouissance de leur travail, de leurs talents et de leur application; aussi toutes les fois que nous voyons le gouvernement mettre des entraves à la presse, nous pouvons être certains qu'il sait que le peuple a *sujet de se plaindre*; car il sait que, quelque habile que soit un écrivain, il ne pourra jamais persuader à un homme qu'il est mal, quand il est bien; il ne lui persuadera jamais qu'il a faim et qu'il est nu, quand il a le ventre plein, et qu'il est bien vêtu.

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2. But of what do the Belgians complain? They complain of the *heavy taxes they have to pay*. They complain of other things also, but this is the ROOT of the whole, just as it is in England, and just as it has been in every country where revolutions have sprung from the *people*, which our revolution of 1688 did not, that being a revolution made by the *aristocracy*, and for their benefit. The AMERICANS were not, in 1776, loaded with taxes, but they saw that they should be. The taxes were *enacted* by the taxing Parliament, and the Americans resisted, rather than pay them. Their declaration of independence contains *twelve* distinct charges against the King of England; but the ROOT of all was, that he was about to load them with taxes.

3. The French revolution of 1789 had the same cause. Look at the CAHIERS that were delivered in to the States-General. There were complaints relative to the *droit de chasse*, to the *seigniorial courts*, and various other things; but the great burden of the complaint was, the *enormous weight of the taxes*. The sovereignty of the people, the equality of rights, these came *afterwards*. They were true and just; they were founded in nature and reason; but they would have remained buried in silence, if the cruel burden of the *tailles* and the *gabelles* had not drawn them forth.

4. And have the taxes had nothing to do with this *last revolution* in France? The taxes in France were become *very heavy*, though light compared with what we have to bear; but still they were *heavy*; and, accordingly, we find, that the new King, in his very first ordinances, promises a *mitigation of the taxes*. The ordinances of POLIGNAC were outrageously tyrannical; but the mere *character* of them would not have produced such an effect. The people saw, that if they submitted to these ordinances, they should be deprived of all voice in *choosing representatives*; and they saw, that they would enable the government to *add to the taxes as much as it pleased*. This was the real ground of the revolution. The people found

2. Mais de *quoi* se plaignent les Belges? Ils se plaignent des *taxes oppressives qu'ils ont à payer*. Ils ont bien d'autres sujets de plainte; mais c'est là la source, comme elle l'est en Angleterre, comme elle l'a été dans tous les pays où le *peuple* a fait des révolutions, à l'exception de notre révolution de 1688, qui fut faite par l'*aristocratie* et à son profit exclusif. En 1776, les AMÉRICAINS n'étaient pas surchargés d'impôts, mais ils s'aperçurent qu'ils ne tarderaient pas à l'être. Les impôts furent *décrétés* par le parlement qui en avait le droit, et les Américains se révoltèrent plutôt que de les payer. Leur déclaration d'indépendance contient douze griefs contre le roi d'Angleterre; mais le PRINCIPAL est qu'il était à la veille de les accabler d'impôts.

3. La même cause produisit la révolution française en 1789. Jetez les yeux sur les *cahiers* présentés aux États-généraux. Ils contenaient des plaintes relatives au *droit de chasse*, aux *cours seigneuriales*, et à divers autres objets; mais la source de leurs plaintes était le *poids énorme des taxes*. La souveraineté du peuple, l'égalité des droits ne vinrent qu'après. Elles étaient vraies et justes, elles reposaient sur la nature et sur la raison; mais elles seraient restées ensevelies dans l'oubli le plus profond, si le fardeau accablant des *tailles* et des *gabelles* ne les eût mises en avant.

4. De plus, les impôts ne sont-ils entrés pour rien dans cette *dernière révolution* française. Les impôts en France étaient devenus *très lourds*, quoique légers en comparaison de ceux que nous avons à supporter; néanmoins ils étaient *lourds*; et c'est pourquoi, le nouveau roi, dans ses premières ordonnances, a promis de les *alléger*. Les ordonnances de POLIGNAC étaient tyranniques au suprême degré, toutefois elles n'étaient pas de *nature* à produire un effet semblable. Le peuple a vu que s'il se soumettait à ces ordonnances, il allait être privé du droit de *choisir ses représentants*, et par suite que le gouvernement *ajouterait aux impôts suivant son bon plaisir*. Telle a été la vraie cause de la révolution. Le peuple a

the taxes much too heavy already; and they saw, that if the press were put down, and the right of representation away, they should be wholly at the mercy of the layers on of taxes. The brave Parisians did not, therefore, fight for a *theory*; no, nor for a *principle*; but for their property, for their very bread.

5. Just the same is it in BELGIUM. The people there demand a repeal of taxes. But what is the *cause* of the taxes? In England the great cause is the Debt, contracted by the Septennial Parliament, to carry on wars against America and France. In France *the debt is great*; and how did it come? It was contracted, principally, *to pay the Allies for forcing the Bourbons back on France; to pay the ancient noblesse for coming back; to pay, in fact, for treasons committed against the people of France*; and this Debt was expected to bind the monied people to the Bourbons so firmly as to enable the government to set all discontents at defiance for the future. In BELGIUM the debt, which is very great in proportion to the resources of the country, was a *present* made to the poor Belgians, along with their new King! They had no debt before: *when under the French they had no debt*; but their former sovereign, the Emperor of Germany, having contracted a debt with the Jews, the new King was to have Belgium upon condition of *making the Belgians pay the interest of this debt*! And thus these fortunate people got a *legitimate* sovereign and a *national debt* at one and the same time, both a present from the generous allied sovereigns! The people of Belgium complain of many things, and I dare say, very justly; but the ROOT is the taxes, which are perfectly enormous.

6. Well, now, mon Prince de Waterloo, what *redress* are they to have? It is said, that the Belgian King will *make concessions*. What concessions? Will he *take off the taxes*? That is what the people want; and if he do that, *how is*

frouvé les impôts déjà trop lourds. Il s'est aperçu que si l'on détruisait la presse, et si on lui ravissait le droit de représentation, il allait se voir à la merci des créateurs de taxes. Les braves Parisiens ne se sont donc point battus pour une théorie, ni même pour un principe; mais bien pour leur propre subsistance.

5. Il en est de même en BELGIQUE. Le peuple y demande l'abolition des taxes. Mais quelle est la *cause* des taxes? En Angleterre, la cause principale est la dette nationale, contractée par le parlement septennial pour faire la guerre à l'Amérique et à la France. En France *la dette est grande* sans doute; mais d'où est-elle provenue? Elle a servi, en grande partie, à payer *les alliés, pour avoir rendu, bon gré, mal gré, les Bourbons à la France*, pour payer le retour de l'ancienne noblesse; en un mot, pour payer les trahisons commises contre le peuple français; et l'on s'attendait à voir cette dette lier les capitalistes aux Bourbons d'une manière si étroite, que le gouvernement pouvait désormais braver impunément toute espèce de mécontentement. En Belgique, les impôts, qui sont considérables en proportion des ressources du pays, furent un *présent* fait aux pauvres Belges avec leur nouveau roi. Ils n'avaient pas de dette nationale auparavant; *ils n'en avaient pas, lorsqu'ils faisaient partie de la France*; mais leur ancien souverain, l'empereur d'Allemagne, ayant contracté une dette avec les Juifs, le nouveau roi n'a pu avoir la Belgique qu'à condition qu'on *ferait payer l'intérêt de cette dette aux Belges*. Ainsi, ce peuple fortuné a obtenu à la fois un *souverain légitime* et une *dette nationale*; l'un et l'autre comme un *présent* de la part des généreux souverains alliés. Les Belges se plaignent de beaucoup de choses, et j'ose dire avec justice; mais *au fond*, ce sont des taxes qui sont réellement énormes.

6. Eh bien, mon Prince de Waterloo, quel soulagement peuvent-ils espérer maintenant? On dit que le roi belge va leur *faire des concessions*. Quelles concessions? *Abolira-t-il les impôts*? C'est ce que le peuple demande; et s'il les

he to pay the interest of the debt? They do not ask him to cease to pay the interest of the debt; they only ask him to cease to take from them the means of paying it! Voilà tout! That's all; and that is not much! So that, one of two things must happen to his Belgic Majesty: he must refuse to make concessions, or must have a national bankruptcy; and in either of which cases, I would not give *much* for his Majesty's crown.

7. What, however, is the interesting point here? It is this (and I beseech the French to look well to it), that a national debt cannot long exist, to any considerable amount, in any country *where the people choose those who make the laws*. I beseech the excellent man who is now the *chief magistrate* in France, and I beseech the *French legislators*, to consider seriously that proposition, and to be *prepared for the consequences* which will naturally result from the experimental establishment of its truth. A people who have no voice in the making of the laws will submit for ages to pay the interest of a national debt: they will submit to it, as they do to every other oppression, until they can get rid of it *by force*: but if they have a voice in the making of the laws, they will not long submit to it. There is, in a debt of this sort, something so abhorrent to natural right, something so contrary to all our notions of property and justice, that no people ever will submit to it, if they have the power to refuse submission. Suppose a law were passed to enable all who are now just married to borrow money and to spend it, and to mortgage the labour of the children proceeding from their marriages, in order to pay off the debts thus contracted. Is there a man in the world to defend a law like this? And, yet, what national debt is there that has a more equitable foundation? This is the light in which our natural sense of justice views the matter; and, upon this view of it, men will always act *when they can*. When they make the laws themselves, they can act thus; and, in spite of all the arts of money-lenders, act thus they will.

abolit, *comment payera-t-il l'intérêt de la dette?* Ils ne demandent pas qu'il cesse de payer l'intérêt de la dette, ils le prient seulement de cesser de leur ôter les moyens de le payer. Voilà tout; et ce n'est pas beaucoup; en sorte que de deux choses l'une; ou sa majesté belge refusera toute concession, ou il faut qu'une banqueroute nationale ait lieu. Dans l'un ou l'autre cas, je ne donnerai pas *beaucoup* pour la couronne de sa majesté.

7. Cependant quel est le point intéressant? Le voici; et je prie les Français d'y bien faire attention; c'est qu'une dette nationale de quelque importance ne saurait subsister long-temps dans un pays où *le peuple choisit ceux qui font les lois*. Je supplie l'excellent homme qui est maintenant à la tête de la magistrature en France, ainsi que les *législateurs français*, de réfléchir sérieusement à cette proposition, et de se tenir en garde sur les conséquences qui devront naturellement résulter de l'établissement pratique de cette vérité. Une nation qui ne peut prendre aucune part à la confection des lois se soumettra, des siècles entiers, à payer l'intérêt d'une dette nationale: elle s'y soumettra comme elle se soumet à tout autre genre d'oppression, jusqu'à ce qu'elle puisse se libérer *par la force*; mais si elle participe à la confection des lois, elle ne s'y soumettra pas long-temps. Il y a, dans une dette de cette espèce, quelque chose qui répugne si fort au droit naturel, quelque chose de si contraire à toutes nos notions de propriété et de justice, qu'aucun peuple ne s'y soumettra jamais, s'il a le pouvoir de l'empêcher. Supposons qu'on fît une loi qui donnât à tous les nouveaux mariés la faculté d'emprunter de l'argent et de le dépenser; ensuite d'hypothéquer le travail des enfants qui proviendraient de leur mariage, pour payer les dettes ainsi contractées. Existe-t-il un homme dans le monde qui puisse soutenir une loi semblable? Et, cependant, quelle dette nationale a une base plus équitable? Tel est l'aspect sous lequel notre sens naturel de justice considère cette matière, et ce sera sous cet aspect que les hommes agiront toutes les fois qu'ils

8. I shall, I know, be told, that *the Americans* have a voice in the making of the laws, and that, nevertheless, *they* have *contentedly* paid the interest of their debts, and have, indeed, nearly *paid off* the principal; and this is precisely what I want to be told. For never have the Americans suffered themselves to be taxed *on account of debt*. One of their objections to the taxes, the enactment of which by the Septennial Parliament produced the Revolution of 1776, was, that they should, by those taxes, be compelled to help to pay the interest of the *English Debt*. Then, therefore, they resisted taxes on account of debt. During their war of the Revolution, the old, or first, Congress contracted a debt with *the Dutch*, and also *another debt* in *paper-money*. At the close of the war, the Congress wished to impose taxes to pay off those debts, and to pay the interest in the meanwhile. From one end of the country to the other the people objected to this: the *paper-money debt* was swept away, and was never paid or heard of more; and the Dutch debt was, by the new Congress, to be paid by the proceeds of imposts on *foreign ships and goods*; which imposts were deemed necessary to the encouragement of the manufactures, arts, and shipping, of the United States. So that no tax-gatherer has, in America, ever collected money from the *people*, to pay debt, or interest of debt. At one time, soon after the establishment of the present Government, an *excise* duty was imposed on home-made whisky, for the double purpose of paying off the Debt, and of preventing the inordinate use of spirituous liquors. The people in Pennsylvania resisted the law by force; and though they were reduced to submission, it was solely owing to the great veneration for the President, WASHINGTON, who was compelled to march in person against them; and even he would not have succeeded, without a clearly-understood promise, that the tax *should be abolished*,

le pourront. Lorsqu'ils font les lois eux-mêmes, ils peuvent en agir ainsi, et ils en agiront ainsi, en dépit de toutes les intrigues des brocanteurs d'emprunts.

8. On me dira, je le sais, que les *Américains* participent à la confection des lois, et que, néanmoins, *ils ont payé de bonne grâce* l'intérêt de leur dette nationale, et même le capital, en grande partie. Voilà justement l'observation que je désirais qu'on me fît; car les *Américains* n'ont jamais souffert qu'on leur imposât des taxes pour *payer leur dette*. Un de leurs motifs pour refuser de payer les impôts votés par le parlement septennial, et qui produisirent la révolution de 1776 fut, qu'en les payant, ils seraient forcés de contribuer au paiement de l'intérêt de la dette anglaise. Il est donc vrai de dire qu'ils refusèrent de payer des impôts pour compte de la dette nationale. Durant la guerre de leur révolution, l'ancien, ou plutôt leur premier CONGRÈS fit un emprunt chez les *Hollandais*, et il émit du *papier-monnaie*. A la fin de la guerre, le Congrès voulut mettre des impôts pour liquider ces deux dettes et payer l'intérêt dans l'intervalle. D'un bout à l'autre du pays, le peuple refusa de s'y soumettre; le *papier-monnaie* disparut; on ne le paya jamais, ou l'on en entendit plus parler; et le nouveau Congrès eut à payer l'emprunt hollandais avec le produit des droits mis sur les *marchandises* et sur les *bâtiments étrangers*. Ces droits on les jugea nécessaires pour l'encouragement des manufactures, des arts, et de la navigation des Etats-Unis; en sorte qu'il n'a jamais été perçu d'impôt en Amérique, pour payer le capital, ou l'intérêt de quelque dette nationale. Peu de temps après l'établissement du nouveau gouvernement, on mit un droit d'accise sur l'eau-de-vie de grain fabriquée dans le pays, dans le double but de payer la dette nationale, et d'empêcher l'usage immodéré des liqueurs spiritueuses. Les habitants de la Pennsylvanie opposèrent la force à la loi, et si on les força de s'y soumettre, ce fut uniquement par la grande vénération qu'ils portaient à Washington, leur président, qui fut forcé de marcher contre eux en personne. Il ne serait même pas

which was done in a very short time afterwards, and since that no attempt has ever been made to impose any internal tax for the payment of debt. Internal taxes were laid *during the last war*; but expressly for the purpose of *carrying on that war*, and they were abolished *as soon as the war was over*. The Americans, in their SEPARATE STATES, pay taxes for the administration of justice, on account of the prisons, for the repair of their roads and bridges, for the relief of the poor, for keeping up their militia, just as we do in our SEPARATE COUNTIES in England. But these are matters purely *domestic*, as much as the affairs of a *family* are : these contributions are necessary to the peace and happiness of these several communities, and, which is another important consideration, it is so much money, not to create or uphold *idlers*, but to compensate labour of one sort or another, and, moreover, it is, and must always be, expended amongst the community themselves; it remains in the several counties and parishes, and is not drawn away to be expended in a luxurious capital, or to go to enrich foreign nations; in which important respects, it is wholly a different thing from taxes raised to pay the interest or principal of a national Debt.

9. No people on earth pay their domestic taxes more cheerfully than the Americans; no people on earth yield a more prompt and willing obedience to the laws; in which respects they are what their fathers were in former times; but if a tax-gatherer were to go to an American's house, and demand only one single quarter of a piastre for the payment of *national debt*, he would be resisted, and, if necessary, by physical force. His plain understanding, his sense of natural justice, would repel the audacious demand. All the laws, to which his mind has been accustomed to attend, are founded on principles which are directly the reverse of a law to com-

parvenu à les réquie, s'il ne leur eût promis, en termes précis, que l'impôt serait aboli, ce qui, en effet, eut lieu peu de temps après. Depuis cette époque, on n'a jamais tenté de créer le moindre impôt intérieur pour le paiement de la dette nationale. *Pendant la dernière guerre*, on décréta des impôts intérieurs; mais ce fut dans le seul but de *continuer la guerre*, et ils furent levés, *aussitôt que la guerre fut terminée*. Les Américains, dans leurs ETATS RESPECTIFS, payent des impôts pour l'administration de la justice, pour le maintien des prisons, pour les réparations des routes et des ponts, pour le soulagement des pauvres, pour l'entretien de leur milice, de la même manière que nous le faisons dans chaque comté d'Angleterre. Mais ces objets sont purement *domestiques*, comme le sont toutes les affaires de famille. Ces contributions sont indispensables à la paix et au bonheur de ces diverses communautés; et ce qui est plus important encore, c'est autant d'argent qui sert, non pas à créer ou à maintenir des *oisifs*; mais à compenser quelque genre de travail. De plus il est, ou il doit toujours être dépensé sur les lieux; il reste dans chaque comté, dans chaque paroisse, et il n'en sort jamais pour être consumé dans le luxe de la capitale, ou pour aller enrichir des nations étrangères. Ainsi, sous ces rapports importants, ces impôts diffèrent beaucoup de ceux qui sont destinés à payer l'intérêt ou le capital d'une dette nationale.

9. Aucune nation de la terre ne paie les impôts avec plus d'empressement que les Américains; aucune ne se soumet aux lois plus promptement et plus volontiers; ils sont à cet égard ce qu'étaient leurs ancêtres; mais si un collecteur d'impôts s'avisait d'entrer dans la maison d'un Américain pour y demander seulement le quart d'une piastre afin de payer la dette nationale, il lui ferait de la résistance; et, au besoin même, une résistance physique. Son jugement, ses notions de justice naturelle suffiraient pour repousser avec dédain une demande si audacieuse. Toutes les lois vers lesquelles son esprit a été constamment dirigé, sont fondées

pel one generation to pay the debts of another. So far are children from being bound to pay the debts of the father, that, according to our law, the freehold lands of the deceased father go to his heirs *without being liable for the payment of his debts*. This every creditor is apprised of; he, therefore, trusts the father at his own risk; and thus the law says, that the children shall not, whenever it can be prevented, suffer from the debts of the father. Upon what ground, then, can the whole community claim the right of loading their children with debts?

10. The Poor-Law, of which nobody but Englishmen and Americans know much, but which is the greatest law that ever was passed, springing, as it does, directly out of the law of nature; founded, as it is, in the very principle of civil society; sanctioned, as it has been, by ages upon ages of experience; how does this famous law illustrate the principle of national debts? It condemns it point blank, for it enjoins that the expenses of every year shall be completely *discharged by money raised within that year*; and for this reason, that it would be unjust to make the proprietors of *this year* pay for expenses incurred by the proprietors of *last year*. Upon the same principle, the taxes for the roads, the bridges, the administration of justice, proceed. And if it be unjust to make the proprietors of this year pay any portion of the expenses of those of the last year; must it not be still more unjust to compel the community of the present day to pay the debts contracted by the community of fifty years ago?

11. In this case, as in every other where our object is to arrive at a just decision, it is a good way to *make the case our own*. Suppose, then, that it were proposed to pass a law to compel all the present inhabitants of England to pay taxes; that is to say, to give up part of the fruit of their labour and skill

sur des principes en opposition directe à toute loi qui forcerait une génération à payer les dettes d'un autre. Tant s'en faut que les enfants soient forcés de payer les dettes du père, que d'après nos lois, les francs-fiefs du père décédé passent à ses héritiers *sans que ceux-ci soient tenus de payer ses dettes*. C'est ce qu'aucun créancier n'ignore; ainsi il prête au père à ses périls et risques; et la loi dit, que toutes les fois qu'on pourra l'empêcher, les enfants n'auront nullement à souffrir des dettes du père. Sur quel principe se fonde donc une nation entière pour prétendre au droit de surcharger les enfants de ses dettes?

10. LA LOI RELATIVE AUX PAUVRES, peu connue parmi les nations, sauf les Anglais et les Américains; mais qui ne laisse pas d'être la plus importante qui ait jamais existé en ce qu'elle diamétralement opposee aux lois de la nature; cette loi fondée sur le principe même de la société civile, sanctionnée par plusieurs siècles d'expérience; cette fameuse loi enfin comment explique-t-elle le principe des dettes nationales? Elle le condamne en termes formels, car elle enjoint que les dépenses de chaque année soient *entièrement liquidées par le produit des sommes payées dans le courant de cette même année*. La raison en est qu'il y aurait de l'injustice à faire supporter aux propriétaires de cette année les frais encourus par les propriétaires de l'année précédente. Les impôts sur les routes, sur les ponts, l'administration de la justice, tous enfin reposent sur le même principe. Et s'il y a de l'injustice à faire payer aux propriétaires de cette année une partie quelconque des dépenses encourues par ceux de la précédente année; n'y en a-t-il pas une plus grande encore à contraindre la génération actuelle à payer les dettes contractées par la génération, qui existait il y a cinquante ans.

11. Dans ce cas, comme dans tout autre où nous désirons arriver à la vérité, le meilleur moyen est de *s'en faire l'application*. Supposons donc qu'on proposât une loi à l'effet de contraindre tous les habitants actuels de l'Angleterre à payer des taxes; c'est-à-dire, à donner une partie du fruit de leur travail et de

in order that the next generation might live without taxes ; suppose the money, collected in taxes from the *present community*, to be put into a chest, or lent out at interest, in order that it might be ready to support the government and carry on wars *for the next generation*. Would not all the world inveigh against the injustice of this ? Would any people, who were not downright slaves, submit to such a law ? And yet, where is the difference in the two cases ? Is it not as just, and as consonant with reason and with natural right, as a law, to make the *present generation* pay for supporting the government and carrying on the wars of the *former generations* ? And as even slaves would hardly submit to the former, how is it to be believed that men who make the laws themselves will submit to the latter ?

12. I will not waste my time in anticipating arguments on the other side ; whenever they shall appear, I am ready to answer them ; and, in the meanwhile, let us see whether the principles which I have here maintained, *will not be acted upon in France* ; and this is a great matter for us, in this country, to consider. To the objections against national debts *generally*, there is this peculiar to that of France ; namely, that no one can possibly pretend, that it was contracted *for the benefit of the people of France*. The comparatively small part that existed before the restoration of the Bourbons, was contracted without any assent on the part of the people, and for purposes hostile to them. All that has been contracted since, has, *in fact*, been forced upon France, either by foreign bayonets actually at the breasts of the people ; or by foreign bayonets, held in readiness to be sent against them. And, as to the *uses*, to which the main part of the borrowed money has been applied, they have all been uses, so far from being *beneficial* to France, that they have been so many modes of shaping *indignities* and *punishments* inflicted upon her.

13. This being clearly understood by

leur industrie, *afin de mettre la génération suivante à même de vivre sans taxes* ; supposons que l'argent ainsi obtenu de nous fût mis dans un coffre-fort, ou placé à intérêt, afin de le tenir à la disposition du gouvernement qui pourrait par ce moyen se maintenir et faire la guerre *pour la génération future*. L'univers entier ne se récrierait-il pas contre cette mesure ? Quelle nation, à moins d'être complètement esclave, se soumettrait à une pareille loi ? Et, cependant, quelle est la différence entre ces deux hypothèses ? N'est-il pas aussi juste et aussi conforme à la raison et au droit naturel, qu'une loi qui ferait supporter à la *génération actuelle* les frais d'entretien du gouvernement et des guerres des générations précédentes ? Et puis que des esclaves mêmes auraient de la peine à se soumettre à la première mesure, comment croire que des hommes qui feraient eux-mêmes les lois se soumettraient à la dernière ?

12. Je ne perdrai mon temps à répondre d'avance aux arguments qu'on peut m'opposer ; je serai prêt à le faire lorsqu'il le faudra. En attendant voyons si *l'on n'agira pas en France* d'après les principes que je viens de maintenir, et c'est là un objet principal qu'il importe à ce pays-ci de ne pas perdre de vue. Outre ce qu'il y a à dire contre les dettes nationales *en général*, il y a ceci de particulier à l'égard de celle de la France ; savoir, que personne ne saurait prétendre qu'elle a été contractée *pour le bien de la nation française*. La partie comparativement petite qui existait avant la restauration des Bourbons, avait été contractée sans l'assentiment du peuple et dans des vues qui lui étaient contraires. Tout ce qui a été contracté depuis lui a été, par le fait, *imposé de force*, soit par les baïonnettes étrangères qu'on lui tenait déjà à la gorge, soit par des baïonnettes étrangères prêtes à fondre sur lui. Quant à l'usage qu'on a fait de la plus grande partie du produit emprunté, loin d'être de quelque avantage à la France, il n'a servi qu'à procurer les moyens de *l'humilier* ou de lui infliger quelques *châtiments*.

13. Le nation française sent parfaite-

the French people ; and they do understand clearly ; this peculiarly provoking circumstance being added to the weight of the odiousness and crying injustice of calling upon the children for payment of the debts of the fathers, who is to believe, that that people, undisciplined to grinding taxation ; full of just notions of political right ; knowing their own strength, and having so recently tried it with success ; a people, in short, distinctly claiming the *sovereignty* as inherent in themselves ; who is to believe that such a people, *being the makers, in fact, of the laws*, will long continue to make laws to compel themselves and their children to pay about 11,000,000*l.* or 275,000,000 francs a year, in order, first, to fulfil the wishes of the Allied Powers, who forced back the Bourbons upon them, took away their frontier towns, imposed a tribute upon them, and sacked their museums ; and, next, to make themselves unable to go to war even for self-defence ! Who is to believe this of such a people so situated ?

14. I remember well, that, in 1815, our press teemed with exhortations to the Bourbons to make a considerable national debt, as the means of securing to themselves the support of the rich people, and also as the means of securing the peace of Europe ; that is, the despotism of Europe. And, certainly, this was the way to go to work ; but this work could succeed only so long as the people were not fairly and fully represented. As soon as there came to be a Chamber that spoke the voice of the people, it was seen that this work could not long go on ; and this was one of the great motives with our borough-mongers for urging on the plot of POLIGNAC. The plot failed ; the people are the sovereign again ; they will now make the laws ; and it is madness to believe that they will make laws, and continue to make laws, which shall not only press them down with taxes, but which shall, in effect, forbid them to think of ever again marching to the Rhine.

ment tout ceci, et elle ajoute cette circonstance aggravaute au poids de l'injustice criante et odieuse d'exiger des enfants qu'ils paient les dettes de leurs pères. Croira-t-on d'après cela qu'une nation peut accoutumée à des taxes oppressives, imbuë de notions justes sur les droits politiques ; une nation qui connaît sa force, qui l'a tout récemment mise à l'épreuve avec succès, et qui réclame si ouvertement la souveraineté qui lui est inhérente ; croira-t-on, dis-je, qu'une nation semblable, qui joui, au fait, du droit de faire ses lois, continue long-temps à en faire qui la contraignent, elle, et ses enfants, à payer environ 11,000,000 de livres sterling, ou 275,000,000 de francs par an, d'abord, pour remplir les vœux des puissances alliées, qui lui ont rendu les Bourbons contre son gré, qui se sont emparés de ses villes frontières, qui l'ont mise à contribution, qui ont succagé ses musées ; en un mot, qui ont fini par la mettre hors d'état de jamais faire la guerre, même pour sa propre défense ? Non, on ne devra jamais s'y attendre dans la situation où elle se trouve.

14. Je me souviens très bien qu'en 1815, nos journalistes ne cessaient d'exhorter les Bourbons à contracter une dette nationale considérable, comme un moyen de s'assurer de l'appui des riches, et d'assurer en même temps la paix de l'Europe, ou plutôt le despotisme de l'Europe. Cette manière de procéder était bonne sans doute ; mais elle ne pouvait réussir qu'autant que le peuple jouirait pas du droit de se faire représenter convenablement. Du moment où il a paru une chambre qui a fait entendre la voix du peuple, on a bien vu que cette manière de procéder ne pouvait pas durer long-temps, et c'était là un des motifs pour lesquels nos borough-mongers pressaient l'exécution du complot de POLIGNAC. Le complot a manqué ; le peuple est redevenu souverain ; désormais ils feront les lois, et c'est une folie de croire qu'ils feront des lois, qu'ils continueront à faire des lois, qui non-seulement les accablent d'impôts, mais qui, au fait, les empêcheraient même de jamais songer à marcher sur le Rhin.

15. The evils of a national debt are without end in number and are boundless in extent : England now exhibits them all to the world : swarms of idlers, living on the labour of the industrious ; two thousand towns, villages, and hamlets, drained to swell the capital to size enormous ; luxury and splendour and all their odious waste and insolence ; a working-people, once the best fed and clad and most moral in the whole world, now half-starved, covered with rags, and committing crimes so numerous, that the jails have been (within forty years) augmented four-fold in size and number, and are now too small ; the fruit of the people's labour carried away, by millions, to be spent in foreign lands ; a standing army during peace, to make the people pay the taxes, which are again thus augmented ; the taste for making fortunes by trick, and gambling in funds, to the destruction of all the habits of sober and patient industry ; a disregard of science, talent, and even of valour, as the means of acquiring fame, *money* being the only standard of excellence, and the only title to respect ; and, not to mention hundreds of other evils, *national feebleness*, which is shown in the country's *incapacity to go to war*, and which, in the end, sinks it down in the scale of nations. As the individual debtor is, according to the maxim of ARISTOTLE, the *slave* of his creditor, so a *debtor nation* must, in the end, be the slave of other nations. National debts can never exist to any extent without a *paper-money* of some sort, and without *anticipations* of endless variety, descending down to the most common concerns of life. A *shock* of any sort unsettles all the arrangements connected with these anticipations ; hundreds of thousands are ruined they know not how ; society is convulsed without any apparent cause ; the government becomes, in time, identified with the debt and the paper-money ; and, at last, all three fall together.

16. France has not yet arrived at this *identified* state ; but, in time, she would arrive at it ; and in the meanwhile, she

15. Les maux qui résultent d'une dette nationale sont aussi innombrables qu'étendus ; l'Angleterre en offre dans ce moment l'exemple à l'univers entiers. Des essaims d'oisifs qui se repaissent du travail des autres ; deux mille villes, villages, ou hameaux épuisés pour rendre la capitale énormément grande ; un luxe effréné, l'extravagance et l'insolence portées au comble ; un peuple industriel, jadis le mieux nourri, le mieux vêtu et le plus moral de l'univers, aujourd'hui à demi-mort de faim, couvert de haillons, et si porté au crime que, dans l'espace de quarante ans, les prisons ont quadruplé en nombre et en grandeur, et sont encore trop petites ; le fruit du travail du peuple enlevé, par millions, pour être dépensés en pays étrangers ; une armée, sur pied en temps de paix pour forcer le peuple à payer les taxes qu'on augmente par ce moyen, le désir de faire fortune par fraud, ou en jouant dans les fonds, au grande détriment de l'industrie et de la sobriété ; le mépris des sciences, des talents, et même de la valeur, comme moyens de se faire une réputation, l'argent étant la seule preuve d'excellence et le seul titre au respect ; et sans parler de centaines d'autres maux, la *faiblesse nationale* qui décide notre *impuissance de faire la guerre*, et qui finit par nous rabaisser dans la balance des nations. De même qu'un individu endetté devient, suivant la maxime d'Aristote, l'esclave de son créancier ; de même une *nation endettée* devient l'esclave des autres nations. Une dette nationale de quelque importance ne saurait exister sans un *papier-monnaie* quelconque, et sans *anticiper* d'une manière infinie sur les affaires les plus ordinaires de la vie. Un *choc* quelconque, détruit tous les arrangements en rapport avec ces anticipations ; des centaines de milliers d'individus sont ruinés sans savoir comment ; la société se trouve en convulsion sans cause apparente ; le gouvernement s'identifie par degrés avec la dette et le papier-monnaie ; et tous, trois finissent par s'écrouler ensemble.

16. La France n'en est pas encore arrivée là ; mais elle y arriverait dans le temps, et si dans l'intervalle elle s'attache

must, if she adhere to this benumbing curse, remain *inactive at the best*. It is this debt and all its deadening ligatures, that now withhold her from that **RHINE** which is her natural boundary, whence the people are stretching their arms to her for help and protection, and to aid whom, and again to plant her standard on its banks, she is called by the voice of honour, of humanity, and of just resentment combined. Opposed to this voice is the united voice of the Jews, the loan-mongers, the stock-jobbers, the discounters, and all the tribe of dealers in paper-money; men who, from the very nature of their calling, fatten on the toil of others; men who, with "*national faith*" on their lips, roll in wealth by the means of usury, monopoly, fraud and extortion; men of every country and of no country; men to whom *love of country* are words without a meaning. To which of these voices she is listening *just at this time*, I know not; but this I know well, that, before long, she will listen to the former; that, in spite of Debt and paper-money, to the **RHINE** she will go; and, in my next letter, I will endeavour to show, that to the **RHINE** she *ought* to go, not only for her own honour, but for the good of all Europe, England not excepted.

WM. COBBETT.

à ce fléau destructif, ce qu'elle a de mieux de faire, c'est de *rester dans l'inaction*. C'est cette dette, et ces liens engourdissants qui la privent du **RHIN**, ses limites naturelles, dont les peuples lui tendent les bras pour implorer son secours et sa protection, et que la voix de l'honneur, de l'humanité, et d'un juste ressentiment lui font un devoir de secourir, ainsi que de planter ses étendards sur les bords du fleuve qui arrose leurs villes. A cette voix s'opposent les voix unies des Juifs, des brocanteurs d'emprunts, des agioteurs, des escompteurs, et de toute cette foule de trafiquants en papier-monnaie; ces hommes, qui par la nature même de leur profession s'enrichissent du travail des autres; des hommes qui avec la foi nationale sur les lèvres, roulent dans l'or par l'usure, par la fraude et par toute sorte de concussions; des hommes de tous les pays et d'aucun pays, des hommes pour qui *l'amour de la patrie* ne sont que de vains mots. J'ignore quelle est *dans ce moment* la voix que la France écoute; mais en dépit de la dette nationale et du papier-monnaie elle ira *au Rhin*; et, dans ma prochaine lettre, je tâcherai de prouver qu'elle doit aller au Rhin, non-seulement pour son propre honneur; mais même pour le bien de l'Europe, sans en excepter l'Angleterre.

G^RAME. COBBETT.

TO

THE REFORMERS

*Who dined at the London Tavern, on
the 16th of August last.*

GENTLEMEN,

I LAST week gave you an account of the reception of our Envoy, SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, at Paris; but had not room to insert the speech made by him when he presented our address to the Prefect. I do this now, and add the speech of Mr. JAMES COBBETT, made upon that occasion.

SIR THOMAS BEEVOR.

Mr. PREFECT, and GENTLEMEN,

I regret that I am unable to address you in your own language: that regret however is considerably diminished by the knowledge that many of you now present understand the language which I speak.

The address which I hold in my hand was unanimously agreed to by a considerable number of the *radical* reformers of London, at a public dinner held for that purpose on the sixteenth day of the present month, being the anniversary of the day on which, in the year 1819, a peaceable meeting of the reformers of England, assembled at Manchester, was attacked; and numbers of unoffending men, women, and children were trampled under foot, killed, and wounded, by a body of armed cavalry.

I esteem it a high honour to be the bearer of this address, which speaks the sentiments of millions of my fellow-countrymen, to the

brave citizens of Paris; and I consider this to be one of the proudest days of my life, on which I have the honour to present it to you on their behalf.

The people of England, from one end of the country to the other, admire the deeds of bravery and generosity which have lately been performed by the citizens of Paris: such is the popular feeling, that even the Aristocracy are compelled to profess their admiration of those deeds, whilst they tremble for the consequences. The conduct of the French people, on the occasion alluded to, is beyond all praise: it is unparalleled in the annals of history: it affords a brilliant example to all nations. May it operate equally as a warning to tyrants, and as an encouragement to the oppressed in all parts of the world!

We drop a tear over the graves of the brave men who perished in the glorious struggle, but we take comfort in the reflection that their memories will live for ever in the hearts of a grateful people.

Gentlemen, Frenchmen! It is the prayer of Englishmen, that the liberty which you have purchased with the blood of your citizens, may be eternal; and that the friendly feeling which subsists between the people of the two nations, may be equally permanent!

MR. COBBETT.

MR. PREFECT, and GENTLEMEN,

As one of that assembly of Englishmen who send the address which Sir Thomas Beevor has been deputed to present to you, and as an associate of the worthy Baronet in the mission on which he appears in this country, I should be denying to myself the greatest gratification that I have ever had it in my power to enjoy if I were not to do myself the honour of saying a few words at this moment, by way of participating with Sir Thomas in the personal expression of our respect for you, and our admiration of the conduct of all those whom you are here met together to represent.

Gentlemen, all England, all Englishmen, at least, who love their country, are your friends. You must not believe that you have any enemies amongst those of us whose friendship you would value. We have, it is true, some haughty and overbearing aristocrats, who, while they look down upon us in the most insulting manner, and seem to regard us as beings in all respects beneath them, condescend to enter the humble habitations of their inferiors, and devour the honest earnings of the poor. But these are not the people of England; these, gentlemen, are not allowed by us to belong to the people: they are at war in their interests, alienated in all their feelings, from that which, in your now happy country, is acknowledged as the sovereignty of the people.

We who really form a part of the people of England, respect you for your valour, admire you for your example, and thank you in anticipation of the effects that they must produce.

The exclamation that bursts from the heart of every honest Englishman is, "*O! brave nation!*" We wish you to know that these are our feelings, and we come in person, accordingly, to make them known to you—we wish you to believe that we are sincere in our professions, and we offer, not as a needful to you, but as an earnest from us, such contributions of money for the relief of your sufferers as are being made in all parts of our country.

But the involuntary expressions of their admiration, the mere language of formal address, the donations of their money, were it to the amount of millions—these are not all the testimonials of their good-will that Englishmen should be prepared to give you. England, to the shame of Englishmen be it spoken, has been the injurer of France. We who now come to congratulate you on the removal of your chains, cannot but remember with humiliation, that the oligarchy of England made our country one of the forges to frame those very chains, and the arms of her soldiers the instruments wherewith to rivet them upon you. We whose countrymen have assumed the title to so much glory, and to so much of the gratitude of other nations, who have gone so far in extolling our own exploits as to compare them with the most noble of all that history records, who have praised ourselves by applying to our own merits the most high-sounding language of Grecian homage to Roman heroism and disinterestedness, we have to remember, with mixed feelings of friendship for you, and indignation at those who would have us be your enemies, that it was in the very city of Portsmouth, from which, as our journals tell us, Charles X. has just been driven by the honest people, that the devotees of English despotism dishonoured their nation in 1814, by running into the streets to receive your foes with open arms, and leading their wives and daughters along with them, that the lips of English women might be contaminated by the embraces of the allied despots of Europe and their mercenary companions. We call our country the place of refuge for the persecuted of all nations; we pretend, at our own expense and risk, to expose ourselves to the fatigues of war in order to ensure to others the blessing inestimable of liberty, and, without being urged by the interests which demand unity between neighbouring nations, to traverse seas in order to banish usurpation and despotism from the whole world, and to establish in all quarters of the globe the reign of freedom, law, and justice. Spain, Greece, South America, are the boasted scenes of our recent achievements in the cause of freedom. And shall any power upon earth rise up in opposition to France? Shall any tyrant again endeavour to rally the enemies of the liberty you have won to the attack of its fortress, and we, the people of England, not step forward to aid in the maintenance of rights so bravely fought for by you, rights which it is so much our interest to hold sacred? No, gentlemen; France

will, I hope, be permitted to enjoy in peace the liberty of which she is now possessed; but if a further contest should be necessary to maintain the prize which heaven has awarded to your patriotism, our praise of your conduct, and the expression of it to you, is the least of what you may look for on the part of England, whose sons will be ambitious to wipe away the spot which now tarnishes her name, by marching in volunteer battalions under the *drapeau tricolore*, and joining with you in defying the common enemy ever again to tear down the glorious emblem!

Gentlemen,—I beg leave to thank you for the gracious manner in which you have been pleased to receive the tender of our friendship. I hope that that friendship, founded, as it is, on an understanding of our similar rights, may increase to the destruction of all that would create a contrary feeling between us; and I pray that the happiness of your country may endure for as many ages to come as the deeds by which you have regained its freedom will continue to be subjects of exultation in the hearts of the virtuous of mankind.

Thus that affair was finished, and well finished. It was begun, continued and ended with judgment, as well as with spirit. We have shown to the great and learned and brave French nation, that the *English reformers* are not the "*low and degraded crew*" that the insolent CANNING called us; we have shown to that nation that we are powerful in the justice of our cause, in talent, and in energy; and we have given it reason to conclude that we must finally prevail.

PETITIONING THE KING.

For a long while nothing has pleased me more than the following account, which was published in the *Morning Herald* of the 2nd instant, and which account I beg leave to point out to the attention of all my readers. It is the first instance, in our time, of the *working people* being permitted to present a *petition to the king*. When I have inserted the account, I will add a few observations on the beneficial effect that is likely to result to, the country at large from this becoming conduct in the king.

On Thursday last a deputation of the operative button-makers of Birmingham, attended by a professional gentleman, their secretary, arrived at Windsor, and had the

honour of presenting to his Majesty, at Windsor Castle, a petition from the trade, signed by a vast number of the operatives; and also of presenting to the King and Queen various sets of plain gilt and plated buttons (which were enclosed in morocco leather cases, and the Royal arms embossed in gold thereon) of the richest manufacture. The deputation was received at the Castle with the utmost respect; and Their Majesties expressed themselves highly gratified with the presents. Sir Herbert Taylor read the memorial, of which the following is a copy, to the King:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the operative manufacturers of plain gilt and plated buttons residing in Birmingham.

SIRE,—We are in the deepest distress for want of employment, and we know of no mode of obtaining relief but by an appeal to your Majesty. We are full of hope from your gracious condescension, and from the repeated evidences of the sympathy of your Majesty with the people,

In the month of February last, great and successful efforts were made by a deputation from Birmingham to induce the great personages of the State to wear plain metal buttons, and his late Majesty most graciously set the example to the country at large, which was followed by many illustrious Nobles and Commons, and our trade greatly revived. The lamented illness and death of his late Majesty suddenly obscured our bright hopes, and the trade of plain buttons, which depends for its prosperity on the prevailing fashion of the polite world, was precipitated into its present deplorable condition.

Sire,—Our only hope now is in the condescension of your Majesty, and we humbly appeal to our gracious and benevolent Prince that he will condescend to accept the humble token of our loyalty which accompanies the petition, and wear the same, with the kind purpose of inducing the *beau monde* to follow your Majesty's illustrious example.

Sire,—By a compliance with this humble petition, your Majesty will give bread to thousands of your subjects whose gratitude and loyalty can only be exceeded by the virtues and benevolence of their gracious Sovereign; and your Majesty's petitioners, as in duty bound, &c.

The King, with great affability, said that he admired the old English fashion of gilt and plated buttons, and always wore them himself, except when he was in mourning; and although there were nearly 150 letters to answer, yet he would send a written reply to the memorial on the following day. The Royal word was faithfully kept, and the next day the following letter was received from his Majesty's Secretary:—

Windsor Castle, Aug. 27, 1830.

Sir,—I have been honoured with the King's commands to acknowledge the receipt of the

petition signed by Mr. W. H. Bland, and other operative manufacturers of plain gilt and plated buttons, residing in Birmingham, accompanied by sets of buttons, which you are desirous his Majesty should wear, as an inducement to others to wear such; and his Majesty orders me to assure you of the deep interest he takes in the prosperity of your trade, and in the welfare of those engaged in it, and that his Majesty will have much pleasure in complying with your request when the mourning shall have expired.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. TAYLOR.

To E. Edmonds, Esq., Clements-Inn Chambers, Strand, Secretary to the Deputation.

Thus then the king received this petition *in person*, and after taking time to consider of it, ordered his secretary to send the petitioners *his answer*. Thus has his Majesty realized the hopes of his people, and has shown to us that we can again, after so many years being deprived of this right, enjoy it, as far as regards the king at any rate. The king has certain great powers confided to him, and to him only; and this *for the good of his people*. The people have *rights*, and amongst these is the *right of petitioning the king*; that is to say, of *telling him* in writing that they have *grievances* that they want redressed. This right is taken from them if they be prevented from carrying their petitions *to him*. To insist upon actually *putting them into his hand*, would, in many cases be unreasonable; but we have a right to carry them to the *place of his residence*, and there to deliver them to some person duly authorized to receive them, and ready to pledge his word for their speedy reception by the king. I shall say more upon this subject next week; and I think I shall be able to convince the reformers that *this* is the road for their petitions to travel. I would petition the parliament too; but before it meets, why should not the king have a thousand petitions? Let no one tell me that *he can do nothing*. He *has done* many things; and, amongst others, he has received this petition from *working people*. It is our *duty* to petition him; he is ready to perform his duty; and if we neglect ours we deserve to be burdened in the manner that we are.

GOLD !

Look out sharp, you who prefer gold to *old rags* ! Remember, that stoppage comes "*like a thief in the night*." The AUTOCRAT of Russia has refused to acknowledge the *standard tricolour*. If he move towards France, Prussia must move, and Austria will. All the continent is in a blaze; the French are on the Rhine in a week; the funds in France and Holland and Prussia and Austria and Russia are not worth much; the paper-money every-where disappears, and gold and silver will be every-where in demand ! In such a state of things, *panic* or *legol tender* must come. In either case gold will be a precious thing ! Get it, therefore, while you may be able; and if you neglect the advice, take the consequences.

THE SHOYHOYS.

SEE the last No. (No. III.) of Twopenny Trash, for the etymology of the word *Shoyhoys*. The Shoyhoys, Burdett and Hobhouse, are beneath notice since they were pelted off the hustings of Covent Garden, by their "*constituents*." Brougham, Denman, Lord John Russell, Bobby Wilson, Weston, Dennyson, and some few others, are now the principal *Shoyhoys*. They are all for "*reform*," but not for *ballot*; that is to say, for a SHAM-reform. Something to *quiet*, and yet to make *no real change*. Poor fellows ! how deceived they'll be ! Or rather, how deceived they *are* ! Before they get safely into their seats, they will find other matter to engage them than the miserable party-trash that they are studying. They have, they say, prepared a *party* for moving out the Prince of Waterloo ! What a sorry figure they will make ! If they make a very loud barking at the Prince, he will *go out*, or he will make a *reform himself*: in the former case the whole system goes to pieces; in the latter they all drop down dead ! If LORD JOHN stand for Southwark, Mr. WAKLEY will *meet him there* with the BLOOMSBURY VESTRY-BILL ;

and if he be suffered to stand on the hustings *after that*, the people of the borough ought to eat dirt for the remainder of their lives. By the by, Mr. WAKLEY is, I see, standing for CORONER OF MIDDLESEX; the very fittest man, perhaps, even in this great county, for that office, affording, as he does, *surgical skill* to rare industry, activity, integrity and public spirit. Ah! if we had had such a CORONER in the case of CASTLEREAGH, or in that of the poor men who were *shot on the day of the funeral of the ill-treated Queen Caroline!* It is an office of great importance; but, amidst all this *dependence*, and without the ballot, it is too much to hope to see it filled by such a man.

FIGHT AT OXFORD.

THE Papers of this morning (8th Sept.) tell us that some time ago, AN ENCLOSURE OF A COMMON took place at OTMOOR, not far from Oxford; that some men were indicted for pulling down the fences; that they were *acquitted at the last assizes*; that since that the people had pulled down the fences again; that, a few days back, they were opposed in this work by the owners of the enclosure; that they defeated these; that the staff of the militia, and a troop of cavalry (Lord Churchill's), marched against the people; that they made prisoners of 60, whom they were taking, in two wagons, to the jail at Oxford; that just before they got into Oxford, a great body of *working people* (whom the newspaper people always call *mob*) met the escort and with their prisoners, whom they determined to *rescue*. The battle began by an attack on the soldiers with *stones, brickbats, and clubs*; and thus there was a sort of running fight, till the combatants got into a narrow street in Oxford. Here the soldiers gave way, and the prisoners were *rescued*. The HERALD says, that *if a shot had been fired, every soldier would have been killed!* The people *purged* the soldiers; some of whom galloped away, and some *took shelter in the castle!* So best; for half the county would

have been in commotion, which would, very likely, have extended to other counties; for in every one there is hardly a parish in which this *monstrous grievance* does not exist. The House of Lords, in 1827, put a stop to an enclosure, in Hampshire, which, if it had taken place, would have convulsed the whole county. I have always been an enemy to the enclosure of *wastes*, where surrounded with cottages. This is one of the things that has swelled the poor-rates and degraded the working people. I have proved, over and over again, that it *diminishes the quantity of subsistence raised on these spots*; while it has gone on adding to the riches of the rich, and taking the last blade of grass from the poor. It is now *twenty-five years* since I addressed a MEMORIAL to Mr. WINDHAM upon this subject, *proving* from an *actual survey* of a common in Hampshire, the correctness of my opinions thereon. Good God! what a quantity of ink and paper have I employed in vain endeavours to convince the idlers that it was not their interest to oppress those who labour! *It will not now be long before they will regret* that they despised my advice. My advice to those who have made *this enclosure* is, to let the people throw it open, and *say no more about it*. Let them be assured that the *times are changed*. The Dutch king has *dismissed his minister of justice*.

COBBETT'S LECTURES.

I SHALL give a Lecture to the working people, at the ROTUNDA, Blackfriar's-Road, near the Bridge, NEXT MONDAY, and also NEXT THURSDAY, at EIGHT o'clock in the evening; entrance, TWO-PENCE.—N. B. *Reports of these Lectures* are published by Mr. STRANGE, No. 21, Paternoster Row, price 2d. each.—Mr. STRANGE is also publishing, in *weekly numbers*, a history of the revolution in France, price 2d., for the *working people*.—And why should they not have a *cheap publication weekly?*—The SIX ACTS of Castlereagh and Sidmouth *forbid this*; but let us hope that they

are become obsolete. If, however, Mr. STRANGE should become the victim of this law, it will be the duty of the WORKING PEOPLE, throughout the whole country, to support him to the utmost of their power, in a legal way; for it is for them that he is running the risk. This is the time for petitions to king and parliament both, for the repeal of this law, which is a law to keep the working people in ignorance relative to all public and political matters. They cannot afford to give sixpence for a weekly publication on politics; and the law forbids them to have one for less than sixpence. Petitions from the WORKING PEOPLE on this subject ought to be prepared directly, and signed by millions. I will draw up what I deem a proper petition for this purpose, and submit it to my audience at the Rotunda.

FARMING STOCK.

In the last week of this month, I shall sell, by Auction, my live and dead stock, at BARN-ELM. I have four pairs of working-oxen, as good as ever went before plough or cart. These may be seen at any time, and bought at any time before the sale. The other particulars next week.

Were published, on the 1st inst.,

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, No. 14; being the last number of the work. Price 6d.

N. B. Odd Numbers may be had to complete sets; and complete sets may be had at No. 183, Fleet Street, and of all booksellers.

COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH, for Working People; for the month of August. Price 2d.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF GEORGE IV. No. 1. Price 8d.; to be continued monthly.

N. B. This History will be comprised in about ten numbers.

New editions of Cobbett's English and French Grammars, Cottage Economy, Year's Residence in America, Emigrant's Guide, &c., &c.

WHIG-MANIFESTO.

I HAVE just read the last Number of the EDINBURGH REVIEW, containing the *Whig-Manifesto* against the Duke of Wellington. It is the most impudent and most stupid production that ever came even from them; and that is saying a most monstrous deal of it. I will answer this *Manifesto* next week. The Duke may enjoy his shooting till the Parliament meet. I will take care of these barking place-hunters.

WANTED, as TUTOR, a middle-aged Man, who is capable of Teaching the Latin and French Languages and Arithmetical. He will be required to undertake the teaching of these to two Pupils, both above the age of twelve, both of whom have already learned a good deal of each of the above, and one of whom has even resided some time in France; so that proficiency in the Tutor is absolutely necessary. He will have a Salary, without board or lodging. The distance from London is 115 miles. For the whole particulars apply at No. 183, Fleet Street; where letters on the subject, if sent free of postage, addressed to A. B., will be attended to. A sufficient reference as to respectability and capacity will be required.

MR. COBBETT'S LECTURES ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY.—These Lectures, four in number, will be published separately, at 2d. each—1 and 2 are now ready. For obvious reasons, the friends of liberty (especially in the country) are called on to use their exertions to procure for these Lectures an extensive circulation amongst the *Working Classes*.

London: Strange, 21, Paternoster Row; Mann, Leeds; Wroe, Manchester; Marshall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and all other Booksellers.

Just published, by Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, THIRD EDITION, considerably augmented, COMPOSITION AND PUNCTUATION familiarly explained, for those who have neglected the Study of Grammar. By JUSTIN BRENNAN. Price 4s.

Also, by the same Author, UTILITY OF LATIN discussed, for the consideration of Parents, or those who have influence in the choice or direction of Juvenile Education. Price 2s.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 183, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 70.—No. 12.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



head on the Tuesday, and was translated and printed and sent off to Paris on the Thursday and published in London on the Friday, most people will wonder that the errors were not more numerous.

ERRORS IN LAST REGISTER.

THE speed with which I am compelled to despatch my affairs, makes it wonderful to myself that I do not commit many more errors than I do. When I have time to read what I have published (which is seldom the case), I find generally plenty of errors; but if of an unimportant nature, I let them go unnoticed. In the last Register, however, the article which is in French as well as in English, there are some errors of importance, particularly in the French. In the English, in paragraph 15, instead of "two thousand towns, villages, and hamlets," it ought to be, a thousand cities and towns, and ten thousand villages. Consequently, the French is erroneous in this particular. In the French, paragraph 2, instead of "à l'exception de notre révolution de 1688," "qui fut faite" it should be, sans exception de notre révolution de 1688, elle fut faite. Paragraph 10, instead of "diamétralement opposée aux lois," it ought to be, sorte immédiatement des lois. Paragraph 14, instead of, "en un mot, qui ont fini par la mettre," it ought to be, et, en second lieu, pour se mettre. Paragraph 16, "c. qu'elle a de mieux à faire, c'est de rester," it ought to be, il faut qu'au moins, elle reste. These are all of importance, because the words of the translation not only alter the sense, but express the contrary of the English. Going back to paragraph 2, instead of "le parlement qui en avoit le droit," it ought to be simply, le parlement taxateur, ou oppressif, which again, is precisely the contrary of the translation. These are great errors; but when it is considered, that the thing came from my

APOLOGY.

It was my intention, as expressed in my last Register, to hang the *Edinburgh Review* and its band of Whigs. When Lord Cochrane lived at Holly Hill, in Hampshire, he used to wire the rabbits, which very much infested his gardens and his fields, and he would, in spite of all our remonstrances in support of the poaching phrase, persist in calling it hanging them, and to the particular annoyance of my son James, who was about eleven years old, who was his principal coadjutor in the work, and who seemed to think it unjust towards himself, as poacher, that the name given to the work of the hangman was given to a matter in which he took so much delight. So that, one day, he made a sort of complaint on the subject, saying to me very gravely, "Lord Cochrane calls it hanging the rabbits: it is not hanging is it?" They don't hang thieves "so, do they?" "Not exactly," said I, "but they fasten something round their necks, and kill them; and it is all the same in the end." Lord Cochrane and his brother poacher accidentally met last year in Italy: I wonder whether they discussed the subject of hanging or wiring the rabbits. Now, this is the sort of execution that I intend to do on the Sawney reviewers and the Whigs. To hang and gibbet them would be to treat them as men; bad ones, to be sure; but it would argue an apprehension of danger from suffering them to exist; and this would be to do them too much honour. Besides, it would be pitting them out of their misery too soon; and, therefore, I intend to wire them, a business which is performed thus: you take a piece of brass wire,

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put it a little while in the fire to take off the shine, make an eye at one end of it, draw the other end through that eye, and thus you have a *noose* of the capacity required to admit the rabbit's head without touching the wire. You then fasten the other end of the wire to a stout peg or pin. Thus prepared, you go to the haunts of the rabbits, and having fixed upon a proper spot in their paths, you drive the pin down into the ground at about a foot from the path, then opening the noose to the extent required, and making a little bend in the wire to keep it that extent, you take a little stick (in the Hampshire poacher's phrase, *a toiler*), cut a sort of mouth in one end of it, and, sticking the other end into the ground, you put the mouth-end under the middle of the noose, which is thus nicely up at a proper height to receive the head of the rabbit. By and by, in the dark, comes the rabbit dancing along, anticipating the clover, as the Edinburgh Reviewers are now anticipating the sweets of the taxes; his head goes through the noose, down drops the toiler, he finds himself entangled, pulls to disentangle himself, the harder he pulls the tighter becomes the noose, he dances and pulls in every direction, and, at last, down he falls, choked by his own efforts, and in the morning you find him with head doubled in size by his fatal efforts, with eyes forced from their sockets, and, if in a corn or grass field, lying on a circular spot, about four feet in diameter, the grass or corn trampled down as smooth as the turnpike-road. Just in this way I will deal with the Edinburgh Reviewers and the traitorous faction of whom they are the tools, except that I will wire them by daylight. The public will see how they will bounce and dance and pull and fling; and, at last, tumble down senseless and motionless, leaving us to regret only that, in this respect unlike the rabbits, neither their carcasses nor their skins are of any earthly use. *They turn out the Duke! They!* Lord Cœchrane's rabbits were just as able to turn him out of his farm; aye, and more able, for they might have *eaten* him out of it, if he had not

"*hanged* them." Indeed, so might these ravenous Whigs treat the Duke, if he were to suffer them to eat taxes. Rabbits breed and increase at a rate perfectly enormous, but not more so than Scotch place-hunters. If Brougham and Hume and the couple of Grants; if only these two couple were let alone for a year, all England would be overrun by the devouring litters that they would gather about them.

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No. VII.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE en 1830.

TO THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF PARIS.

*On the appointment of TALLEYRAND
PERIGORDE to be the Minister of the
King of the French to the Court of
London.*

Burn-Elm Farm, 12th September, 1830.

FRIENDS,

I, who, on the 16th of August, had the honour to preside at a meeting of Englishmen, who agreed to that Address which was, on the 24th of August, presented by Sir Thomas Beevor, to your representatives at the Hotel de Ville; I, who had the honour, as Chairman of the Meeting, to sign that Address; I, who then felt as well as expressed my admiration of your conduct, and who did no more than express the feelings and sentiments of all the friends of freedom in England; I, who am now engaged in collecting from thousands of working men, the little that they are able to give towards the widows and orphans of the brave men who so gloriously fell in the last week of July; I, who have from the day that your achievement was announced to us, had to perform the delightful task of expressing my joy at the prospect of seeing your innumerable sacrifices and deeds of valour rewarded at last by the establishment of real liberty in your beautiful country, so long trampled on by tyrants; I, who felt thus, only a few

days ago, am now, by the appointment of TALLEYRAND PERIGORIE, impelled by a sense of duty towards my country, towards you, and towards myself, to express to you frankly my opinions with regard to this ominous appointment; an appointment which has filled all men with astonishment, and all the friends of freedom with disappointment and disgust not to be described.

What! the people of England exclaim, *that man*, that Talleyrand, that very same Talleyrand who, born amongst the noblesse, and become priest and bishop, cast off the callot and the mitre, broke his ecclesiastical vows, and voted to put down the order of nobles, and to seize the property of the church; that Talleyrand who was "*Citizen Minister*" under the republic, and "*Prince Minister*" under the empire; that Talleyrand who was the chief adviser and flatterer of Napoleon, his chief instrument in all his usurpations on the people's rights, who abandoned him the moment he was in danger, and became the instrument of his enemies; that Talleyrand who, on the part of the Bourbons, signed the declaration of Vienna of 1815, in virtue of which a million and eleven thousand hostile bayonets were borne into France, by which France was compelled to surrender not only all that she acquired by her glorious victories, but also many of her old frontier towns, by which a tribute of seven hundred millions of francs was imposed upon her, by which she was compelled to maintain in her territory, and at her own expense, a hundred and fifty thousand *foreign troops* for five years; that Talleyrand, who gave up, without remonstrance, the museums to be stripped by those who had entered France under the name of *allies*; that Talleyrand, that same Talleyrand, who signed the Bourbon proclamation for abolishing the names of the bridge of Jena, of Austerlitz, of Arcole, and for destroying every memorial of the glorious deeds of the armies of France. what! exclaim the people of England, that *same* Talleyrand, that identical Perigorde successively noble, priest, bishop, citizen, and prince, who justified

Napoleon in the killing of the Duke d'ENGHEN, and who signed the Bourbon ordinance for the arrest and subsequent killing of Marshal NEY! What! this very Talleyrand now a great confidential minister of the "*Citizen King* of the French," whose claims to the people's confidence are, that he has *never changed*, that he has *never fought* but under the tri-coloured flag, that he has *always* held the doctrine of the *sovereignty of the people*! What! this Talleyrand sent to reside with that very court, at which POLIGNAC had so long resided, and which he quitted only to go and carry into execution a plot for enslaving France! This Talleyrand, this *Grand Chamberlain of Charles X.*, sent to watch over the interests of France in that country where Charles X. is residing, and where he is openly cherished by the aristocracy, and secretly *by others*! Such, Frenchmen, are our exclamations at this astonishing appointment. But a little time for reflection diminishes our astonishment, though it by no means weakens our suspicions. In such cases men imitate the habits of sagacious hounds. When the game is first started we run on eagerly, paying little attention to circumstances; but when we come to something that checks us, we first express our surprise, and then we, like the hounds, *try back*; and we soon discover, that, in our haste, we have omitted to attend to many things which ought to have put us upon our guard, and to have induced us to come to conclusions with more care. We have received a check of this sort in the appointment of Talleyrand; and, therefore, we are now *trying back*. In doing this, we see several things which ought to have made us hesitate; amongst which things are the following:

1. It ought to have appeared *very strange* to us that the Duke of Orleans, who must have known the intentions of POLIGNAC as well, at least, as the journalists of Paris, never gave any marks of his displeasure at those intentions; but, on the contrary, lived on terms of perfect harmony with the court and ministry to the very eve of the execution of

the plot. Nay, even when the tyrannical ordinances had been issued, the Duke did not appear. He must have known that they had been issued; and still he kept aloof from the people; and it was not till the people had *put down the tyrants*, that the Duke of Orleans made his appearance; and then out he popped all at once upon the people, in the shape of a "*Lieutenant-General of the kingdom*," a title recognised by Charles with as much naïveté as if himself had suggested it!

2. It might, if we had taken time to reflect, have appeared *very strange* to us, that the *Lieutenant-General* was transformed into a king in about *sixty hours*, and that, too, without any apparent or assignable reason. Then, Charles and his son *abdicated* so exactly in *point of time*, and this also without any apparent reason; for, as to the people, they did not care a straw whether they abdicated or not. Besides, they did not abdicate for the *grandson*. They were *compelled to go away*, observe that; and the Duke of Orleans being made king, afforded the *only remaining chance of preserving the Bourbon dynasty in France*. Charles's *slow march* to the coast; the false story about his being bound to *America*; the curious fact of *American ships* being employed, and *by whom!* the *large sum of money* settled on him; the *American ships* bringing him to *England*: all these are additional circumstances to prove, that there was *something* at work, which was carefully kept from the knowledge of the people.

3. In the *ministry*, appointed by the new king, it was curious that one should be that very Baron Louis who was one of the ministers chosen by Louis XVIII., when, in 1815, he was a second time forced upon France! At the head of that ministry, who, in fact, were appointed by the *Allies*, was Talleyrand; next to him came this Baron Louis, who, it seems was also a *priest*, and was a *canon under Talleyrand*, when the latter was a *bishop*! It might, if we had taken time to reflect, have seemed *very strange* to us, that the "*citizen-king*" could find, in all France, no man fit to fill the place that this *priest-baron* now

fills! Another of the ministers is M. Guizot, who is, it seems a *Protestant*, and has written a pamphlet in *praise of the English Revolution of 1688*. As to his character of *Protestant*, though I am one, I know that it is to Protestants that we owe the loss of our liberties; and if he really have *praised* our Revolution of 1688, he has done, in fact, that which Corru had done before him. That was a revolution, not by or for the people, but against their *interests* and their *wishes*; and this I will prove, when I get a copy of M. Guizot's pamphlet. In short, it is *against the effects of that Revolution*, that the people of England have been at war for a hundred and fifty years.

4. The *not bringing the criminal ministers to trial* might have opened our eyes some time ago. What GOOD reason can there have been for this delay? The king got off upon his *irresponsibility*; that charter which he violated was to protect him; and why? because *his ministers were responsible*. Why not try them, then! If they escape, who will then doubt that foul play is meant towards the people?

5. Then let us look at the conduct of our *ministerial newspapers*. When the news of the revolution first arrived, they *condemned it*; but in about *ten days*, they began to change their tone; they hoped that the *republicans would be kept down*; when the names of the *new ministry* appeared, they *applauded* the choice, and particularly of Baron Louis! They "*lamented* that a man like LA-FAYETTE had any influence, but were glad that he was not in the ministry." Observe, too, the conduct of *Russia*! At first the French flag was proscribed in the ports of Russia; but when there had been *time to communicate state-secrets from France*, Russia relented! She had been told what was intended in France; she had been told all the secrets; and then she had no longer any alarm.

6. It would have been impossible to look well at all these circumstances without perceiving that the great object of most of the men in power was to *make no real change*, either in the go-

vernment or the dynasty; and that, whatever might be the intention of the Duke of Orleans himself, the intention of *others* was, that he should only *keep the place warm* for the other branch of the Bourbons, when circumstances might favour *their return*! And, if to the weight of all these circumstances we add the glaring, the unequivocal proof, afforded by the *appointment of Talleyrand* as ambassador to the English court, it is impossible not to be convinced that foul play of some sort is intended towards the people of France. I am certain that this second plot will succeed no better than the first; but, it is necessary now to be upon our guard, and to judge by actions and not by words.

7. In the meanwhile the *inefficiency* of the Chambers and the ministry seems quite wonderful. They appear to do *nothing*; or, at least, nothing worth naming. The people, the common people, have put down a tyrant; but, as yet, all they appear to have gained by it is to send money for him to spend in England, instead of giving it to him to spend in France! That appears to be their *gain*. The *hereditary law-givers* still exist; all the taxes still exist; and, what is still worse, the Chambers make *no new law of election*! This is exactly what our boroughmongers want. But they will be deceived; they may confusion in France; they may see bloodshed in that country; but never will they see that people, consisting of *eight millions of adult male inhabitants*, consent to be ruled by the votes of *eighty thousand*. What! will two millions of *national guards*, with arms in their hands, and under the command of LAFAYETTE, ever again consent that nobody shall exercise the *sovereignty of the people* but eighty thousand rich men? Will these two millions of men ever again consent, *on any terms*, to give up the fruit of their labour to pay the interest of debts which were, in great part, contracted to pay foreign powers for enslaving them, and traitors for betraying them; will they ever again consent to give up the fruit of their labour for this purpose, *on any*

terms; but, will they consent to do it, too, without being permitted to have a vote in the choosing of those who are to lay the taxes and spend the money? No man in his senses can believe this; and yet this he must believe, if he believe that the present Chambers can long go on in their present way.

8. It appears to me, that the scheme now in contemplation is to prevent any shock being given to the *national debt*. England has been enslaved by a national debt, which has transferred, and is constantly transferring, the fruit of the people's labour into the pockets of Jews and fund-owners and fund-jobbers; and the same would, in time, be the result in France, if the system could be there supported. But, besides other circumstances, there is this great difference in the two cases. Such a system cannot be carried on without *great military force*; our military force is a *regular army*; but the great military force in France is *the armed people themselves*; it consists of those *who pay the taxes*, and not of those *who live upon the taxes*. This is the widest difference that the mind of man can imagine. The chief reason for *suppressing* the National Guard was, in fact, that it was seen they could long be made to pay the taxes, if they had arms in their hands; but who is the man to propose to *suppress them again*? And, therefore, all the hopes that our aristocracy entertain of quiet submission in the people of France to heavy taxes, and exclusion from the right of voting, will prove fallacious. There may be troubles, there may be confusion, there may be strife; but the people will, at last, prevail. If the King of the French be wise, and I hope he is, he will turn his back on all those who would persuade him that the people are to be blinded to their interests and defrauded of their rights; and he will learn in time to shun the example rather than listen to the advice of those, amongst whom he is now about to send the political Proteus of Europe.

9. At any rate, it is the affair of you, the people of France, to take care of yourselves; you have by your valour put down open violence, take good care

now not to be wheedled into slavery by hypocrisy and fraud; you have bared your breasts to the sabres, bayonets, and bullets, of the mercenaries of sanguinary tyrants, take good care to guard your hearts against the crocodile delusions of the rapacious band of loan-mongers, stock-jobbers, placemen, and pensioners, who might, indeed, not shed your blood, but who would, in time, reduce you to that misery which is the most painful consequence of slavery. You have bravely won your freedom, and now is your time to *secure it for ever*. No other power can move against you without aid from the purse of England, and England has no purse wherewith to aid any power. Go on, therefore; cease not till you have established your liberty on the basis of *equal rights*, without which the *sovereignty of the people* is a mockery; cease not till there is not left one single wretch so insolent as to propose to take a tax, direct or indirect, from him who is denied the right to vote; cease not till your example shall have effaced from the human mind the base idea that the mass of mankind were made to be underlings of aristocracy. Where much is given much is required; God has given to you a more fertile soil, a finer climate, greater sources of power, than to any other nation; he has given you, in addition, as much valour as the heart of man can contain; set, therefore, an example, which shall at once show your gratitude to God, and evince the sincerity of your desire to see the bands of oppression broken in every part of the world.

WM. COBBETT.

MANIFESTO.

OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES OF ENGLAND.

MANIFESTOES are declarations of parties who are about to commence a serious struggle; and they set forth the grounds upon which the parties proceed. Such are the nature and the object of the following petition to the King. The *people* are one party, the

aristocracy the other, and the King is appealed to by the former, in the way of *petition*. This petition was, on Monday evening last, submitted to 1,348 persons at the least, assembled at the Rotunda, Blackfriars Road, and was agreed to without one dissenting voice. In the next Register will be named the several places, in and near London, at which the petition will be deposited for *signing*. In the meanwhile, a large edition will be printed, and sold at a *penny* each, and may be had at my shop, No. 183, Fleet-street. By the hundred, 6s. If written for from the country (letters post-paid), they will be sent to any part of the country. When signed, in any town, the petition may be brought up to the King by *deputation*, or sent to some one in London to be presented. The petition which goes to the King ought to be written in a plain hand. None but *men*, or youths *above 16 years*, ought to sign it. If a man cannot write, he should take a friend to sign for him in his presence.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Petition of the under-signed persons, belonging to the Industrious Classes of London and its vicinity, dated this 13th day of September, 1830,

Most humbly sheweth,

That we approach your Majesty, not as blind adorers of royalty, but as faithful and dutiful subjects, whose fidelity and duty are founded in our conviction, that, in highly honouring and cheerfully obeying your Majesty, in upholding, with all our might, your just prerogatives, and evincing our most profound respect for your person, we best consult our own welfare, knowing that you are endowed with those prerogatives for the common good of us all, and not for your own exclusive advantage.

That feeling ourselves thus bound to your Majesty, not by harsh constraint but by a willing obedience arising from

a due estimate of our own interest and honour, regarding your person as sacred, not from servility of mind, but because you are the fountain of justice and of mercy, taught by the laws of our country that kings were made for the people and not the people for kings, regarding your kingly powers as given to you for the purpose of preserving the peace, the rights, and the happiness of the people, and more especially for the defence and protection of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, of the fruits of industry against the wiles and the violence of aristocratical ambition, arrogance and rapacity; animated by all these considerations, and beholding in your Majesty's most gracious conduct and demeanour an indubitable proof of your anxious desire to promote our good by a redress of our grievances, we, with the confidence with which suffering children appeal to a tender father, lay those grievances before your Majesty.

That we complain, may it please your Majesty, not of the form of that Government which has endured for so many ages, and under which our fathers were so free, lived in such ease and abundance, and saw their country so great and so much honoured throughout the world; we complain not of the nature of the institutions of our country, which have stood the test of centuries; we complain not of any thing, an attack on which would argue a hankering after innovation, but, on the contrary, it is of innovations, innovations endless in number, cruelly oppressive, and studiously insulting, that we have now to make complaint to your Majesty.

That we complain, generally, that the whole of the laws passed within the last forty years, and especially within the last twenty years, present one unbroken series of endeavours to enrich and to augment the power of the aristocracy, and to impoverish and depress the middle and labouring part of the people; and that to give your Majesty a specimen of the wrongs and indignities heaped upon us, we specifically complain that the trial by jury, held so

sacred by our fathers and provided for by Magna Charta, as so necessary to the protection of the people, has, in a great measure, been taken from us, leaving us to be fined, imprisoned, corporally punished, and, in some cases, transported, without trial by jury, and at the sole discretion of magistrates, appointed by and dismissable at the pleasure of your Majesty's Ministers: we complain that within the last forty years the most grievous taxes have been laid upon us for the benefit of the aristocracy, to heap riches on them in the shape of pensions, sinecures, and places, and that, as a specimen, 113 of them are, in one case, now receiving out of the taxes 650,000*l.* a year: we complain that the two families of Grenville and Dundas have, during the last forty years, received more money in sinecures alone, than it has cost, during the same time, to maintain the whole of the civil government of the United States of America, which, under that cheap government, have arrived at population and power to rival those of England herself: we complain, that while the laws and usages of our country hold standing armies in abhorrence, and while they are wholly unnecessary to our country, especially in time of peace, we are now taxed, at the end of sixteen years of peace, to maintain a standing army that costs more yearly than the army that was maintained during the American war, when we had war also with France, Spain, and Holland, and this, too, while we have, besides the yeomanry, a militia of sixty thousand men, always ready to be called out: we complain, that at the end of sixteen years of peace we are taxed to maintain a navy which costs five millions a year, while the navy cost only seven millions a year when we were carrying on war against America, France, Spain, and Holland: we complain that in this peace, which was to give us indemnity for the past and security for the future, we are loaded with taxes twice as heavy as those which were required during the war against all those powers: we complain that the emoluments arising from these establishments are engrossed,

for the far greater part, by the aristocracy and their dependents, for whose sole benefit they appear to exist to this enormous extent, a conclusion fully warranted when we see that we have three generals for every regiment of soldiers, two admirals for every ship of the line, that we have, taking both services together, one commissioned officer to every five private men, and especially when we look at the families and connexions from which all the officers come: we complain that, in the navy, the bulwark of our country, promotion and power are so bestowed, that sons of the aristocracy, who were children at the end of the war, have the command of ships, and have under them masters and lieutenants, who were fighting at sea before these commanders were born: we complain that, in pursuance of this system of aggrandising the aristocracy at the expense, and to the depressing of the middle and working classes, military and naval and ordnance academies have been established, for the rearing of officers for the army and navy, and that in these the children of the aristocracy and of their dependents are nursed, fed, clad, and taught at the public expense; so that, the middle and working class are compelled to pay for the nursing and feeding and teaching of the children of the aristocracy, and that, too, for the manifest purpose of excluding for ever hereafter their own children and kindred from all chance, and even all possibility, of possessing military or naval command: we complain of the establishment of military asylums for rearing up the children of soldiers in ease and comfort at the public expense, the children of working men being, under like circumstances, treated as paupers, while their fathers are compelled to pay taxes to support these asylums: we complain, that, in accordance with this system of establishing a permanent military force, while the pay of the private soldier has been so augmented as to make it, over and above his clothing and lodging and fuel, greater than the average wages of the hard-working man, the soldier, like the aristocracy,

is excused from paying postage on his letters, while the hard-working and half-starved man, who is taxed to maintain that well-fed and well-clad soldier, is not so excused: we complain, that we have been taxed to give half-pay, in the army and navy, to a large part of the clergy, of the established church, who, for twelve years, were receiving tithes, Easter-offerings, and other dues, as rectors and vicars, and at the same time receiving military or naval half-pay, and who, at the end of that time, were allowed to sell, or transfer, this half-pay, still leaving it a charge upon this burdened and suffering people: we complain, that within the last thirty years, 1,600,000*l.* have been paid out of the taxes for, as was alleged, "the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England," while the bishops of that church have revenues from ten to forty thousand pounds a year, while the Deans and Chapters have wealth enormous, while there are numbers of the aristocratical clergy who have two, three, or more benefices each, and while, to cite an instance, the Earl of Guilford has, at this time, the great living of St. Mary, Southampton, including the adjoining parish of South Stoneham, the livings of Old Alresford, of New Alresford, and of Medstead, a Prebend at Winchester, and the Mastership of St. Cross: we complain, that the revenues of the church are thus distributed, that there are "poor clergy" in this rich and luxurious church; but we more especially complain, that we are taxed for the relief of those who are made poor by this scandalous grasping of the church-revenues by the aristocracy: we complain, not only of the weight of the taxes arising from the afore-mentioned causes, but of their partial imposition, falling as they do, like feathers on the aristocracy, and like lead on the middle and working class: we complain, that the taxes on the malt, the sugar, the tea, or the spirits, amount on either of these articles, to more than the tax on all the lands in the kingdom: we complain, that while foreign wine pays a duty of fifty per cent. on its value, foreign spirits pay four hundred per

cent.: we complain, *that while the goods, which are the result of our labour or skill, pay a heavy auction-tax, the timber, underwood, and other produce of land, sold on the land, pay no such tax: we complain, that, of the more than two millions a year raised by the tax on letters received by the post, the aristocracy pay not one single farthing: we complain (leaving out a hundred other instances), that in the case of probates of wills and administrations, no tax at all is paid by the land, while a heavy tax is imposed on personal property, and thus, while the middle class has to sustain this cruel tax, not a farthing of it falls upon the owners of the land: we complain, that, as if all these were not enough, a Corn Bill has been passed, and has been in force for fifteen years, giving the aristocracy a monopoly of that necessary of life, shutting out food while it was asserted by those who made the law, that there were too many mouths, compelling manufacturers to buy their bread dear and to sell their goods and labour cheap, sacrificing all the rest of the community to the greediness of the owners of the land: we complain, that the game-laws, always unjust in principle, always at war with the rights of nature and the dictates of reason, have, within the last fifteen years, become tenfold more cruel than formerly, for that to pecuniary penalties, or short imprisonment, for an infraction of those laws, are now added long imprisonment, corporal punishment, and transportation beyond the seas for seven years, and these too at the sole discretion of the justices of the peace, appointed by and dismissable at the pleasure of the Ministers of the day: we complain, that the new law of trespass has empowered the justices to imprison poor men and to cause them to be corporally punished without any trial, while the great trespasser is left under the protection of the ancient law: we complain, that the working people having been, by the weight of the taxes on the necessities of life, reduced to a state of pauperism, laws were next made to prevent them from obtaining parochial relief as heretofore: we com-

plain, that, within these twelve years, two acts have been passed, one to throw the power of vestries into the hands of all the landowners, and another to enable those landowners to set at defiance even the power of the magistrates to cause relief to be given: we complain, that, in consequence of these taxes, this monopoly in corn, and the severities on the working people, of which we have here given merely a specimen, the working people of England, once the best fed, best clad, and most moral in the world, have become the most miserable and degraded to be found on the face of the earth, those of unhappy Ireland only excepted: we complain, that the landowners compel them to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden, that they keep men forcibly from their wives for a purpose too gross to mention, that others forbid them to marry upon pain of being left to beg or starve, and that others sell them by the week or month by public auction: we complain that the House of Commons, though fully apprised of all this suffering, though they have, in evidence given before their committees, proof upon proof of the wretchedness of the people, though they have in evidence, that the honest working man is fed worse than the convicted felons in the jails and the hulks, though it has been proved to them that the working people commit crimes for the express purpose of getting at the better fare in the prisons; though they have been fully informed upon all these points, though they must be acquainted with the notorious facts, that the working people have, in many instances, resorted to the food of hogs and dogs, and have in many others been actually starved to death, they have adopted no measure for their relief, but measures innumerable for their punishment, closing, at last, with a bill to authorise the keepers of poor-houses and hospitals to sell their dead bodies for dissection, and thus, in this signal respect, putting the honest, worn-out or unfortunate man upon a level with the murderer.

That to our gracious and just and merciful King we complain, as of the real cause of all these oppressions and suffer-

ings, that we are not represented in that which is called, and ought to be, the Commons' or people's House of Parliament: we complained, that though it had been stated to that House in 1793, without an attempt at contradiction, that one hundred and fifty-four peers and great commoners and the treasury put a decided majority into the House, and though, in 1809, the House had proof tendered (which it would not receive) that two of the Ministers had actually sold a seat in the House, yet when, in 1817, we petitioned for such a reform as would put an end to these odious practices, that House, instead of listening to our humble prayers, passed a law which enabled the Ministers to put us into dungeons at their pleasure, deprived of the sight of friends and of the use of pen, ink, and paper, which law was carried into effect with unheard-of severity and cruelty: we complain, that, in 1819, a body of persons, peaceably met at Manchester for the purpose of petitioning the parliament to adopt a reform of the Commons' House, were attacked by soldiers, and, to the amount of some hundreds, either killed, crippled or wounded: we complain, that the soldiers were by Lord Viscount Sidmouth thanked, in his late Majesty's name, for their conduct on that sanguinary day: we complain, that the House of Commons refused all inquiry into that memorable and horrible transaction, but that it, in that same session, passed six distinct acts, each of which further and greatly abridged our rights and liberties, and particularly two of them, by which the liberty of the press was, in effect, as far as related to the working people, nearly extinguished, but above all things, we humbly beseech your Majesty to remark, that that House, with the records of 1793, 1809, and 1819, before it, passed a law inflicting fine, imprisonment, and even banishment, on any man or woman who should write, print, or publish any thing having even a tendency to bring it into contempt.

Thus, may it please your Majesty, we have, in all humility and dutifulness,

submitted to your wisdom and justice a statement of a part of our manifold grievances and sufferings: we have, in the sincerity of our hearts, expressed to you our firm conviction, that all these have arisen from our not being represented in parliament; and as the means of restoring us to liberty and happiness, as the means of uniting all hearts in preserving the peace of our country and upholding the dignity and true splendour of your Majesty's crown, we humbly but earnestly pray, that of those great powers with which your Majesty is invested for the good of your faithful people, you will be graciously pleased to make such use as shall produce a reform in the Commons' House, ensuring to all adult males, not insane and not tarnished by indelible crime, a voice, given by ballot, in the choosing of representatives, and as shall shorten the duration of Parliaments.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

TO

DANIEL STUART,

Proprietor, or late Proprietor, of the Courier, and recently High Sheriff for the County of Oxford.

Kensington, 15th Sept., 1830.

DAN,

WHEN I first heard of you, you were a *tailor's trotter*; next you became, with your brother-in-law Mackintosh (Sir Jammy), a *flaming patriot*; next the editor of a *ministerial paper*, in which capacity you advocated the war against France, called, in 1815, for the stripping Paris of the museums, for making France pay a tribute, for taking from her her frontier towns, and for inflicting vengeance on the people of France; in 1817 I saw you the foremost to call for the gagging and dungeon bills; in 1819 I saw you defending the slaughter of the people at Manchester; in 1820 I saw you calling for the punishment of the Queen, guilty, or innocent; and now I find you *praising the French ministry and Talleyrand*,

that Talleyrand who, in 1803, *accused our Government of having plotted the murder of the Emperor Paul!*

Well, right worthy High Sheriff and Justice of the Peace of Oxfordshire, while your fellow-labourer, JOHN WALTER, of Bear Wood, who so *be-called* you in 1820, is in the same office in BERKSHIRE: well, Dan, what I have now to do with you is to remark on an article in your paper of yesterday, on the *revolution in Brunswick and Leipsic*, which article I shall take a bit at a time.

Our readers will perceive by our extracts from Private Letters and papers that the *misruled people of Brunswick* have risen upon their Sovereign, and that he has been compelled to fly from his dominions. There is nothing in this to astonish us, for the conduct of the Duke had for some time been such as *none but the most patient people on earth could have endured*. The revolt has, however, been attended with some excesses which appear to have been completely wanton; but it is thus in all countries where *there is no medium authority* between the Sovereign and the people, when the latter, rendered desperate by oppression, cease to acknowledge a ruler to whom they had long and patiently submitted. In Absolute Monarchies there are but two ways of keeping the people in subjection; the one is to inspire an affection for the person of the Monarch by kind treatment and a constant solicitude for their happiness; the other to command respect and fear by the display of superior courage and abilities. In the former, the people accustomed to regard their Monarch as a father, are content to recognise an authority which, although absolute, scarcely wounds their pride without affecting their happiness; in the latter, the mass are either kept down by the awe which superior talents, or great personal courage, always inspire, or are willing to be satisfied with the *honour* which a society may be disposed to feel in the *possession of a great leader*. The Duke of BRUNSWICK, however, neither commanded respect nor inspired affection; and the only wonder is, that he should have been so long able to remain at the head of a people, who had cause neither to fear nor love him. The riots at Leipsic, an account of which is also given, are of a most important character, from the rank of the Sovereign against whom the popular feeling has been pronounced; but whatever regret the state of society in Saxony may cause, it is entirely *unmixed with surprise*; for it was not to have been expected that a people differing in religion from that of their Sovereign, and regarding with dislike the *increasing influence of a priesthood obnoxious to them* from their earliest associations, should have availed themselves of the first

excuse for giving vent to *long suppressed indignation*.

What, is the Duke of Brunswick such a tyrant, Dan? How came you never to tell us of this before? It seems that the people burnt his palace, and that he *escaped in disguise*; and, what is worse, that *his soldiers would not fire on the people!* It is said, too, that people threatened, that, if the soldiers *did fire*, they would *kill their wives and children!* Ah, Dan! If the wives of the soldiers had been *drunken devils*, Dan! then, I dare say, the soldiers would not have cared much about it. Be this as it may, the soldiers *refused to fire on the people*, and all soldiers on the continent, except the *infamous Swiss and infamous Bourbon Aristocratical Guards*, have done the same. Dan, what do you mean by "*no medium authority?*" We, *happy we*, are blessed with this "*medium authority*," I suppose? The 154 peers and great commoners, who return a majority of the Commons, or People's House, are a nice *medium*, aren't they, Dan? Very nice, to be sure; but not nice enough to cheat the people of England any longer. "*People will be satisfied with the honour of possessing a great leader.*" Yes, Dan, so they will, if they be fools as well as cowards. But *why* this remark? Oh! because *we*, thrice *lucky we*, have got "*a great leader!*" Put him in the scale, Dan, against ten-pennyworth of halfpence, and see which is worth most in the eyes of the people. What a driveller you must have become, to hope to humbug us in this way! So it was not at all surprising that the Saxons should rebel, if we look at the "*increasing influence of an obnoxious priesthood.*" And do you know of *no other people* who have to submit to the "*increasing influence of an obnoxious priesthood?*" I do, Dan; aye, and a priesthood, too, a thousand times more hated, and justly hated, than those of Saxony can be; and, moreover, Dan, I know this people will not be long before they give open vent to their *long-suppressed indignation*," against this all-grasping and cruel priesthood.

Whilst, however, we are willing to palliate

to a certain extent, the conduct of persons capable of appreciating their wrongs, or the unjust subjection which has been so long imposed upon them, we cannot but regard with *dismay* the *excesses* of a portion of that people, who do not understand the value of liberal institutions, and who appear to have no other object than the destruction of property, and the removal by brute force of those distinctions of society which their rulers have unwisely attempted to maintain, not by the influence of good example, and the effect of good government, but by an organization of *physical force*, which can only be permanently efficient when its object is to support *laws and institutions, conceived in reason and justice for the welfare of every class of society*. It has long been an argument with the enemies of Constitutional Government, that liberty in certain nations of Europe is so imperfectly understood, that an attempt to introduce free institutions would be attended with difficulty and danger. We are quite willing to allow, that to a certain extent, the observation is true, and if the nations of the Continent were composed only of a large mass of ignorant minds, with an enlightened portion too small in number to render the necessity of change apparent, we should say that nothing could be more injudicious, nothing more injurious, than to attempt to disturb a system which, although contrary to reason, and opposed to the general rights of mankind, had existed for so many centuries. But surely the most prejudiced man will admit that, in every part of the Continent, during the last thirty years, there has been such a progress in education, and such an increase of number in the reflecting and better classes, that governments ought to have seen the necessity of adapting institutions gradually to the improved intellectual condition of the people. If this had been done in time, the riots and excesses which have lately taken place, would have been prevented, for, although the conduct of the lower orders has been such as to induce the respectable citizens to take arms against them, it is probable that they never would have risen at all if they had not for some time past observed in those citizens symptoms of dissatisfaction, upon which they speculated for successful resistance to the Sovereign authority.

Oh! you regard the "people's excesses with *dismay*," do you, Dan? You did not, I suppose, regard the "excesses" of their tyrants with *dismay*; at least, you never told us that you did? You never found any fault with the rulers till they were beaten by the people; you defended Charles X. till the foolish tyrant was compelled to run away. The people only put down tyranny; that is all, and what excesses are there in that? "Physical force

(alias *military*) can be permanently efficient, when its object is to support laws conceived in reason and justice for the welfare of every class of society." What a fool you are, Dan! For, if the laws be wise, just, and for the good of all the people, what need can there be of *military force to support them*? Ah! we, fortunate we, have a *military force* that costs ten millions a year! And so it was necessary, you know, Mr. High Sheriff, to give it to be understood that the very best laws in the world required a *military force to support them*! That force, however, Dan, is not *what it was*, and you are quaking down to your toe-nails at the thought of the change. You are "quite willing to allow (that's gracious, at any rate) that, within the last thirty years, knowledge has so increased on the continent (not here: oh, no!) that the Government ought to have made a change gradually in their institutions accordingly." Only on the continent, Dan? I know some islands where it has long been more wanted than in Belgium, Hamburg, Brunswick, Saxony, or even in France, tyrants as the Bourbons were. But, O fie! We must not talk of abuses in islands! We must not talk of any change wanted in them. We must look upon revolutions on the continent as having as little to do with us as those which take place amongst the ants and the spiders! Poh! Dan; you deceive nobody: the parsons and the boroughmonger tribes, who read your paper, pray that you may deceive the people; but, like Satan, they pray in vain. And who do you mean by lower orders, Dan? If you do not mean the pensioned and sinecure and loan-mongering and borough-mongering and tax-eating tribe, but mean the working people, the proper answer for you is a blow on the mouth with a good hard fist, sending your teeth down your throat. Of all the insolence that the people of England have endured, that which they have received from you ought not to be forgotten. "The respectable citizens take arms against the lower orders." Ah! Dan, tell your mortified and malignant

heart, and tell those of base borough-mongers, to place no hopes here: tell them not to hope to wheedle shopkeepers to cut the throats of artizans, and farmers those of labourers, for fear these latter should relieve them from paying away half their incomes in taxes to feed the aristocracy and their swarms! Tell them, Dan, and tell yourself, that there are *ten* working men to *one* shopkeeper or farmer. Tell them this, Dan, and their hopes of getting "*respectables*" to cut the throats of the "*lower orders*" will vanish. No, Dan, nothing but *Swiss*, infamous *Swiss*, nothing but rascals who sell their bodies, blood, bones, and skin, at so much a pound will do now, and they will only become carrion by the attempt. Oh, no, Dan, you will not see the shopkeepers and farmers, out of pure love for Gattou and Old Sarum, attempt to cut the working people's throats; and if there were to be some base scoundrels attempt it, their own would be cut to a certainty.

We see nothing to prevent the adoption of a more liberal policy by other States, and we would warn their rulers against a belief that they can govern despotically with more ease than with the aid of free institutions; they may not be able at once to introduce a liberal system like that to which England owes at this moment all her tranquillity, for in order to imitate us in our laws and institutions, the people must be brought gradually to understand them, and in the course of time the reciprocal influence of intellect in creating laws, and the effect of good laws in advancing intellect, would be strongly developed. In the mean time we should say put these riots down, for they cannot be suffered to continue without the chance of inflicting a thousand times greater injury than any possible benefit could arise; but in putting them down let there be an earnest and a sincere intention to commence the work of reform, not that reform which wild enthusiasts would have, but the reform which reason and humanity dictate to the conscience of every educated man, and to which no man filling an office of State ought to be insensible. In this way there will be no more contests between kings and their subjects; and if society cannot become so perfect as the visionaries of this country suppose possible, it will at least be so improved as to increase the security of the upper, and promote the happiness of the middling and lower orders.

Oh, oh! Here we come to the drift of the whole palinodie! Here we come home, Dan! You "see nothing to pre-

vent the adoption of a more liberal policy in other states." That's generous, now, old tailor's trotter. And you "would warn their rulers against believing that they can rule despotically with more ease than otherwise"! Well said, Dan, and boldly said too! Oh, no: you are right, Dan; "they cannot, all at once, nor at twice neither, adopt a liberal system like that to which England owes, at this moment, all her tranquillity"; and for this reason, Dan, that the people will not let them! They *abhor the English system!* Spain, Portugal, Sicily, have expressly rejected it, and the *French have now shed their blood like water, in order to protect their fine country against this very system:* yes, Dan, and one of the specific charges of the French against their tyrant was, that he aimed at inflicting on them *le fleau des bourgs pourris,*" or, *the scourge of rotten boroughs:* yes, Dan, the French have shed their blood, rather than submit to this hell-born source of oppression; and *this every working man in England knows well;* every one of them feels it; and mad, indeed, is the wretch who has the impudence to think, that the scourge will long be submitted to here. "They cannot imitate us, because it is a work "that must be accomplished *gradually.*" Very true, Dan; it must be done gradually, just as we have been made free. Ours has all been *gradual work:* first the tax on a bushel of malt was sixpence, next, a shilling, next eighteenpence, next two shillings, and now two and sixpence. First, the tax on a newspaper was a halfpenny, next it was a penny, and now it is fourpence. First, the use of juries was abolished as far as related to mere matters of police; men can now be heavily fined, imprisoned for three months, whipped and even transported, without trial by jury. At first, the standing army consisted of a few companies of guards, living amongst the people. Now we have a standing army of a hundred thousand men, kept up in barracks and inland fortresses." So that the work has been very *gradual;* and the tyrants of the continent have not

time for such gradual work. "You are, therefore, perfectly right, Dan; to which I add, God Almighty in his mercy forbid that they should!"—"In the *mean time*, we should say, put these riots down." Aye, Dan; but how: it is easy to say put them down; but the saying is like the decree of the mice in council. They cannot put them down without soldiers, and their soldiers will not fight the people; ah! Dan, I know what you mean here: you mean to say, that the people in England may bestir themselves, and that then *they must be put down*! You are kind enough to say, indeed, that they shall have the reform *after* they be put down; and that is very liberal on your part Dan. But, now for this REFORM. To prepare us for this the whole of this long article was written by some poor scrubby, empty-skulled thing in office, who has fathered the thing upon you. You recommend a reform, "not that "reform which *wild enthusiasts* would "have, but the reform which reason "and humanity dictate to the conscience of every *educated* man." Ah! Dan, sad indeed will be the lot of the boroughmongers if they proceed upon your suggestion. Their *education* will stand them in little stead against the united will of the people. The "visionaries" will see their wishes accomplished, Dan. You are mistaken, too, in supposing that the contest is between the king and his subjects. The people like the king and grudge him nothing that he has. The contest is between the people and the rapacious and savage boroughmongers. That is the contest, Dan; and the later it comes to a result the worse it will be for the boroughmongers. In the year 1793, a famous old boroughmonger said to Mr. JOHN NICHOLLS, who was then a member of Parliament: "If we suffer "this revolution to succeed in France, "our order must be overset in this "country. We will therefore try to "prevent its success. Our *trial* may "fail, but if we do not try we *must* be "overthrown." If *they* do not try now, they will to a certainty lose their boroughs, and some other things; but if

they *do try*, they will not only lose their boroughs; but will be stripped as naked as so many rats not half an hour old; and let them take this as a warning! And now farewell, Dan. We can all see that the Duke means to anticipate his opponents by proposing a reform; but we all believe that both parties will join together in attempting to make a reform that shall not come into operation for a good while; and that, when it does come into operation, shall do us no good. Mr. Tennyson, who prosecuted the two poor fellows that were hanged at Oxford; or rather, who pleaded against them; that Tennyson who brought in the last bill that was passed to change the law in such manner as to give the landlords a harder grasp upon the property of their tenants; that Tennyson has addressed a letter to the reformers of Birmingham, advising them to be very *moderate in their demands*, and very *modest* in their manner of making them; advice which the Attwoods and other associates of Burdett are very likely to follow, but which *the people* of Birmingham will reject with scorn. If the plan, as it is called, of Lord JOHN RUSSELL were attempted to be carried into effect; that is to say, the giving of two members to Birmingham, with suffrage to renters of ten or twenty pounds a year;

If this nice little plan,
Of the nice little man,

were attempted, not a single voter would come alive from the hustings. The indignation of the people at seeing the monstrous injustice practised under their eyes, would drive them to rage which nothing could restrain. In such a place, too, where every shop is an arsenal, and where even the very tools that men work with are weapons of destruction. The first words of the *Æneid*, "*Arms and the man*," is the motto of Warwickshire. The men are some of the hardest and the bravest in the kingdom; and it is presumption, indeed, in this Tennyson to believe, that he can wheedle them into an abandonment of their rights. These good fellows of Birmingham I beg leave to remind, that

at the dinner which the mongrel aristocrats gave to Burdett, the following was one of the toasts: "The electors of *Westminster*, and may their bright *example* be followed by all the electors in the kingdom." Amen, say I to that: I drink the toast in milk every day of my life; for the electors of Westminster have pelted from the hustings of Covent-garden that Burdett and that Hobhouse who have yet the nudacity to call themselves the representatives of that city.

TO LORD WILTON.

MY LORD,

I HAVE just read, in a report of your speech at Manchester, your charge of *ingratitude* against the people of England, who, you say, wish to make *victims of the aristocracy*! This puts me in mind of the charge of cruelty that the wolves brought against the sheep. I will, in a letter addressed to you, defend the people in the next number of *Two-penny Trash*, which will appear on the 1st of October.

WM. COBBETT:

ADDRESSES TO THE PARISIANS.

THREE young men (that's the stuff!) went off to Paris, last Friday, with an address from the fine and public-spirited town of NOTTINGHAM. To the great honour of that town, the address was signed BY THE MAYOR, as Mayor; which is so contrary to the conduct of the other Mayors, and especially he of London, the old *doer* of that base paper, the PUBLIC LEDGER. This thing thought, I suppose, that *its example* would deter other public authorities, especially when backed by Alderman Shaw! WHY do these people dislike the French Revolution? I will tell another time. They have *excellent reasons*. The town of LEWES has also sent off a deputation for the same purpose. That of Nottingham carries 200*l.*, chiefly subscribed in very small sums. The amount from Lewes I do not exactly know. They have met at NEWCASTLE, I see, for the same purpose. All in good

time: let us keep on steadily, and we shall defeat the *intriguers* in France and their friends, the *boroughmongers*, too. I shall be glad to see any gentleman going to France on business of this sort. I can give them information and also letters.

MR. O'CONNELL,

IN a letter addressed to the Prince of Waterloo, has declared his resolution to prevent the House of Commons from sitting to an hour later than that of *nine at night*! This he has completely in his power; and if he adhere to his word, which I trust he will, he will in that thing alone do unspeakable good. I have always been complaining of this *owl-light legislation*; it is one of the disgraces of the country; but when the House is *reformed*, as *it will be soon*, this matter, amongst others, will be put to rights.

ELECTION FOR CORONER.

THIS is become a contest for *political principle* in Middlesex. Notwithstanding a base juggle to defeat Mr. WALKLEY, he, to all appearance, will triumph. He is gaining on his opponent; but those who have votes should remember that they cannot do their *duty* by remaining *at home*. Let them go and poll *directly*, and thus put an end to the contest.

FARMING STOCK.

My Farming Stock, at Barn-Elm Farm, will be sold by auction, on the premises, on Monday, the 27th of this month of September. The stock may be viewed, and catalogues had, two days before, at Mr. Gomme's, auctioneer, Hammersmith, at the farm-house, or at my shop in Fleet-street.

Were published, on the 1st inst.,

• COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN, No. 14; being the last number of the work. Price 6*d.*

N. B. Odd Numbers may be had to *complete sets*; and *complete sets* may be had at No. 183, Fleet Street, and of all booksellers.

COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH, for Working People; for the month of August. Price 2d.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF GEORGE IV. No. 1. Price 8d.; to be *continued monthly*.

N. B. This History will be comprised in about ten numbers. The Second No. of the History of George the Fourth will be published on the 1st of October.

New editions of Cobbett's English and French Grammars, Cottage Economy, Year's Residence in America, Emigrant's Guide, &c., &c.

COBBETT'S LECTURES.

I SHALL lecture again at the ROTUNDA on NEXT MONDAY NIGHT, at 8 o'clock; and then I must, *I think*, take leave of my audience for the present; for I want to visit my friends in *Kent* and *Sussex*, before the Parliament meet.

PRESS-MEN.

I HAVE just seen the *statement of the letter-press-printers against the use of machinery*. Their case is very hard; something should be done to relieve them: they have a fair claim to this; and I shall be very ready to see their committee, and to render them any aid that may be within my power.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

THE LAW OF TURNPIKES; or, an Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Commentaries on, all the General Acts, relative to Turnpike Roads. By WILLIAM COBBETT, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,
A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree; and *all* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into the matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of MALTHUS. A small Volume. Price 1s.

CORONER.

FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX!

You have gained another splendid triumph, as appears from the state of this day's poll. Public principle and public justice having produced for Mr. WAKLEY 296 votes, while the workings and manœuvres of private jobbing, misrepresentation and intrigue, have extorted only 251 votes. Mr. WAKLEY's Committee therefore are justified in declaring, that the present contest must terminate in a glorious victory for the cause of independence, humanity, and truth. Hasten to the Poll, then, and by your suffrages in favour of Mr. WAKLEY, show that iniquitous combinations are not to succeed in Middlesex.

JOHN WALLIS, Chairman.

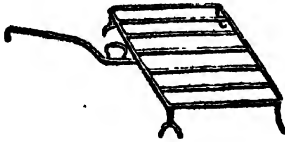
*Crown and Anchor, Strand,
Sept. 16th.*

The Poll opens at Nine and closes at Four o'clock, and will FINALLY CLOSE on Monday next. The friends of Mr. WAKLEY are particularly requested to see that their votes are properly entered on the Poll Books.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 183, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 70.—No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25TH, 1830. [Price 7d.]

REMOVAL
OF THE REGISTER OFFICE.

THE office of the Register and my shop, are now at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street. It is curious that I am now in the very house in which Old Dread-Devil, Dr. Johnson, lived and wrote so many years! I have been a long while wanting to get it, on account of the cleanness, neatness, and stillness of the court, and the nearness of the house to the printing-office; but until three days ago, I was not at all aware, that the melancholy moralist ever lived in it. There is a neat Coffee-House in the court, called "*The Dr. JOHNSON*;" and though I cannot forgive the Doctor for having given, in his own person, an example to illustrate the definition in his Dictionary, where, against the word "*PENSIONER*," he puts "*a slave of state*;" though I cannot forgive him for this, to see, as I do, from my window, his name put over a coffee-room, with a view to attract custom to it, is very pleasing: his name, thus used, is a mark of respect for his great mental endowments and vast literary labours, while his statue in St. Paul's is only a memorial of his having been "*a slave of state*," which he was, and to such a degree, that he wrote a pamphlet to justify the war against America, though that war was for the purpose of compelling the people of that country to pay taxes without being represented, of which taxes he was an *EXETER*. Correspondents will be pleased to direct to me, at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, instead of No. 183, Fleet-street.

WHIG-MANIFESTO,
AGAINST
THE PRINCE OF WATERLOO.

TO THE REFORMERS.

Bolt-court, Fleet-street, No. 11, 22d Sep., 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

IN the EDINBURGH REVIEW, published in July last, there is a regular *Manifesto* against the Prince of Waterloo, whom we call the Duke of Wellington, and whom we will now so call, because these unmannerly Scotchmen have so called him in the extract that I am about to make from this book, the object of which manifestly is to put him out of his place, and his creatures out of their emoluments, and to put some one into his place, who will give those emoluments to them, instead of their being given to the present swarm. This *Review*, as it is called, was originally established for place-hunting purposes. It was a battery erected by HORNER, by BROUGHAM, by JEFFREY, and a whole band, to play upon the men in high office, in such a way as to make a breach, through which they might get into the paradise of Parliament and place, enclosed by the rampart of power. HORNER (now dead) and BROUGHAM soon got into Parliament. There he has been snug, ever since, and always for what is called a rotten borough. He has now got a brother in for the same sort of place; and though he is in for what is called the county of York, he is, in fact, no more the representative of the people of that fine county than he is of the people of China. He was, by consent, express consent, of the aristocracy, voted into the seat by about 2,000 men, and the county contains 300,000 men above twenty-one years of age! JEFFREY has a place, being what is called *Dean of Faculty*. Many others have got *pickings*; but they want more. "*Grud*" is their

great characteristic, and they are now making a grand push for its gratification.

This crew, from their outset, fixed their eyes upon the *Whig Borough-mongers*, as being most likely to favour their views. They have, therefore, always been "*WHIGS*." They started in 1805, just when Pitt had returned to power, bowed down by the shameful transactions of Melville and himself, which had been brought to light by the vengeful feelings of the Addingtons. The Pitt faction was tarnished and weak; the receipts of the Exchequer were then quite enormous, and this Scotch crew stood, like raw-boned dogs, moving their jaws, and their mouths watering at the sight. Now and then one of them came up to take a survey of the thing: his report of what he had seen sharpened the appetites of the pack of gaunt expectants, and the HOWL from the North was as loud and terrific to us of the South, as that of the wolves, when, in time of snow, they come pouring down from the Alps or the Pyrennees upon the devoted fleecy inhabitants of the fields and the folds in the valleys! Good God! I never shall forget it! I, as the pages of the Register will show, raised my feeble voice against the threatened ferocious invasion; but, alas! what was my single voice! The great body of the people seemed as if spell-bound, staring at each other, and, instead of preparing for resistance, waiting patiently, each hoping, apparently, that he should be devoured last! To the surprise of every-body, Pitt *rallied*: the dread of being devoured by this Northern crew made even cold friends zealous in his support; but, poor fellow, amidst the worryings of 1803 and 1804, he had, they said, taken to the fatal practice of Mrs. Boniface. At any rate, in January 1806, he DIED! Dreadful day for us in the South! The death was sudden, and sudden were the consequences! By every coach came a load of place-hunters from the North. But, coaches! What were coaches! Berwick smack after Berwick smack came hastening round into the Thames. Luckily, steam-navigation had not then been discover-

ed; for, even without that, the swarms about Whitehall and Downing-street; the crowds of gaunt and impudent fellows, strutting about, with red hair, freckled skins and high cheek-bones, were truly frightful; and though the coalesced *Whigs* and *Grenvilles* and *Addingtons* (amongst which latter was the elder *Hobhouse*) were ousted at the end of about *fourteen months*, the Scotch place-hunters had nestled themselves in, in such great numbers, and had taken such fast hold, that they have held the greater part of the immense emoluments ever since. The *Irish* are now *sharing* with them; and the article, on which I am about to comment, is intended principally to get *the whole* into their hands by partly *coaxing* and partly *terrifying* *PEEL* to abandon the *Duke*, and to join the *WHIGS*! Now, mark, my friends: the object of the *WOLVES* (Scotch place-hunters) is to get *ALL* the emoluments into their hands; the *Whig borough-mongers* are their tools; and they think, that if they can bring over *PEEL*, who, bad as he is, is the *Duke's* best *talker*, they shall oust the *Duke*, and be able to fall upon us, their defenceless prey! I know you will say: "Why! do the wolves think that the *people* have nothing to say in this matter! Do they really think that things are going to remain in this state!" They do: their eagerness to *get at our property* blinds them to every-thing but that: like their namesakes, which, when they come howling down from the snow-covered mountains, forget all about the *watchful dogs* and *armed shepherds*! They will now find England *not what it was in 1806*: but I shall have to speak of that by and by. In the meanwhile, please to keep in view the *object* of the *Wolves* as I have described it above.

This "*Review*" is, indeed, no such thing: it is a periodical set of essays, the object of which is to get *public money* into the pockets of the writers. The article in question is called a *review* of a pamphlet, called "*The country without a government*:" that is to say, a thing *written by the same faction* and for the same purpose. Only one little extract is made from this pamph-

let, and that merely as an *excuse*. The WOLF-ARTICLE begins by giving a short history of the origin and progress of the DUKE'S MINISTRY, in which the *character and conduct* of the King are spoken of in very bitter terms, because he would have nothing to do with the Whigs. Amongst other acts, for which the Wolves censure the late king, is the *persecution of his Queen*, an act, which they say, did more injury to the House of Brunswick than any thing that ever happened to it before. They call the treatment of the Queen *scandalous*, and a "*deep stain*" on the reign of George IV. Now, my friends, mark; the *second Number* of my history of George IV., which will be published on the 1st of October, that is to say, *next Friday* I pledge myself to prove, that the Whigs began the *persecution of the poor Queen*; that it was *they* who hatched the *foul plot against even her life*. I pledge myself, not to *assert* this, but to *prove* it as clearly as is daylight to our eyes. They call the Duke the *flatterer* of George IV. I shall show what base flatterers of him they were; and they spared nothing in order to destroy the Queen for the purpose of ensuring the duration of their own power and emolument.

So much for the conduct of the Whigs as to the Queen; and now for their conduct towards the *Catholics*. The Wolf-Reviewers know, that most well-informed people, and indeed that a great majority of the nation, applaud the Duke for adopting and carrying through the measure, called "*Catholic Emancipation*;" and therefore they give the *credit* of this measure to the Whigs! One would have thought, that even these "*ravening wolves*," half-mad to get at their fat prey, would not have had the folly and impudence to ascribe this measure to the *Whigs*. As far as *credit* is due to any-body, it is due to my History of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, and to the exertions of Mr. O'CONNELL. The former had prepared the minds of the people of England for the measure, and the latter had made it really dangerous to refuse it any longer. The Duke had *no choice* but one; the

measure, or civil war in Ireland; and he very wisely chose the latter. As to the Whigs, the perfidious Whigs, what share of the *merit* had they? The *second Number* of my History of George IV. will *prove* that they abandoned the Catholics in the most base manner *when they were in power*; that they *ordered* George III. *to give up the Catholics*, if *he would let them keep their places*; and what did they do in 1829? They *voted for the Catholic Bill*! Could they have done *otherwise* without being knocked on the head with paving stones? Aye, but they *did* more; they voted also for the bill to *disfranchise the 40s. freeholders*! Yes, perfidious faction, and so they did! I know they did, and for having done which public execration ought to cling to their name for ever and ever. What the *Wolf-Reviewers* say upon this point is so infamously false and audacious, that I must take their very words: "The opposition might well for themselves have resisted the *disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders*: it would have raised their popularity; it would have destroyed the Duke's administration; but, it would have endangered the Catholic Question; and they nobly disinclined to purchase party triumph at such a price. Their conduct, therefore, (in supporting the *disfranchisement bill*,) was so disinterested as to be almost romantic." When we are speaking of any base act, and remember the Whigs, it is presumptuous indeed to say, that we have got hold of the *basest act* ever committed by man; but, if I could forget their acts, I should say, that the writing and publishing of this passage is that *basest act*. For, besides the hypocritical verily, to pretend, that the Catholics gained something by the *disfranchisement*; besides the profligacy of justifying the stripping of 300,000 Catholics of their rights as freemen, as the terms in which about fifty Catholics were to be restored to their privileges; besides this, there is the impudent falsehood, that the Whigs voted for the *disfranchisement against their wish*; that the *disfranchisement project was the Duke's*, and that he supported it from pure pub-

lie spirit! What! when we have it in print, *under the hand of Mr. LAWLESS*, one of the Irish Deputies of 1825, that the first thought of the thing came from the Whigs; that BURDETT was *three whole days endeavouring to prevail on the deputies to agree to the project*; that *a bill for the disfranchisement was, in the House of Commons, proposed by the Whigs in 1825*; that the ministers, of whom the Duke was one, *opposed the bill*; that they expressly said, that men who were unworthy to be entrusted with a vote at elections, were *unworthy of emancipation*; and that, *therefore*, they opposed emancipation! What! in the face of all these *notorious facts*, do these wolf-like place-hunters dare tell the public, that the disfranchisement project *was the Duke's*; and that they, by opposing it, might turn him out; and that they, in supporting him in it, showed magnanimity and disinterestedness *almost romantic*!

After this, is it worth while to say any thing more about these Wolves? It may not; but I must go on, now that I have begun. I now, therefore, come to their regular MANIFESTO against the Duke. They charge him with being *unfit for his office*; they say that he has only PEELE to prop him; that if PEELE quit him, he must go out or let them in *for a share*; they *wheel* Peel to leave him, and to *join them*; they *menace* him if he adhere to the Duke; they make a grand display of the *party* that they shall have; and they confidently anticipate the Duke's overthrow. However, nothing can do the Wolves justice but taking *their own words*. These, therefore, I shall take. The extract is *long*; but you will by and by, when they and their faction shall have been defeated, find it convenient to *refer to*. You will see how their projects will be blasted; how they will be cut down; what foul tricks they will attempt to play the people; and how they will be execrated, kicked, and cuffed from one end of the country to the other. Read *the whole* of the article; with *patience* if you can; but *read it*; for, unless you read the whole, you cannot understand

the commentary which I shall have to subjoin.

Never, accordingly, was there such a session of Parliament. On every question it was doubtful which way the majority would decide. On no question was there any doubt that the whole force of the debate would be found against the Government. The Ministry had Sir R. Peel, and him alone, to speak a word for them. He is a man of respectable talents, but far, very far certainly, from being a first-rate man. His character is highly estimable; his official habits and his industry are exceedingly valuable; and he would be a great accession to any Ministry. In easy and tranquil times he might even play the first part, and state the case for the Government, or defend its little peccadilloes, or meet its ordinary opponents, and give to those who wanted to vote with it plausible reasons for supporting its measures. But for the stormy times we live in; for questions involving the fate of cabinets, and even of dynasties; for the real tug of war, and to meet such antagonists as he sees ranged against him; it must be admitted that he is wholly unfit. Were he far more capable than he is, no man standing quite alone in his situation, and in the present position of parties and of affairs, can possibly conduct the business of the country in the Commons' House of Parliament. And yet the utmost forbearance was shown towards him throughout the session. No one ever made a personal attack upon him; his arguments were answered, and his errors exposed, with the reluctance and the tenderness of the most friendly disposition. Even when the trenches were opened against the Government at large, he was always made an exception; and the blows that fell thick and heavy elsewhere, were never aimed at him. He has tried to lead the Commons, and has failed, in circumstances which would have defied the powers of any single man. But he has not yet made the attempt, in the circumstances that await him, should parties remain next session marshalled as they are now. He has no real hostility to contend with; he has only been matched with half-friends, or with most reluctant adversaries; he has never, any one night, felt the "power of an adversary" whom he had not a fair chance of defeating. The following passage of the pamphlet before us, presents the very different scene which now awaits him, should he prefer a blind obedience to his military chief, before every thing that is due, in common prudence, to his own character and station. "No more courtesy; no more displays of superiority without mischief; no more exhibitions of skill in showing men their weakness, without doing them any harm; no more shaking them good-humouredly over the precipice, and then setting them down on its edge; no more taking them up by the nape of the neck, or holding them on the palm of the hand, and patting them on the head, as the Brobdingnag king did Gridrig.

The time for action is come; the buttons are dashed away from the foils; the guns ... shouted to their lips; they are pointed at the weak parts, that is, they are pointed at all parts, the matches are on fire; and the word only is wanted to make them roar. *The Captain* is a bold man; but to lead the forlorn hope upon such an occasion as this, requires a mad man, not a bold one."

There are merits in Sir R. Peel, which deserve to be marked, both in justice to him, and as explaining all the forbearance and even kindness displayed towards him. But these, unfortunately for the Ministry, being no addition of strength; on the contrary, the greatly lessen its influence both in Parliament and the country. He has become the distinguished and most valuable votary of liberal principles. He had undertaken some time ago to reform the criminal law; he has heartily supported the reformers of our civil jurisprudence. He is the friend of a liberal policy in commercial matters; and, probably, no adherent to the false views of arbitrary power cherished by the Wellingtons and the Aberdeens in respect to foreign affairs. But all this obviously lessens his power with the high Tory party, whose champion he long was, and when he left them on their grand point, the Catholic question, and abjured heartily as heretical that great Shibboleth of their union, he more than forfeited any part of the influence he once possessed, and made himself an object of their loud and vindictive hostility. We express the thing very feebly; there never was a public man more entirely abandoned more fiercely opposed by his former adherents; nor one who made so great a sacrifice to his principles. That such conduct has justly recommended him to the chiefs of the liberal party, is as certain as that it has destroyed his whole personal weight in the country. He might have retained *their* good-will for ever; he might have improved a most precious opportunity of gaining among the popular party, in and out of Parliament, almost as high a place as he had virtuously sacrificed on the other side. But he betrayed a little mind at this critical moment; he hungered after the position he had quitted; he was alarmed at the solitude in which he found himself; he was afraid to trust his new associates; he took no bold or decided part; made no clear election; cut no Gordian knot; overleaped no entanglements; but sought to avoid a danger which he saw before him, by lingering in a position a thousand times more perilous, and exposed himself to the jeopardy which, we much fear, has now overtaken him; the last in which a statesman should ever let himself be involved; that of falling between the opposite parties, and losing the support of one without gaining that of the other. He may yet have a moment for reconsidering and retracing his steps, for refusing any longer implicit obedience to a haughty chief, and acting as his own honour and his situation in the country require.

In the meanwhile, let us survey the dangers that await him, should he retain his present unprecedented position. On his front, the great body of the old Opposition, reinforced, and led with a vigour and talent not to be exceeded; endowed with all the popularity arising from steady and disinterested adhesion to the public principle, and from a series of victories, unparalleled, in favour of the people's rights, and of their only sound and enlightened opinions. On the one flank, a smaller, but most compact and effective corps, the remains of Mr. Canning's friends; and who, to great talents and acquirements, add long experience in office. A much more numerous body of men, representing the Church and Tory party, and numbering, too, among their ranks active debaters, and old implacable enemies, forms the third grand division of the Opposition. To meet all this array of strength and of numbers, the Government has but a single man who the House will hear speak, and the influence of the Treasury *Note*, which has during the last session constantly failed. On the occasion of a new reign, and the first address to the Sovereign after his accession, that *Note* could only procure the attendance of a bare majority; while 146 members, without a single summons calling them together, and with only an accidental notice that there might be a division, at once voted against the Government.

The Lords, however, it may be said, are another House of Parliament, and there the minister himself acts with his peers, and "commands the applause of the listening senate." In good truth, he might as well think of "awakening to ecstasy the living lyre!" Few sights so piteous as Sir R. Peel and Mr. Goulborn, (if it be not Lord F. Leveson Gower and Sir G. Murray,) have ever moved the pity of men of experience and right feelings; but no sight so grotesque as the Duke of Wellington in his debating capacity, was ever, certainly, offered to the gaze of the curious observer. When Rousseau once undertook to write an opera, ignorant of musical composition, and then to direct the orchestra, as ignorant of execution, he tells, "No, never since the world began was there heard so strange a *charivari*." The conqueror of Waterloo, we verily do think, would hardly be less at home upon the violin, than he is in meeting Lord Grey, Lord Holland, and Lord Lansdowne in debate. He may rest assured, this is not the line in which nature intended him to excel. If we had had "a king who had no childish fancies to gratify—who did not one day want to get rid of his wife at the risk of a civil war—another day to build palaces at the cost of a million—who had no minions to rule over him—and no personal spite to gratify, he would never have required an unyielding minister to keep him in order; the necessity of the Duke of Wellington, as premier, would not have been felt." So long as it was otherwise, it was well enough to look for no quality in a first minister but a firm hand and a strong

purpose. But all men see the impossibility of this qualification supplying the place of all others of civil wisdom, of knowledge, of debating powers; and all men are lost in amazement at the blindness which can be insensible to a light which glares in every other eye. It is true he has Lord Ellenborough and Lord Aberdeen near him; but they are additions to his incapacity, not materials of strength; for they have just as much weakness as himself, and not a single one of the claims to our gratitude and our esteem which so renowned a commander justly possesses, and puts forth with never-failing effect, except when he makes them the passports to a kind of consideration he never by possibility can attain.

In these circumstances what can the Government do? The King has kept them together *for the present*. Any security beyond the present they have not, neither can they have. His Majesty must have a Government that can transact the business of the country, and save it from the mischiefs and the risks of uncertainty and feebleness approaching to anarchy. He is a prince of a manly and plain understanding; he has no personal hates to gratify, and if he ever had, they were pointed against the Duke himself, and these he has nobly sacrificed to the convenience of the State, deeming a sudden change on his accession detrimental to the public service. The instant that His Majesty's eyes are open to the state of things in both Houses of Parliament, that instant there is an end of the weakest Ministry that ever tried to rule any country. All this the Duke well knows; but with his usual confidence, he trusts to better his condition by the chances of a General Election.

Will he gain by those chances? First of all, can he remedy, by the utmost success, the real mischiefs that beset him, and the weakness that paralyzes the Government? The fantasy is preposterous; it shows a gross ignorance of his real danger; an almost incredible unacquaintance with the nature of Parliament. He wants numbers, it is true; but he wants supporters of power in the House, and of weight out of it, a thousand times more; and he is beleaguered by adversaries, any one of whom is far more than a match for all his debaters in both Houses together. Does he imagine that there is any sort of doubt of Mr. Brougham's return to Parliament? Thinks he to eject Mr. Huskisson at Liverpool? Dreams he that Cambridge will reject Lord Palmerston? Who can have put it into his head that Mr. Stanley will not again sit for Preston? What blustering tongue of either sex can have lalled him to soft repose on the subject of the two Grants? But if all these were removed, he must be grievously misled to think that, in the Rices, the Grahams, the Humes, to say nothing of other rising talents of late added to the force of opposition, his only debaters would not have quite enough upon their hands. It is also positively cer-

tain that a new Parliament will see Mr. Denman restored to that commanding station within its walls, which his splendid talents and unblemished integrity heretofore won for him.

In the mere question of numbers, what right has this overweening chief to be confident of bettering his condition? does he suppose that members of Parliament can be levied by main force, like conscripts, or that the *whippers-in* can beat up for them like recruits, by crying out, "God save great Arthur, Down with Lord Grey?" He will find elections a harder job than he thinks for. He will possibly learn that there are as many willing to come forward on the popular side of the question as on the deeply unpopular. He will, in all likelihood, experience somewhat of Prince Jules de Polignac's disappointment, who dreamt, once upon a time, that the king could make any man a minister, whether nature had made him or no of the proper stuff, and that any minister could elect a new and subservient Parliament, and found, to his sorrow and surprise, that the new were ten times worse than the old. Does his Grace really fancy he has any one topic on which he can appeal to the people for favour? Can he point to any one out of his domination, save the Catholic question, as a title to confidence? Does he flatter himself that the Catholic question will reconcile either the church or the people to his incapacity for Parliamentary life, as a first minister of state?

But he makes a grievous mistake, if he supposes that a mere increase of numbers will augment his majorities. He must not suppose that men are to be moved about in the parliamentary as in the military campaign. He must by no manner of means suppose that men love to prop a falling cause by being crushed under its ruins, or even coming nigh enough to be choked with the dust its crash must raise. He must in nowise fancy, that when a gentleman has been returned to serve in Parliament, he likes being treated as a livery servant, and set to stand, or sit, or walk, where his master or his mistress's caprice may direct. Far less must he expect to find any gentleman going down, night after night, to be laughed at, to be put sorely out of countenance by witnessing the pitiful countenances of their leaders, to be galled by sharing in their perpetual discomfitures. No men, certainly no men in Parliament, love to partake of other men's embarrassments and mortifications. No men in London society are patient of never-ending ridicule, in public or in society, in Parliament, or in club-rooms, or in drawing-rooms. All vows made to the whippers-in are forgotten when the time comes; the Duke will find his popularity nearly where it was; and while his enemies press on to the easy victory of debate, and crowd the ranks of opposition to ensure a powerful division, his supporters, lukewarm and abashed, will keep out of the way, and leave him to the phalanx of placemen, and a select few who hope to become such.

It is fit, however, that we should inquire how the Opposition, in its threefold division, is likely to act. That there can no longer be any forbearance, any measures kept, is now quite clear. Public duty combines with party attachment to render it inevitable. The day of delusion has passed away; and, with it, all armed neutrality; all mere vigilance, are gone out of the question. The great men, who have high duties to fulfil towards their country, know that she looks to them for rescue from the worst of evils, a government utterly incapable of managing her affairs, and too weak to secure the success of any one measure it propounds. But this being the common object of all the three powers, will not this pursuit, of necessity, league them together? We think it may fairly be expected to do so; and we also think that the Duke of Wellington is in this, as in other matters, the dupe of his sanguine disposition; for assuredly he has never apprehended such a junction to be possible. He has suffered himself to be led away with the idea that he would be strong in the weakness of his various adversaries, and make up for his own native feebleness by their divisions. He has reckoned on being able to make a dexterous game, by playing off one party against another. He or his sycophants said to the Whigs, 'Mind you don't press me hard, or I must take in the Huskissons!' To the Ultras he said, 'Take care, or we shall throw ourselves into the arms of the Liberals!' To the Canning party the word has been, 'Beware how you drive us to the high Tories!' Cunning gentlemen! High-principled statesmen! Frank, open, straight-forward, plain-dealing, politicians! Principles then are all the while a mere nothing, any more than party attachments; and you are just as ready to follow the bigoted as the liberal course of policy, if by so doing the great end of your existence, the keeping your places, can be secured! But let the Duke, whom his panegyrists have fatigued all ears by lauding for his sagacity, reflect, that such hopes are now as unwise and unthinking, as unworthy a sagacious politician, as such manoeuvring was always beneath any man who plumed himself on plain-dealing, straight-forward conduct. The Catholic Emancipation has removed nine parts in ten of the grounds of difference that separated such able and virtuous and highly honourable men as the Duke of Richmond, from congenial spirits like Earl Grey. It was always stated, as a main object in compassing that great measure, that it would enable the state to profit by the services of all its ablest men. This was the uniform language of those whose mighty efforts, for above a quarter of a century, brought about the immortal triumph of religious liberty. Shall they, then, be the first to say, 'The separation shall continue when the cause of alienation is no more? Consistency, principle, common sense, forbid us to expect any such aberration from the path of duty; and

we therefore regard a junction of the men of sound principles in all parties, to give the country an efficient government, as the certain result of the duke's blind obstinacy, and his resolution to meet a new Parliament with the same incapable ministry by which he so greatly covered his own reputation in the old.

Let it not for a moment be supposed, that we regard the services, even the political services, of the Duke of Wellington, as desirous to undervalue them; or that we do not admit the importance of his Grace and Sir R. Peel as an accession to a better cabinet than their own. We have been ill understood if we have been thought to hold any such opinion of either. But our whole argument, and let us add, our whole alarm, is grounded upon the assumption, far too probable, by all we now see, that the one will continue confident, the other submissive,—that the duke will not sacrifice his dictatorship by consenting to share power with colleagues who merit the public confidence and his own respect; while Sir R. Peel will continue halting between two opinions, unwilling to join the Whigs for fear of increasing the distrust of the Tories, and unwilling to thwart the duke by refusing to lead his forlorn hope. Upon all other suppositions our remarks are inapplicable to the present juncture of affairs, or to that which awaits us; and to the supposition on which we have proceeded, we have been slowly and most reluctantly driven by the late conduct of the Duke of Wellington himself. To be sure, never was there so unusual a cry, even among the government voters themselves, as that which has been raised for strength and help. All men of all parties—every individual, save some half-dozen flatterers, as it is said, of either sex, have some months past had but one word in their mouths—"There must be a change." Yet still the duke persists in his career. His reason, so often assigned, is gone with the late king; but he perseveres, like one resolved to be taught wisdom only by his own woeful experience. That he may yet, while it is not too late, listen to reason, not to pride, is far more his interest than the concern of his sovereign or his country.

Here, then, we have a description of their *intentions* and their *hopes*; but before the ink, in which these hopes are expressed, is hardly dry, the plan is disconcerted, and the hopes are blasted, in great part at least. The Wolves divided the Whig-army into three bodies; the OLD OPPOSITION forming the centre; the HUSKISSON SQUAD, and the HIGH-TORY SQUAD on the flanks. Alas! the Huskisson squad has been cut off by steam! And if it had not, it would have been found in the Duke's army! For the reconciliation had taken

place; the Duke and the old Jacobin had *shaken hands*; and as the whole of this squad must have been included in the treaty of oblivion, those who have survived the steam-destroyed commander will, of course, enjoy the benefit of the treaty.

That faction is therefore on the side of the Duke; and fools they must be if they be not on his side. Then, as to the *high-church Tories*, why should they oppose the Duke? On account of the *Catholics*? They hate him for that, to be sure; but they hate the Whigs more than they hate him. So that the Whigs have no chance at all to *out-vote* the Duke, who need not care a straw for their *debating*. There he will stand, then, firm as a rock, as long as the country is *quiet*; but quiet it will not be long, unless there be a *very great change*; and of this change, favourable to the people, the *Whigs are much greater enemies than the Duke*.

But, boiling with rage at seeing the fold shut against their merciless jaws, the Whigs will seek revenge; and they will, if they find the Duke opposed to REFORM, be *clamorous for it*, being convinced *that it will not be carried*. As far as this goes, they will have the people at their back; the distresses of the country are great; they will and must be greater and greater; the stock-jobbing ministry in France will not be able to make the National Guard pay the taxes to defray the expenses of the debt; the funding, and cheating, and monopolizing, and extorting systems are going to pieces every-where; this thing cannot stand if that of France go to pieces; the accursed oligarchy cannot out-live this fraudulent system, upon which death has its cold hand; and thus difficulties of all sorts are assailing the THING.

If the Whigs had sense, they would fall in with the current; but they so *hate the people*, and the people so *cordially hate them*, that this is very difficult. Yet, they may annoy the Duke: they may put him to the test, make him decidedly *reject reform*, commit him to *that*; and then they cover him with odium, and send him, like so many of

his predecessors, to a premature and not very honourable grave! For to suppose that the country is going to *remain as it is*; to suppose that reform can be *longer refused*; to suppose that the *example of France* is to produce *no effect here*; to suppose that we can continue in intimate and friendly intercourse with the *National Guard*; to suppose this, and to suppose the quiet continuance of Gatton, Old Sarum, Reigate, and the like; to suppose that the *Broughams* (for there is now a brace of them) are to continue to make laws for us, sent into the place in the way that they now are; to suppose that we are still to have rotten boroughs (*burg-pourris*, as the French call them) and *malt tax*, and the *game laws*, and the *transportation without trial by jury*, and STURGES BOURNE'S *vestry laws*; to suppose this, is not presumption, is not arrogance, it is downright idiot madness. It was, before the voting of POLIGNAC and CHARLES, manifestly impossible to go on long without a reform of the Commons' House. The middle class were already *meditating modes of legal resistance of direct taxation*, upon the ground of *their not being represented in Parliament*. This would have been, *without any change in France*. And, will it not be now! Ah! Wolves of Edinburgh, do you think that *debating*, that mere jaw, mere Scotch *clicknauclaver*, will induce the English tax-payers to have the last penny taken from them, without even a *legal effort* to keep enough to give their children bread! If you do imagine this, never were Wolves more deceived.

The famous week of July dissolved the *partnership* between the *borough-mongers* and the *Bourbons*, but not between the *loanmongers* of London and the *loanmongers of Paris*. These latter are trying to cheat the French people; trying to wheedle them to continue to pay the enormous expenses heaped on them by the Bourbons, and left by them as the means of re-subjugating the people. All manner of tricks and schemes are now trying to make the French submit to pay taxes as heavy as they *paid before*; just to humour

them with the tri-coloured flag, but to do nothing to lessen their burdens! In short, force having failed, the scheme now is to wheedle them out of the fruit of their skill and their labour. But in this the fund-jobbing pacificators will not succeed. The scheme is to keep all quiet, to prevent war, to do any thing, in order to ensure the means of paying the interest of the debt, and to keep up the funding system; in short, to re-enslave the French by the debt and the funds, and to reduce them to our state. Hence the abandonment of the Belgians to their fate; hence the forbidding of the Spanish refugees to enter Spain; hence all the efforts to stifle freedom in France before it has hardly begun to breathe again. But all will fail: the people of France will not pay the taxes; they are driving the excise-officers out of the towns; and, indeed, pay them they will not. Baron Louis, once a priest, afterwards minister of Louis XVIII., and now (Oh, God!) minister of the "CITIZEN KING!" This old priest, who is the minister of finance, has just put forth his budget, stating great deficiencies, and yet he proposes to LEND about two millions of money "TO AID COMMERCE!" So that if he could do this by taxes, the people would be taxed to raise money to be lent to merchants and great dealers! He can't raise the money in taxes: he must borrow it: so there is a pretty affair! Here is an old priest borrowing money of Jews to lend to merchants and traders, and loading the industrious people and the land with taxes to pay the interest of the loan!

This will not stand: this cannot stand: the thing may be kept quiet for a little while; but the taxes will not be paid; the whole scheme will be blown into the air; the partnership between the loanmongers of London and those of Paris will be dissolved; and then away goes the whole thing with a mighty crash! If reform do not precede this crash, it will be a crash indeed! Now, then, will the Parliament make the reform? This is the question; and if not, whether Peel shall join the Whigs, or any such nonsense. If the Duke be wise, he will make the reform, and then he

may set Whigs and all other enemies at defiance. Then he will close his career with true glory: if he pursue the other course; or, if he attempt a reform to cheat the people, I leave to his enemies to describe his fate; but, be his fate what it may, those "ravening wolves," the Whigs and their underlings, will be baffled and defeated.

WM. COBBETT.

No. VII.

TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE en 1830.

AUX BRAVE PEUPLE DE PARIS.

Sur la nomination de TALLEYRAND PERRIGORD à l'ambassade du roi des Français près la cour de Londres.

De la ferme de Barn-Elm, le 12 Septembre, 1830.

AMIS,

Moi qui, le 16 Août dernier, eus l'honneur de présider la réunion d'Anglais qui vota l'adresse que Sir Thomas Beevor présenta, le 24 du même mois, à vos officiers municipaux à l'hôtel de ville de Paris; moi qui, en ma qualité de président de la dite réunion, eus l'honneur de signer cette adresse; moi qui, à cette époque, sentis et exprimai mon admiration de votre conduite tout en exprimant les sentiments de tous les amis de la liberté en Angleterre; moi qui, dans ce moment, m'occupe de recueillir des mains de milliers d'ouvriers le peu dont ils peuvent disposer en faveur des veuves et des orphelins des braves, morts d'une manière si glorieuse dans la dernière semaine de juillet; moi qui, du jour où nous apprîmes vos exploits, n'avais eu à remplir que la tâche agréable d'exprimer la joie que j'éprouv' à la perspective que vos nombreux sacrifices et vos actes de bravoure seront couronnés par l'établissement d'une liberté réelle dans votre patrie, si long-temps foulée sous les pieds des tyrans; moi qui naguères éprouvais ces doux sentiments, je me vois mainte-

nant, par devoir pour mon pays, par devoir pour vous et pour moi, forcé de vous exprimer franchement mon opinion sur la nomination de TALLEYRAND PÉRIGORD; nomination funeste qui a causé le plus grand étonnement, et rempli tous les amis de la liberté d'un degré de dégoût et de chagrin difficile à décrire.

Quoi ! s'écrie le peuple anglais, *cet homme*, ce Talleyrand ce même Talleyrand, qui, né noble, et devenu prêtre et évêque, rejeta la calotte et la mitre, viola ses vux ecclésiastiques, vota l'abolition de la noblesse et la saisie des biens du clergé ; ce Talleyrand qui fut *citoyen*-ministre sous la république, et *prince*-ministre sous l'empire ; ce Talleyrand, le conseiller et l'adulateur en chef de Napoléon, le principal instrument de ses usurpations sur les droits du peuple, qui abandonna son maître au moment du danger et devint l'agent de ses ennemis ; ce Talleyrand qui, en 1815, signa, pour les Bourbons, la déclaration de Vienne, en vertu de laquelle, onze cent mille baïonnettes étrangères furent dirigées contre la France et la forcèrent de restituer, non seulement le fruit de ses glorieuses victoires, mais même plusieurs de ses villes frontières ; qui lui imposèrent une contribution de sept cents millions de francs, qui la contraignirent à maintenir dans son sein, et à ses propres frais, cent cinquante mille hommes de *troupes étrangères* pendant cinq ans ; ce Talleyrand, qui livra, sans la moindre remontrance, les musées au pillage de ceux qui étaient entrés en France sous le nom d'*alliés* ; ce Talleyrand, ce même Talleyrand, qui signa la proclamation des Bourbons pour la suppression des noms des ponts de Jéna, d'Austerlitz et d'Arcole, et pour l'abolition de tout ce qui pouvait rappeler les glorieux exploits des armées françaises : Quoi ! s'écrie le peuple anglais, ce même Talleyrand, ce même Périgord, successivement noble, prêtre, évêque, *citoyen* et prince, qui justifia Napoléon du meurtre du Duc d'Enghien, et signa l'ordonnance des Bourbons pour l'arrêt et le meurtre subséquent du Maréchal NEY ! Quoi ! ce même Tal-

leyrand, aujourd'hui grand ministre confidentiel du "*citoyen*-roi des Français," dont les titres à la confiance du peuple sont qu'il n'a *jamais varié*, qu'il n'a *jamais* combattu que pour le drapeau tricolore, qu'il a *toujours* maintenu la doctrine de la *souveraineté du peuple*. Quoi ! ce Talleyrand envoyé pour résider près de cette même cour, où POLIGNAC avait résidé si longtemps, et qu'il ne quitta que pour aller mettre à exécution le complot d'enchaîner la France ! Ce Talleyrand, ce grand *Chambellan de Charles X.*, envoyé pour veiller aux intérêts de la France dans ce même pays où Charles X. réside ; où il est ouvertement choyé par l'aristocratie, et secrètement favorisé *par d'autres*. Français ! telles sont nos exclamations en apprenant cette étrange nomination. Toutefois, quelques instants de réflexion diminuent notre étonnement sans dissiper nos soupçons. Les hommes, en pareil cas, imitent la sagacité des chiens courants. Lorsque le gibier est levé, nous courons après lui avec le plus grand empressement, sans faire grande attention aux circonstances ; mais lorsque nous rencontrons quelque obstacle, nous exprimons d'abord notre surprise, et puis, semblables à ces mêmes chiens courants, nous *revenons sur nos pas*. Nous découvrons alors que, dans notre empressement, nous avons passé sur bien des choses qui auraient dû nous mettre sur nos gardes, et nous engager à mieux réfléchir avant d'en venir à une conclusion. La nomination de Talleyrand étant pour nous un coup aussi imprévu, nous essayons de *revenir sur nos pas*. En ce faisant, nous remarquons bien des choses qui auraient dû nous tenir en suspens, et parmi ces choses nous signalons les suivantes.

1. Il aurait dû nous paraître bien étrange que le Duc d'Orléans, qui devait connaître les intentions de POLIGNAC, tout au moins aussi bien que les journalistes de Paris, loin de donner des signes de mécontentement à ce sujet, vivait dans la plus grande harmonie avec la cour et le ministère jusqu'à la veille même de l'exécution du complot ; et bien plus, il ne se montra pas même après la publication des ordonnances

tyranniques. Il dut avoir connoissance de leur publication, et cependant il se tint éloigné du peuple, et ce ne fut qu'après que le peuple eût renversé les tyrans que le Duc d'Orléans fit son apparition. Ce fut alors qu'il se montra soudainement au peuple sous la forme de *Lieutenant-général du royaume*, titre que reconnut Charles avec autant de naïveté que s'il s'il l'eût suggéré lui-même.

2. Il nous aurait également paru bien étrange, si nous nous étions donné le temps de réfléchir, de voir le *Lieutenant-général* transformé en roi dans l'espace d'environ soixante heures, et cela même sans aucune raison apparente, et sans qu'on pût lui en assigner. Ensuite Charles et son fils abdiquèrent si à propos; et cela, encore, sans aucune raison apparente; car le peuple si souciait fort peu qu'ils donnassent ou non leur abdication. D'ailleurs, ils n'abdiquèrent point pour le *petit-fils*; mais, remarquez bien qu'on les força à s'en aller; et le duc d'Orléans étant fait roi, présenta la seule chance qu'il y eût de conserver la dynastie des Bourbons en France. La marche lente de Charles vers la côté; le faux bruit de son départ pour l'Amérique, la circonstance remarquable d'employer des *bâtiments américains*, et par qui? les sommes considérables d'argent qui lui furent assignées; son transport en Angleterre par des *bâtiments américains*; toutes ces circonstances additionnelles tendent à prouver qu'il y avait sous le tapis quelque arrière pensée, qu'on avait grand soin de tenir cachée au peuple.

3. Parmi les *ministres* nommés par le nouveau roi, il est curieux de voir figurer ce même baron Louis qui fut un des ministres choisis par Louis XVIII, lorsqu'en 1815, il fut *imposé* à la France pour le seconde fois. A la tête de ce ministère, qui, au fait, avait été élu par les *alliés*, figurait Talleyrand; après lui, venait ce baron Louis qui, à ce qu'il paraît, a été aussi *prêtre*, et chanoine sous Talleyrand, lorsque celui-ci était évêque. Si nous nous étions donné le temps de réfléchir, il nous aurait paru étrange que le "citoyen-roi" ne pût trouver dans toute la France un

homme capable de remplir la place que ce *prêtre baron* occupe dans ce moment. M. Guizot est aussi *ministre*. On le dit *protestant*, et il paraît qu'il a écrit une brochure dans laquelle il fait l'éloge de la *révolution d'Angleterre*, en 1688. Quant à son caractère de *protestant*, bien que je le sois moi-même, je sais que c'est aux protestants que nous devons la perte de notre liberté, et s'il a réellement fait l'éloge de notre révolution de 1688, il n'a fait, au fond, que ce que Corru avait fait avant lui. Ce fut là une révolution opérée non pas par le peuple ou pour le peuple; mais contre ses intérêts et ses desirs. C'est ce que je prouverai, lorsque je me serai procuré un exemplaire de la brochure de Mr. Guizot. Au fait, c'est contre les effets produits par cette révolution que le peuple anglais est en guerre depuis cent cinquante ans.

4. Le délai qu'on met à juger les *ministres criminels* aurait déjà dû nous ouvrir les yeux. Quelle BONNE raison peut-on en donner? Le roi s'en est sorti à cause de sa non-responsabilité, la charte qu'il avait violée devait le protéger, et pourquoi? à cause de la responsabilité de ses ministres. Pourquoi donc ne pas les mettre en jugement? S'ils sont ubsons, qui pourra douter qu'on ne tende quelque piège au peuple.

5. Remarquons ensuite la conduite de nos *journaux ministériels*. A la première nouvelle de la révolution, ils jetèrent les hauts cris. Dix jours après, ils changèrent de ton. Ils espéraient, disaient-ils, qu'on contiendrait les *républicains*. Lorsque les noms des nouveaux *ministres* parurent, ils applaudirent ce choix, celui surtout du baron Louis. Ils regrettaient qu'un homme tel que LAFAYETTE eût quelque influence; mais ils se réjouissaient de ce qu'il n'était pas dans le ministère. Remarquez encore la conduite de la Russie. Elle défendit d'abord l'entrée du drapeau français dans ses ports; mais elle se relâcha dès qu'on eut eu le temps de lui communiquer des secrets d'état. On lui fit part de ce qu'on eut en intention de faire en France, on la mit entièrement dans le secret, et dès ce moment elle ne conçut plus d'alarmes.

6. Il serait impossible de bien peser toutes ces circonstances sans s'apercevoir que l'objet principal des hommes qui avaient le pouvoir était de ne faire aucun changement réel, soit dans le gouvernement soit dans la dynastie, et quelle que pût être l'intention du duc d'Orléans lui-même le projet des autres était qu'il tint la place chaude pour l'autre branche des Bourbons, aussitôt que les circonstances favoriseraient leur retour. Si au poids de toutes ces circonstances réunies, nous ajoutons la preuve saillante, non-équivoque, que fournit la nomination de Talleyrand à l'ambassade d'Angleterre, il est impossible, dis-je, de n'être pas convaincu qu'on tend un piège quelconque au peuple français. Je suis bien pour certain que ce second complot ne réussira pas mieux que le premier ; mais il est urgent maintenant de se tenir sur ses gardes, et de juger d'après les actions et non d'après les paroles.

7. Cependant l'inefficacité des chambres et des ministres est vraiment étonnante. Ils paraissent ne rien faire, rien, du moins, qui vaille la peine d'être cité. Le peuple, la basse classe du peuple, renversé en tyran ; et, jusqu'ici, tout le profit qu'elle paraît en avoir retiré, c'est de lui envoyer de l'argent pour le dépenser en Angleterre, au lieu de lui en donner pour le dépenser en France. Voilà tout ce qu'elle paraît y avoir gagné. Les législateurs héréditaires existent ; les taxes existent, et ce qu'il y a de pis, les chambres ne font pas de nouvelle loi d'électorale. Voilà précisément ce que désirent nos *boroughmongers* ; mais ils s'abusent. Ils pourront voir le désordre régner en France ; ils pourront voir répandre le sang dans ses belles contrées ; mais ils ne verront jamais une nation, composée de huit millions d'hommes adultes, se laisser gouverner par quatre-vingt mille électeurs. Quoi ! deux millions de *gardes nationaux*, bien armés et commandés par Lafayette, consentiraient de nouveau à ce que la souveraineté du peuple ne soit exercée que par quatre-vingt mille de leurs plus riches concitoyens ? Ces deux millions d'hommes consentiront-ils de nouveau, sous quelque condition que

ce puisse être, à abandonner le fruit de leur travail pour payer l'intérêt d'une dette, contractée en grande partie en faveur des puissances étrangères qui les avaient enchaînés, ou des traitres qui les avaient vendus ? consentiront-ils de nouveau à abandonner le fruit de leur travail, à quelque condition que ce puisse être ; et surtout y consentiront-ils, sans qu'il leur soit permis de choisir ceux qui doivent voter les taxes et disposer de leur argent ? Nul homme de bon sens ne saurait le croire ; et cependant il doit le croire, s'il se persuade que les chambres actuelles peuvent continuer à agir comme elles le font.

8. Il me semble que ce à quoi on vise maintenant est d'empêcher que la dette nationale n'éprouve point de secousse. L'Angleterre a été enchaînée par une dette nationale qui a transféré et transfère tous les jours le fruit du travail du peuple dans les bourses des Juifs, des propriétaires des fonds publics et des agioteurs. Le même résultat finirait par avoir lieu en France, si ce système s'y maintenait ; mais, outre bien d'autres circonstances, il existe une grande différence dans les deux états. Un système semblable ne saurait être maintenu sans le secours d'une force militaire considérable ; la nôtre se compose d'une armée régulière, mais la principale force militaire de France compose du peuple lui-même en armes ; c'est-à-dire de ceux qui paient les taxes, et non pas de ceux qui subsistent sur le produit des taxes. Cette différence est la plus importante qu'on puisse imaginer. La raison principale pour laquelle on a supprimé la garde nationale fut, au fait, parce qu'on s'aperçut qu'on ne pourrait lui faire payer les taxes, tant qu'elle serait pourvue d'armes ; mais quel homme oserait proposer de supprimer de nouveau ? C'est pourquoi notre aristocratie se trouvera entièrement déçue dans l'espoir qu'elle pourrait de voir le peuple français se soumettre à des taxes oppressives, et à être privé du droit de voter. Il pourra avoir des troubles, il pourra y avoir de la confusion, il pourra même y avoir des querelles ; mais le peuple finira par avoir le dessus. Si le roi des Français

est sage, et je ne doute nullement qu'il ne le soit, il tournera le dos à tous ceux qui chercheraient à lui persuader que le peuple se laisse aveugler sur ses intérêts et priver de ses droits. Il apprendra aussi par la suite à éviter, et non à suivre l'exemple de ceux parmi lesquels il est à la veille d'envoyer le Protée politique de l'Europe.

9. Quoiqu'il en soit, c'est à vous, peuple français, à veiller sur vos propres intérêts. Vous avez, par votre valeur, repoussé la violence; ayez grand soin maintenant de ne pas vous laisser entraîner dans l'esclavage par l'astuce, la fraude et l'hypocrisie. Vous avez présenté à nu vos poitrines aux sabres, aux baionnettes, aux boulets des mercénaires de vos tyrans sanguinaires, ayez bien soin maintenant de vos mettre en garde contre les prestiges séduisants de ces bandes rapaces de trafiqueurs d'emprunts, d'agioteurs, et d'hommes en place qui, à la vérité, ne répandraient pas votre sang; mais qui finiraient par vous réduire à cet état de misère, suite inévitable et la plus affreuse de l'esclavage. Vous avez bravement combattu pour votre liberté; c'est à vous maintenant d'aviser aux moyens de la conserver à jamais. Aucune autre puissance ne peut agir contre vous sans avoir recours à la bourse de JOHN BULL, et JOHN BULL n'a plus de bourse pour aider qu'à ce soit. Continuez donc, et ne vous arrêtez pas jusqu'à ce que vous ayez basé votre liberté sur l'égalité des droits, sans laquelle la souveraineté du peuple n'est qu'une vraie déception; ne vous arrêtez pas jusqu'à ce qu'il n'existe plus un misérable assez insolent pour proposer une taxe, directe ou indirecte, à celui auquel on refuse le droit de voter; ne vous arrêtez pas jusqu'à ce que votre exemple serve à effacer de l'esprit humain l'idée humiliante que la masse des hommes fut créée pour devenir les suppôts de l'aristocratie. Celui qui donne beaucoup a le droit d'exiger beaucoup. Dieu vous a donné un sol plus fertile, un climat plus beau, des sources de pouvoir plus considérables qu'à toute autre nation; il vous a donné de plus autant de courage que le cœur de l'homme peut en contenir; donnez

donc un exemple qui manifeste à la fois et votre reconnaissance envers le créateur et votre désir bien sincère de voir les liens de l'oppression rompus sur toute la surface de l'univers.

G^R M^R. COBBETT

PRESS-PRINTERS.

THE case of the letter-press printers has long been a subject of lamentation with me. It is hard beyond description; and it ought to receive every attention from the Government. I have not time, at present, to state *my opinions* on the subject; but I here insert the resolutions agreed to at a meeting of the complainants; and I will, as soon as I am able, take the subject in hand, being extremely anxious that something should be done for the relief of these sufferers, who suffer from no fault of their own.

Resolved—1. That a Committee be appointed, to consist of thirteen persons, seven of whom are to form a quorum.

2. That the Committee appointed shall make every inquiry respecting the Number of Machines now in use, the quantity of work performed by them; also the Titles of the different Publications worked by Machinery.

3. That every information be given to the Committee on the subject, by Persons fully acquainted, from each office, on their different meeting nights.

4. That a Petition to his most gracious Majesty be drawn up immediately, stating the distressed situation of the trade, owing to Machinery, and praying that a *Protecting Duty* be imposed, of *Four Shillings* per perfect ream on all Newspapers, and *Two Shillings* per perfect ream upon all Books, that are worked by Machinery; and that the same Petition be presented to his Majesty, previous to the ensuing Session of Parliament, signed by the whole body of the journeymen letter-press printers (and masters, not using machines) in London.

5. That every person signing the Petition, to state, if married, the number of persons depending upon him for support.

6. That the Petition shall remain for signatures at the Gentleman and Porter, New-street Square, Shoe Lane; and at three other places, which will be determined by the Committee, for the space of three weeks.

7. That a sufficient number of broadsides be printed, and the same posted up in different parts of London, signifying that "The Peti-

tion of the letter-press printers, praying for a Tax upon Machinery, has for signatures of the Gentleman and Porter, New-street Square, Shoe Lane; and at three other places."

8. That immediate commutation be made with the different Provincial Offices in Great Britain and Ireland, stating the Resolutions of this Meeting, with a view of procuring their assistance on the same subject.

9. That the Committee give notice of this Meeting to all Trade Societies; and solicit their support in opposing the increase of Machinery, which has caused the ruin of thousands of industrious men, and increased the Poor Rates and Crime to an enormous extent.

10. That while the House of Commons has thought fit to protect the LANDOWNER and FARMER against the introduction of Foreign Produce, the POOR MAN has had no protection to ensure him a remuneration for his LABOUR against MACHINERY.

11. That all Religious Societies be appealed to on behalf of the Trade.

12. That the Resolutions and Proceedings of the Meeting this evening be printed, on a half-sheet foolscap, at the expense of the whole body, and the same distributed gratis, at all coffee-houses, and places of public resort, and at all the printing offices in London.

13. That a general subscription of three-pence per week be entered into for four weeks, in order to defray the expenses which may be incurred, and the same received by the Committee appointed, and entrusted into the hands of Mr. WINTON, Treasurer.

MR. TENNYSON.

I FIND, that, in my last Register, I have done great injustice to this gentleman. It was not he who pleaded against the two poor fellows at Oxford; his *land-bill* he does not explain to my satisfaction; but he denies (and I am very glad of it) all wish to confine the elective franchise to the rich. I will insert his letter next week, and, in the meanwhile, I with great pleasure correct my errors.

TO THE PEOPLE OF BOTLEY.

MY FRIENDS,

In the next number of *Two-penny Trash*, which will be published on the 1st of October, I will give a decent dressing to GRASPALL and the rest of the crew, assembled at the late dinner

in your village, in honour of FLEMING. Twenty newspapers have been sent me to show me what the base fellows had been at: from Southampton, from Winton, from Titchfield, Wickham, Fareham, Gosport, Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, and many other places, friends have sent me the newspapers, and several have written to me about the baseness of GRASPALL in particular. As to this grasping and extortioning wretch, he is worthy of no particular attention; it is the motive that animated the whole crew that is worthy of attention: it is their desire to defraud and delude the labouring people that wants exposing; and it shall have it. I will send you a little book to read on the subject.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT'S SALE.

ON Monday next, the 27th instant, at ten o'clock in the morning, will be sold by Auction, in the farm-yard at Barn-Elm Farm, in the parish of Barnes, near Hammersmith new Bridge, the LIVE AND DEAD FARMING STOCK on the said farm, and also the HOUSEHOLD GOODS of the farm-house, together with several lots of ELM TIMBER, fit for *fellies, stocks*, and other works of wheelwrights. Amongst numerous other things, seven working oxen and a working bull; harness for the same; several fine young sows, three of which are with pig; two boars, one wild boar and one half-wild; some fine young hogs; some breeding geese; two very handy carts; a weighing machine and weights; corn-crubs; a smoke-house; several ploughs, nearly new; a dray; harrows; drills; mills for wheat and malt; a flour-dresser; twelve or fifteen frames for hot-beds with lights complete; a large quantity of flower-pots; iron-bedsteads; bear-barrels; mattresses and bedding; three coppers; several stoves for fire-places, and of various descriptions; two kitchen-ranges; and various other things, too numerous to mention here. The Sale will begin precisely at Ten o'clock; and Catalogues may be

had at the Farm-house, or of Mr. GOMME, AUCTIONEER, of Hammersmith.

COBBETT'S LECTURES.

I CANNOT go out of town until the end of the 8th October, and therefore I shall lecture at the Rotunda on Monday the 4th October, and on Thursday the 7th October, when I must take my leave of my London audiences for the present. I intend to be as follows: at Deptford on Monday, the 11th October, next day at Gravesend, then Rochester, then Maidstone, then Tonbridge, then Brighton, Lewes, Chichester, Portsmouth, and back before the Parliament meet. I may find this impossible; but, I will do it if I can. Every-where the charge for entrance shall be 3d., and, after paying my expenses, the money shall go to the widows and orphans of those who fell at Paris, in fighting against borough-mongering.—N. B. I shall carry copies of the London Petition with me, and give a copy to every hearer into the bargain.—I beg some friend, at each of the above places, to look out for a good roomy place, and to write to me as soon as possible telling me whether such place can be had or not; because my time is precious, and I cannot mope upon an uncertainty.

My LECTURES, very ably reported, are published regularly by Mr. Strange, No. 21, PATERNOSTER-Road, and at a very reasonable price, some 2d. and some 3d.

The *Petition to the King* lies for signatures at my shop, No. 11, Bolt-court, also the Coffee-house of the Rotunda; at Mr. Watling's, Newsman, Strand; at Mr. Napper's, Star, Blackman-street, Borough; at Mr. Noble's, No. 13, Crombie's-street, Commercial-road; at Mr. Stail's, Paternoster-row; at Mr. Strange's, No. 21, ditto; at Mr. Burnard's, No. 32, Little Poland-street, near Wardour-street, Soho.

Were published, on the 1st inst.,

COBBETT'S *Advice to Young Men*, No 14; being the last number of the work. Price 6d.

N. B. Odd Numbers may be had to complete sets; and complete sets may

be had at No. 183, Fleet Street, and of all booksellers.

COBBETT'S *Two-penny Tracts*, for Working People; for the month of August. Price 2d.

COBBETT'S *History of Georgia* 17, No. 1. Price 2d.; to be continued monthly.

N. B. This History will be comprised in about ten numbers. The Second No. of the History of Georgia the Fourth will be published on the 1st of October.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES RAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Comprehensive Introduction to the Study of Italian.*" Price 6s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "*Introduction*" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself; and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on FINE PAPER, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

NEW EDITION.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

JUST published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a *POSTSCRIPT*, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of *ten letters*, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo, Price 5s. 6d.

THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received, from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that the newly-published EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supersede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of 'our language.'" The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS. This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law; and really I have never met with a politician, gentle or simple, who knew half so much of the matter as myself. I have wanted this book for my sons to read; and monopolizing has never been a favourite with me; if I have ever possessed useful knowledge of any sort, I have never been able to rest till I have communicated it to as many as I could. This Book was translated and published at the request of the American Secretary of State; the Bookseller, though he paid me only a quarter of a dollar (thirteen-pence halfpenny) for every page, had a Subscription from the President, Vice-President, and all the Members of the Two Houses of Congress, and from all the Governors and Lawyers in the country. This Work was almost my *comp d'essai*, in the authoring way; but upon looking it over at this distance of time, I see nothing to alter in any part of it. It is a thick octavo volume, with a great number of Notes; and it is, in fact, a book, with regard to public law, what a Grammar is with regard to language. The price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

ROMAN HISTORY. Of this Work, which is in French and English, and is intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a *Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar*, I am, only the Translator; but I venture to assert that the French is as pure as any now extant. In Two Volumes. Price 13s. in Boards.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, October 2nd, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



MUSICAL BISHOP;

Or Remarks on the Report of a Sermon, or a thing called a sermon, said to have been preached or prated, at Worcester, by one MURRAY, who is, it seems, Bishop of Rochester.

TO THE

REFORMERS OF WORCESTER.

Bell court, Fleet-street, 27th Sept, 1830

MY FRIENDS,

(AND better I have not in any part of the world) no wonder that not less than eight of you, of Worcester and the neighbourhood, have sent me the WORCESTER JOURNAL of the 16th Instant. You must all have been filled with indignation at that part of the contents of this paper, which related to the "MUSICAL MEETING," as the tax-eaters call it; but particularly at the *impudent words* given as part of the "sermon," as they call it, put forth upon from the _____ by the Bishop of Rochester. Impudence, arrogance, and insolence, have always been part of the character of high-priests, in all ages, but verily, if this newspaper do not lie most shamefully, this is the most insolent of all the insolent things ever uttered even by a high-priest. This fellow's name is MURRAY, it seems, he is, doubtless, of the *Athol* breed: so that, besides the bishop, we have here, the aristocrat and the Scotchman, any one of the three quite enough, in all conscience; but all three together, presumption and pride more

than sufficient to fit out even the soul of Lucifer himself.

I must stop here to justify myself with regard to this description of *Scotchmen*. I have, from my earliest entrance into the world, which was in the army, observed haughtiness, presumption and pride, in Scotchmen. They are, generally speaking, men of sense, prudent, sober, punctual, men of their word, careful, trust-worthy, and constant in their attachments. Those of them who work, are amongst the best of the people of this kingdom, as soldiers, they are, in general, more orderly, more to be relied on than other private soldiers; and, if prudent, accompanies them bravely, still they are brave men. But, they are, in general, unjustifiably proud. This is seen in them in all ranks and pursuits of life. So true is this, that in the French language, "*Fier comme un Ecossais*" (haughty as a Scotchman) is a proverb hundreds of years old, arising out of the experience of the French, when they were (as they were for centuries) allied with the Scotch against

Of the beautiful comedy of *Rosamond* (I think it is), "*The Gloriant*," the principal character, that which gives the name to the piece, is a Scotchman, and the "*Gloriant*" means, the haughty and conceited and insolent man. So that there must be something in the character of this people to cause them to be deemed unjustifiably proud. This is a quality, however, that does not check their success in the world. The mass of mankind (and especially the English) are very much prone to give men credit for possessing the merit to which they make bold pretensions, and especially when the pretensions are accompanied with a prudent reserve and a general demeanour free from follies and little faults. Great talents, great skill in workmen, extraordinary valour, and, indeed, all extraordinary qualities, are, generally speaking, unaccompanied with the prudence that the plodder possesses. How many men of bright genius

have lived and died the slaves, the mere drudges, of wretches whose minds are deeply impressed with the plain fact, that twelve pence make one shilling! Look throughout the world, and you will find, that it is *mediocrity* which commands: it is the tortoise, and not the hare. There is hardly an instance of Scotchmen rising, in *any* line of life, above mediocrity; and yet look at the power and emolument they possess! Their *presumption* is great beyond belief; but still it serves them; and, without any merit, they thrust men of real merit aside, and especially in this state of things, which makes the boroughmongers of this rich country call them into their aid from motives similar to those from which *the Swiss* were called into France by the Bourbons.

Sometimes, however, in private life, this insolent presumption fails; of which I am about to give an instance, and here also you will find a full justification of my charge of false and insolent pride against this people. Their haughtiness, their superciliousness, their insolence, when in authority, are well known: I am going to show that these hateful characteristics are found in low as well as high life. When I went home to Kensington, on Saturday evening, the 18th instant, I found the *prospectus of a book*, to be published by *subscription*, which had been left by a young Scotchman, who wanted *my opinion* upon it. The man, I was told, looked by his dress to be a man in low circumstances; and he was told, that his only chance of talking to me would be *there*, the next morning pretty early. I looked at the prospectus; lamented that the author should, if a young man, think of getting a living in that way; but, at any rate, as he was not rich, I resolved to see him when he should come, and to give him my advice. He came about *nine*; we had breakfasted, the tackle was carried out into a little adjoining room, where they prepare things for cooking and the like, and I had got my papers spread over the table and was writing. I had not a moment to bestow on him, but took his prospectus and wrote on it the number

of the house in Bolt-court, requesting him to call on me there the next day, at eleven o'clock. And now comes another part of the Scotch character:

"Meanness that soars, and pride that licks the dust."

For when I handed him the prospectus with my address on it, he said: "I have walked eight miles this morning, and have had nothing to eat or drink." I pulled the bell: instead of a servant, one of my daughters came, "Take this young man down, and give him some breakfast," said I. He was taken into the cleanest place, I am sure, that his carcass ever was seated in: a clean cloth was laid, bread, butter, cold roast beef, and a large cup of coffee with plenty of milk in it, were placed before him, and a chair for him to sit on. Would you believe, that he had the insolence to demur! He stood and *looked hard* at the table: my daughter pointed to the breakfast *as ready* for him: he hung back: she asked him whether he did not like it: he had before been asked whether he chose beer or coffee, and he had chosen the latter: he said he liked it "*vary weel*," but not the *manner* of it: he was told, that that was *our manner*. My daughter then went away and left him; but, hearing him holding a sort of *harangue* with the servants, she sent word that he had better go up and speak to me; or, at any rate, that he must cease to hold forth *there*: and off he went. Would you believe, that he had the brass to show his face at Bolt-court the next day! I had a *porter* at work in the warehouse: I called the porter; and, without speaking a word to the Scotchman, told the porter the whole story, who opened his eyes and looked at the shabby chap from head to foot. The fellow began an oratorical defence in these words: "I was *tackun doon* to the *lowest katchun*, and the *bej* was *vary fot*." I had no time to hear the *harangue*, and told the porter to turn him out. "*Lowest kitchen*!" Mark the craft of the fellow! There was but *one kitchen*; and that light, airy, looking into an area against the street; the

table, at which he was to sit was as white as possible; the very floor on which he trod was cleaner than *his* skin; and the "best" that was "very fat," was part of a sirloin, as fine as ever was put upon a table. But the main things to remark on are, the *talement pride* and the *meanest*, both in the *same* mind. A man of literary talent and high mind in it, notwithstanding his poor table, still disdain to take his breakfast in a then, such a man would drop down dead in the street before he would plead poverty, and, on that score, beg a breakfast. This fellow's chop, waited at the breakfast; his fasting was the result of calculation: "O, oh!" said he to himself, "I must play the gentleman, or nothing will be thought of my prospects and my literary talent;" with many people this calculation would have been correct enough; but I have seen so many of these fellows, who wish to live by trick and impudence, while they have the insolence to look down on labourers, artists, and even industrious tradesmen! The fault in this case was, that the fellow was treated with a distinction that he was not entitled to. It is a rule with me, as it was with my father, that no one, if I know it, go from under my roof with a belly, but, as to the manner of the thing, I am not very nice: "Give this man some victuals." And if it be inconvenient to seat him at a table, I prefer his having a hunch of bread and meat in his hand to his going without. Women think a good deal of the matter, right that they should; but I had had to cater for this impudent fellow, I should have cut him off a hunch of bread and a good deal of "very fat" sirloin, put them into his fist, brought him a mug of table beer, and have left him to deal with them at his pleasure; for I looked upon him as a labourer, and an idle and mean one too. I have forgotten the fellow's name, and he took away the prospectus; but if a fellow with sandy hair, a long and spare face of a dirty pale colour, with a shirt and cravat at once coarse and yellowish, a threadbare blue coat, in

height about five feet eight, back straighter much than it ought to be, and belly such as an idle fellow's ought to be, that is the man.

"Well," you will exclaim, "but you have forgotten the Bishop!" Indeed I have not, and that you shall see; and this story, as you will find, is not wholly unconnected with the Bishop; for the Bishop is a Scotchman to a certainty. How he and "Lady Sarah Murray" came to be figuring at Worcester, I cannot say; he is, it seems, Bishop of Rochester. However, the facts appear to be these: that there was what is called a Music-Meeting at Worcester; that the young princess and her mother were there; that this Bishop of Rochester preached a sermon upon the occasion, in the cathedral in which the music-meeting was held; and that a report of this sermon, or of its substance, has been published in the Worcester Journal above-mentioned. I will now insert the article a bit at a time, and on the supposition, that the report be correct, expose the ignorance, or the impudence, of this Bishop. The scene is the Cathedral-church mind.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 14.—At an early hour this morning, persons began to assemble about the Cathedral, and before the hour of opening the doors, a considerable crowd

had collected there was scarcely a place vacant, though the accommodation was so ample. Their Royal High-

nesses, the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria arrived with their retinue at twenty minutes before eleven in the Deanery, where they were re-

ceived by the Bishop of Rochester and Lady Sarah Murray; they soon after passed into the Cathedral. Our venerable Diocesan, accompanied the Duchess of Kent, and the Bishop of Rochester, led the interesting Princess Victoria. Both their Lordships wore their robes. A long train of Nobility occupied seats near their Royal Highnesses, towards whom every eye was directed. At this moment the Church presented an appearance equally striking and beautiful; the magnificent chancel gallery was filled in every

part. At eleven o'clock the service opened with that sublime and affecting composition the *Dead March in Saul*. Then followed the quartet 'When the ear heard,' beautifully given by the Knyvette, Vaughan, and Phillips; and the exquisite chorus, 'He delivered the poor.' After the first lesson, Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum* was opened in a masterly style, and was performed throughout in a manner that must have satisfied the ardent admirers of that 'unimitated, inimitable' composer. Phillips put forth the full power of his fine voice in the song 'Thou art the King of Glory'; and Braham gratified us with the taste and feeling with which he sang 'When thou tookest upon to deliver man.' During the singing chorus, 'When thou hadst come the sharpness of death,' *der-storm threw a temporary over the building, and the rolling peals mingling their awful sounds with the music, added to the solemnity of the general effect.* Dr. Boyce's anthem, in which Vaughan and Phillips excelled in the duet of 'Here shall soft charity,' preceded the Sermon. The Coronation Anthem terminated the performance of the morning."

I have always regarded these exhibitions in the cathedrals as amongst the things calculated to pull down the established church. Here are a parcel of hired singers and musicians; the very same persons who perform at the play-houses and opera houses; and here is money taken for entrance; here are tickets; here are *door-keepers*, to let people in, or to keep them out: in short, here is, to all intents and purposes, a *play-house*; and which is worse than even that, the entertainment is mixed up with the *services of the church*. Of the sermon I shall speak presently; but the *thunder-storm*! That came to "add to the solemnity of the scene!" It is useless to exclaim: it is impossible that any man in his senses should believe, that the people, the main body of the people, should retain any veneration for an establishment, the buildings consecrated to which are applied to purposes like these. If this be not profana-

tion, what is, what can be? Here are play-actors acting in a cathedral church for hire; money is taken at the door for admission to hear them; those who do not pay are shut out. In what does this differ from a play-house? Aye, but the money taken is for a charitable purpose. We will see about that by-and-by; but are not plays acted for charitable purposes too? After this what becomes of all the laws against the profanation of consecrated places? And is it any wonder that the people quit the church, and go to meeting houses of any description in preference? But now comes the report of "the sermon," in which we shall find some very curious matter. The Bishop seems to expect, that there is something brewing about the property of the church; and he begins to cry out beforehand.

"The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Rochester, from Luke xv. 25. 'Now his elder son was in the field, and as he came nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing.' The object of his Lordship's discourse was to meet some objections which had been urged against Festivals of this description. He observed that the Saviour having, in the text, *included, without disapprobation, to a recreation in which a family were engaged, it might be inferred that he did not object to that recreation, and therefore Festivals of this description did not appear to be of an objectionable character*; but many pious persons disapproved of musical performances in the House of God; for himself, however, he never could think the House of God desecrated by any act of charity. Whatever tended to raise the affections heavenward, and such was the tendency of performances such as these, must be salutary. Timid and conscientious minds were often fearful of entering into amusements which were lawful, for those were amusements which under proper control were not inconsistent with religion. He would not, however, be understood to approve of that dissipation of body and mind, in which too many indulge; what are usually called pleasures might be

"abused to the destruction of body and soul. If a man found that an amusement caused religion to have less influence over his mind, he ought instantly to give it up."

This is as pretty a piece of logic as I have seen for some time! So, because our Saviour, in the beautiful parable of the prodigal son, "alluded without disapprobation" to the rejoicing and the music in a farm-house, or a private house of some sort; therefore, therefore, he did not object to the like in a Cathedral Church! Our Saviour having, without disapprobation, alluded to the merry-making, the music and the dancing, prepared by a generous and tender father, to express his joy at the reclaiming of his long-lost son, and to show that son how he still loved him, how completely his faults were buried in oblivion, and what happiness and delight were in store for him at home; because our Saviour alluded without disapprobation to the music employed on such an occasion, from such a motive, and in a private dwelling-house, therefore, he would have approved of music by play-actors for the purpose of raising money, and that, too, in a place dedicated to the worship of God; a place consecrated, and to profane which is a crime in the eye of the common, the canon, and the statute law!

But the Bishop says, that the motive here sanctifies the act, that motive being "charity;" and that, whatever has a "tendency to raise the affections heavenward and such was the tendency of these performances, must be salutary." To be sure, the sight, the bare sight, of the play-house people, and more especially the reflecting on their history, must have a violent tendency, particularly amongst the youth of both sexes, to "raise the mind heaven-ward!" To be sure this reporter must be a liar: the man, though a bishop as well as a Scotchman, never could have the brass to say this from the pulpit. "HEAVENWARD" indeed! Is it not notorious, that these meetings fill the towns where they are held with gamblers, bullies, pimps, pick-pockets, and prostitutes, from London? Is it not notorious,

that they surpass even the horse-races, and are equalled only by the elections, in spreading the poison of corruption and profligacy throughout the country? "*Heaven-ward!*" and this uttered, too, in a Cathedral, and in a sermon! There was another passage of the gospel, to which the Bishop might have alluded: "It is written, that my house shall be a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves." It appears, that these *thieves* were money-changers and swarthy, the sons of thieves, to be sure; but judge you, my friends of Worcester, whether the temple were more profaned by *them*, than the Cathedral was upon this occasion, money being taken for entrance, and the actors being such as they were.

However, the object was "charity," and "charity covereth a multitude of sins." This would have been the best text for the Bishop to take! but, out it comes after all, that this charity is to be bestowed on the clergy themselves! "No, no!" exclaims the Bishop: it is to be bestowed on the widows and children of the clergy! That will not do; for if provision be made for the widow and children of a man, does not that provision leave him to spend his income? But I have not room to do half justice to this, and the remaining part of the sermon, or pretended sermon, for which ample justice the Bishop must wait till next week; and, in order that he may be duly prepared, he may, in the meanwhile, as well read attentively my sermons; and particularly the sermon on "*Parasites and Thieves*"; of which sermons a greater number of copies have been sold than of all the sermons of all the clergy of the Church of England, since the time that the first of mine appeared. The whole collection would cost the Bishop but 2*l.* 6*s.*; not the amount of one hollow tooth full of the "*luxurious delicacies*" that were swallowed by the charitable "nobility and gentry," who feasted in the "*Chapter-house*" of Worcester.

I am, my friends,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER I.

TO

TALLEYRAND PÉRIGORD.

Once a Priest, then a Bishop, then a Layman; once a Republican Legislator, then a Citizen Minister under the Republic, then a Prime Minister under Napoleon, then under the Bourbons, Louis and Charles, and the White Flag; and now a Prince Envoy from the "Citizen-King" of a "Sovereign People," who hoist the Tri-coloured Flag.

Kensington, 28th Sept., 1830.

TALLEYRAND,

FOR I know not how to address you, whether as priest, bishop, layman, citizen, or prince, and therefore I take the one and only name of which you have never divested yourself, and which will stick to you as long as you shall exist either in person or in memory. I know more about you than most other men, even men of your own country. My Register contains a record of the most important acts of your life; and of those I shall remind the public as the occasions shall arise.

This letter is intended as a mere *salutation* to you on your arrival from the Court of the "Citizen-King." Future letters will express to you the opinions of the people of England, and particularly my opinions, as to the conduct of the French Government. In the meanwhile, be assured, Talleyrand, that we have not forgotten what you said and wrote about the cause of the death of the Emperor PAUL, and about the employers of *Drake and Smith*; and, above all things, be assured, that we see clearly all that is intended by your mission; that we see through and through the loan-mongers and stock-jobbers of Paris; that we did not fail to see, that the Duke of Orleans, when he almost fainted upon receiving the crown, fell into the arms of A BANKER; that we know all that you and your co-operators intend to accomplish; and

LETTRE I.

A

TALLEYRAND PÉRIGORD,

Jadis Prêtre, Evêque et Laïque; jadis Législateur Républicain et Citoyen-Ministre sous la République; Prince-Ministre sous Napoléon, sous les deux Bourbons, Louis et Charles, et sous le Drapeau Blanc; aujourd'hui Prince, Envoyé Extraordinaire du "Citoyen-Roi," d'un "Peuple Souverain," qui arbore le Drapeau Tricolore.

Kensington, le 28 Sept. 1830.

TALLEYRAND,

Comme j'ignore si je dois vous adresser cette lettre sous le titre de prêtre, d'évêque, de laïque, de citoyen ou de prince, je me contente de vous donner le nom dont vous ne pourrez jamais vous défaire, le seul nom qui vous restera tant que vous existerez, ou aussi long-temps qu'on se souviendra de vous. Je suis plus au fait de ce qui vous concerne, que tel homme que ce puisse être, sans en excepter même vos compatriotes. Mon registre contient les actes les plus importants de votre vie, et j'aurai soin de les rappeler au public, à mesure que l'occasion s'en présentera.

Le but de cette première lettre est de vous offrir mes salutations à votre arrivée de la cour du "Citoyen-Roi." Dans celles qui suivront, je vous exprimerai l'opinion du peuple anglais, et ma propre opinion sur la conduite du gouvernement français. En attendant, soyez bien certain, Talleyrand, que nous n'avons pas oublié ce que vous avez dit et ce que vous avez écrit sur la cause de la mort de l'Empereur PAUL, ainsi que sur les *commettants de Drake et de Smith*. Soyez surtout bien certain que nous voyons bien clairement le but de votre mission; que nous connaissons parfaitement les manigances des brocanteurs d'emprunts et des agioteurs de Paris; que nous n'avons pas manqué de voir le Duc d'Orléans tomber dans les bras d'un BANQUIER, après s'être pour ainsi dire évanoui en recevant la couronne;

that WE KNOW THAT YOU WILL FAIL in all your intentions.

It is now about thirty-four years since I saw you at the house of Mr. Moreau de St. Méry, at Philadelphia. The "*Citizen King*" and his two brothers were in that city about the same time. Of them I lost sight till the "*Citizen-Bourbon*" popped out, all at once, the other day, as if he had dropped from the clouds! Ah! Talleyrand! We see it all! We see all about the old priest, canon, Baron Louis, and the tender-hearted Monsieur Lafitte, who mingled his tears of joy with those of the "*Roi-Citoyen*." Madame de Pompadour said, that we were muddy-headed; and we may be sometimes; but we are, at any rate, clear-sighted with regard to this matter. We were partly blind till you were appointed to this court. Some of us thought it very strange, that there should be a *King ready to take Charles's place*; very strange that the Chamber, or part of a Chamber, should, of their own authority, take upon them to make a new King WITHOUT having themselves been CONVOKED; very strange we thought that the Banker, FARRIER, should be chosen President of the Chamber, and that he having vacated his seat, another Banker, LAFITTE, should be chosen in his place by almost acclamation; very strange we thought all these things; very strange that Charles should have 140,000 pounds sterling, or 3,500,000 francs a year paid him out of the sweat of the people of France as compensation for causing the people of Paris to be slaughtered; very strange we thought all these things; they made us rub our eyes; we could hardly think that our sight was clear; but the moment we heard of YOUR APPOINTMENT the dimness was removed, and we saw all as clearly as the sun at noon-day!

I leave you now, Talleyrand, till next week, to enjoy yourself with the employers of Drake and Smith; and perhaps to enjoy the company of these personages themselves; and, in the

que nous savons parfaitement ce que vous et vos co-opérateurs avez en vue, mais que NOUS SAVONS AUSSI QUE TOUS VOS PROJETS ÉCHOUERONT.

Il y a maintenant environ 34 ans que je vous vis chez Mr. Moreau de St. Méry à Philadelphie. Le *Citoyen-Roi* et ses deux frères se trouvaient dans cette ville à la même époque; et je n'avais plus entendu parler d'eux jusqu'à ce que le *Citoyen-Bourbon* s'est montré tout à coup, ces jours derniers, comme s'il fût tombé des nues. Oui, Talleyrand, nous voyons tout; nous voyons à travers le vieux prêtre, le chanoine, le baron Louis et le sensible M. Lafitte qui confond ses larmes avec celles du "*Roi-citoyen*." Madame de Pompadour disait que nous avions le *cerveau embourbé*, et en effet nous en donnons par fois la preuve, mais, dans cette circonstance, soyez sûr que nous y voyons fort clair. Nous n'avons été en partie aveuglés que jusqu'au moment où nous avons appris votre mission près de notre cour. Plusieurs d'entre nous ont trouvé étrange qu'il se trouvât sur-le-champ un roi tout prêt à remplacer Charles; bien étrange que la Chambre, ou plutôt une partie de la Chambre prit sur elle de faire un nouveau roi, de sa propre autorité et SANS avoir été CONVOCUÉE. Ils ont vu, avec étonnement que le banquier, PERRIER, fût élu président, et que, sur son refus, un autre banquier, LAFITTE, fut élu à sa place, aux acclamations pour ainsi dire unanimes. Tout cela nous a étonnés. Nous avons aussi trouvé fort étrange que Charles reçut 140,000 mille livres sterling ou 3,500,000 francs sur le produit des sueurs du peuple français pour l'indemniser sans doute du carnage qu'il en a fait. Tous ces procédés nous ont ouvert les yeux; nous avions de la peine à y croire; mais du moment où nous avons appris VOTRE NOMINATION, tous les doutes ont cessé, et nous avons tout vu aussi clair que le soleil en plein midi.

Je vous laisse maintenant vous réjouir jusqu'à la semaine prochaine, avec, Talleyrand, ainsi que les commentants de Drake et de Smith. Peut-être jouirez vous aussi de la société de

meanwhile, I remain, with sentiments such as a man like me ought to entertain towards a man like you,

WM. CORBETT.

ces deux personnages. En attendant, je suis avec les sentiments qu'un homme, tel que moi, doit porter à un homme, tel que vous.

GNE. CORBETT.

CAT OUT OF THE BAG.

ONE of the means by which we have been kept in our present state of slavery is, the high and false opinion that has been entertained of our Government by other nations. France is the source of knowledge to the continent, and France has known no more of England than it did of the moon. The Bourbons and the boroughmongers were bound up in a partnership. The *Register* could not get into France so easily as a whole ship-load of smuggled goods; nothing but our newspapers could get in the state of England, the effects of borough-mongering, were wholly hidden from the French people; of travellers, they saw none but tax-eaters and litheaters; these gave them a famous account of the excellent effects of our Government; and excellent they are to them. So that the ignorance of the French with regard to our state was complete; and there were even the very newspapers, that were at work against Charles, PRAISING OUR THING, under which we are groaning to death. This revolution has lifted the veil; it has LET THE REGISTER INTO FRANCE: the dawn has broken in upon the French: and the light of noon-day is at hand. The TALLEYRAND-GOVERNMENT, that they have now got in France, would gladly shut out the light again; but this it cannot do without a censorship on the press: and that it will not attempt at present at any rate. To show you how the light is breaking in upon France, I have translated the following interesting article. Read it, and you will see, that they have got the *Register*; aye, and what is more, *I will take care that they shall have it!* And that too, in spite of TALLEYRAND and of all the priest-bishop-princes upon the face of the earth. In short, the French shall have censorship

or the *Register*; and it is I, William Cobbett, that says it. TALLEYRAND will now, amongst other things, know the name of every man and woman that goes from England to France: Poh! Talleyrand; I do not care a straw for you and your old friend Drake, and all the boroughmongers into the bargain.

"Sweet companions, hug and kiss,
"Toast Old Glorious in your . . ."

I do not care for you one single leaf of the tobacco on which the Bourbons raised so enormous a tax. Now, my readers, you shall, please God to give me health, see how I will work this brace of THINGS; and in the meanwhile, read my translation, and see the effects of the *Register* getting into France; see the effects of the cat getting out of the bag!

(From the "*Tribune des Départemens*,"
of the 13th and 14th September.)

FRANCE

AND HER RELATIONSHIPS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

AT no time has it been in the power of France to enjoy so much liberty as at the present; to establish so firmly her rights in the internal government; to act with so much independence, or better to maintain her dignity with respect to other nations. She has known how to light the protecting torch which has lighted a salutary revolution; that pure and brilliant light has guided the people in the midst of the most glorious exploits, and the fire which animated us has consumed nothing but the altars on which our rights were to have been sacrificed to despotism. At every dawn of day, when we behold the tri-coloured flag floating on our roofs, scarcely yet do we believe our eyes; we think it a

dream, a deceitful play of imagination which thus presents us the emblem of glory and liberty. One must really stop to consider, and recollect our three immortal days, to be convinced that we are not the play-things of empty dreams and that we have, I really, such reason to pride ourselves on our country, and to glory in the name of *Frenchmen*.

Yes, France may now be free without fear of foreigners; but France ought to know her strength. To acquire this knowledge, indispensable in adopting the proper measures in organizing its Government, let us cast an attentive eye on the present attitude and situation of those powers which have so long exercised a fatal influence over our destinies, in forming alliances founded on usurpation and tyranny. If we suffer not tyranny at home, we have now nothing to fear abroad from emperors, kings, autocrats, or aristocrats, nor of their united efforts over the whole surface of Europe. Happily for us, they have cares enough at home, and they suffer, in matters which go to the life even, embarrassment which will fully occupy them, without thinking of our internal affairs.

To begin with the continental powers, all France knows the motives of security which she must have in what concerns these states. Belgium, Italy, and Spain, are vast emporiums of inflammable matter, which threatens to explode for the destruction of despotism. The match has already been lighted in Belgium; the explosion is heard, and the powder of the enemies of the laws has flown to pieces. The men who lately oppressed the other two countries, now step with the trembling of men who are waiting the first shocks of an earthquake, or the eruption of a volcano.

But there is another country, gentlemen, of little importance to-day, but worthy of our attention, of our interest in the highest degree. We Frenchmen know not so well, as we sometimes flatter ourselves we do, nor so well as we ought to do, the affairs of this neighbouring power; she presents to us an imposing spectacle, an example of grandeur in its decline; a salutary

lesson to the universe. We cannot but recollect *all the evil that this country has done us*, and that it would have done us; and yet we ought to regard the nation rather with sentiments of generous pity than with anger, rather even with sentiments of affection than of pity: if its Government has shown its hostility to us when we were feeble, it has no means of defending itself against our just reproaches; and if it has placed the nation in a situation which demands our pity, this nation has too much nobleness of soul not to disavow the conduct of its oppressors with respect to us, and she proclaims, without reserve and with enthusiasm, the sympathy with which France has inspired it. We speak of England.

It was amusing to hear some good citizens of Paris, in their modest simplicity, asking, in a tone of inquietude, *if the King of England would recognize such or such a form of government in France*. Alas! of small consequence to-day is the ancient renown of England; her glory and power of former days, the valour of her armies, the ascendancy which she acquired in the battle of Waterloo. What we should examine with regard to England, is the present situation of that kingdom, the state of the nation, the character of its Government.

If these points are considered attentively, it will soon be clearly seen that England, relatively with other governments, was never in so critical a situation. All that surrounds her is rising and acquiring strength, in spite of the systems of subjection that the English Government has helped to introduce every where; and while this Government was working to impose slavery on others, England has thrown herself into the most cruel embarrassments, which are daily augmenting, and which have already reduced her to that relative impotence from which she cannot be rescued but by a total change of system.

England has boasted of being the mistress of the commerce of the world, as she has also boasted that her Government was the most liberal of governments. But what is her real situation in these two respects? As to her finances,

England is in absolute insolvency. As to her Government, the rich and the titled only influence the legislature; it is a *real oligarchy*, and the *House of Commons*, which they so often cite as an assembly of the nation's representatives, is nothing, in fact, but the instrument of aristocratic usurpation.

When one reads attentively the ministerial journals of London, one feels, at the same time, pleasure and chagrin. We observe their great efforts to calm us; we see them take a tone of modest humility; flatter us, and say nothing that can possibly irritate us; but we see that all this is insincere; and that, pretending to be the organs of a free people, they are only the constrained echo of public opinion, trembling lest by silence they should exasperate the oppressed people. How can we forget the language of these same journals towards France, during the struggles that we have had to encounter? What tone did they take under the empire? What was their language when Louis XVIII. left the shores of England to return amongst us?

Of the English journals there is one whose conduct we cannot understand. The *Times*, which has a great reputation amongst the liberal party of all Europe, takes infinite pains to persuade the world that the Duke of Wellington is the friend of our new revolution, and that he has not had the least to do with the attempt of our late government to rivet on our irons. To prove this assertion, the *Times* reminds its readers of the seven millions of Catholics emancipated by the Duke. But does not the *Times* know, and has not Mr. O'CONNELL directly said it, that fear of revolution forced the Duke of WELLINGTON to emancipate the Catholics? And have we not a right to conclude, that the extreme friendship of the Duke of WELLINGTON towards France of to-day arises from the same cause, from the hard law of necessity? We suspect that there is false liberalism in the periodical press of London, as well as in that of Paris.

Whilst the *Courier* and the *Times* of London affect to applaud the insurgent

population of Paris to the skies, we see with what violence they attack the *friends of reform in England*. This is a circumstance worthy of attention, and which betrays the secret of the real situation of that country. Read *Cobbett*, the *Examiner*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Herald*: these show talent, and they dare speak out; and it seems they know the truth. What if they are the enemies of the existing Government; a fact which they take no pains to conceal? The facts which they cite are true. How would they dare put them forth if they were not true? Besides, their adversaries do not deny them. And if all that we learn from these writers be true, what ought we to think of the present situation of England? The exposé which they give us of the mode of election, proves clearly that the representative part of the English Government, that part in which some writers have discovered the inviolable safeguard of the people, is an absolute nullity. The aristocracy, created by chivalry, and kept up as a decoration of the throne, in its degenerate selfishness, has seized upon the exercise of the people's rights, and has become odious to the nation as its scourge and source of misery.

All the world knows that the ancient laws of England prohibited a standing army in time of peace. Now the people support the charge of almost a hundred thousand regular troops. And after having turned us and other nations into great ridicule because we tolerated a *gendarmie*, they have finished by having one themselves. We learn from our travellers, that numerous bodies of men in uniform are seen patrolling the streets of London; not like the *national guard* of France, for the maintenance of its laws, but to suppress the constantly recurring disorders of a dissolute town, and above all, to keep in subjection those who call for independence. It appears that those writers who advocate the people's rights, do so at considerable peril, though England calls herself a *thinking nation*; and though M. CHAMBERS DUBIN has maintained that, of all people, the English are the most

perfectly educated. The working classes are reduced to potatoes for their nourishment, and they continue to emigrate, either of their own will or from persuasion; but in both cases, because their own country does not afford them the means of subsistence. We are assured that, in many parts, husbands have been compelled to quit their wives, in order that the population may not increase. In the country, English work people are seen harnessed to carts, treated as the horses and oxen of our farmers. In general, the English who travel in our country, do not own these facts, and we are not surprised at it. But one of our countrymen, arrived lately from England, and who has travelled through the several counties, declares that our account is not exaggerated. We never forget his words: "Believe me," said he, "the state of misery and degradation of that unhappy people is such, that I could not give you a just idea of it." And it is from this Government that we feared a galling interference! It was for this Government to think of dictating to us what laws and what liberty it would permit us to enjoy!

After all the noble sentiments of friendship, and even of real enthusiasm, that the English have shown towards us in their congratulations on our success in the patriotic enterprise of July, we cannot doubt the sincerity of the majority of the nation in the good wishes which it offers. Its meetings, at which addresses have been voted, express the warmest friendship to the French who cherish liberty. We can see that false notions of the disposition of this people have been instilled among us, and even that many of its travellers have not done it justice. However, seeing the facts which we have just cited, and, in spite of our wish to judge favourably of the English, it is not the less certain that they must appear in our eyes less imposing than worthy of our commiseration. Let us not trouble ourselves at the melancholy of the Duke of Wellington on hearing of the recent fall of our last dynasty, nor of the silence of the English aristocracy, let

us attach no importance to the refusal of some English magistrates to convene meetings for the purpose of congratulating us; but let us draw from these facts a lesson for ourselves; let us take heed how we suffer in the Chamber [House of Commons] men who do not really represent the opinions and sentiments of the people.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE RELIEF OF THE BRAVE PARISIAN SUFFERERS.

Collected at the Dinner at the London Tavern,
on the 16th of August, Mr. Clobbitt in the
Chair.

	£	s.	d.
Sir Thomas B. Baeror, Bart.....	50	0	0
Mr. Swain, Fleet-street.....	0	10	0
Fidells	0	10	0
Mr. Samuel Child	0	10	0
Mr. Joseph Newton.....	0	2	6
Mr. John Bruin	0	2	6
A Friend to Liberty	0	10	0
Mr. Joseph Harvey, Lambeth	0	10	0
Mr. John Murratt.....	0	10	0
Mr. W. Johnston, 62, Holborn-hill	0	10	0
Mr. John Pows	1	0	0
Mr. J. Bridge	0	10	0
Mr. R. F. Brettingham	0	10	0
Mr. J. E. Tuke, Hammersmith ..	1	0	0
Mr. R. O. Tuke	0	2	6
A Bill for Palignac from a Constitutional Doctor and Citizen of the World	0	0	2
Mr. William Firth, Maidstone	0	10	0
Mr. Thomas Nash	0	10	0
Mr. W. H. Goodlake	0	10	0
Mr. James Wilkinson	5	0	0
Mr. George Bateman.....	10	0	0
Mr. John Nicholson	10	0	0
Mr. William Williams	10	0	0
Mr. Robert Johnson, (2d subscrip- tion)	1	0	0
Mr. Henry Williams	1	0	0
Mr. J. Spooner	0	5	0
Mr. A. Wilson	1	0	0
Mr. James Howell	1	0	0
Mr. Moss	0	10	0
An Italian Refugee	0	5	0
Mr. James Long, baker, Hounslow ..	0	10	0
Mr. Nyam	1	0	0
Messrs. Franks and Williams.....	1	0	0
Mr. R. Sykes	1	0	0
Mr. J. Faracci	1	0	0
Mr. William Grant	0	0	0
Mr. Penn	5	0	0
J. B.	1	0	0
Mr. Robert Slade	5	0	0
Mr. Edingham Wilson	0	10	0
Mr. E. Wilson, Jun	0	2	6
G. B.	1	0	0
Mr. John Byron, Knightsbridge..	0	1	0

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Mr. Thomas Gregory	1 1 0
Mr. Peel	0 10 0
J. F. Down with the boroughmongers	1 0 0
An old Radical	0 1 0
A young Radical	0 1 0
Mr. William Head	0 1 0
John Penn, Esq., engineer, Green-	
wich	5 5 0
G. Pearuddock, Esq. (by letter) ..	1 0 0
Mr. Bardolph	0 0
Mr. Penn's men at Greenwich	1 7 0
Mr. H. Whitehead, of Chelsea	0 10 0
Mr. Summers	1 0 0
John Hutton, man to Mr. Summers	0 1 0
Mr. George Lewis	0 1 0
W. D.	0 0 0
Mr. S. Sapsford, Wimpole-street ..	1 0 0
J. E.	0 1 0
One day's half-pay	0 13
Mr. Hattersley	1 0 0
B., a mechanic	0 0 0
Mr. Ford, Lambeth	0 3 0
Mr. Hunchard	0 0 0
Wm. Bland, Esq., by J. Hartlip ..	1 0 0
Mr. Meseder	0 2 0
Mr. Rose	0 1 0
Mr. Robert Barnard	0 1 0
Mr. Reynolds	0 4 0
Mr. More, Great Marybone-street ..	1 0 0
Mr. Corbett	2 0 0
Mr. Samuel Treacher, High Wy-	
combe, from a few friends	1 10 0
Received in a letter from Maidstone	
addressed to Sir T. Bouverie	
In an anonymous letter to Mr. ...	
bett	2 0 0
Collected from six thousand working	
men by Mr. Cobbett	50 0 0

£211 15

N. B. It is intended to send off the money on the 1st of November. Those friends, in the country, who intend to subscribe, will please to act accordingly, and send, by post, to Sir THOMAS BOURVOR, to be left at No. 11, Bolt-court Fleet-street, London.

COBBETT'S LECTURES

At the Rotunda, Blackfriars-road :
MONDAY, 4th October. On the Conduct and Views of the Whigs.

THURSDAY, 7th October. On the Standing Army of England.

The hour, *Eight in the Evening* ;
Admission, 2d.

N.B. Copies of the *Petition to the King*, being the Manifesto of the *People of England* against the *Boycott-nominate*, to be had at the Rotunda or at Bolt-court, price 1d. or 6s. a hundred.

I shall not leave London until the *eleventh of October*, on the evening of which day I shall Lecture at *Deptford* ; and after that, and including that, at the following places :

Deptford, Monday, 11th October.

Gravesend, Tuesday, 12th.

Rochester, Wednesday, 13th.

Maldstone, Thursday, 14th.

Tonbridge, Friday, 15th.

Battle, Saturday, 16th.

Lewes, Monday, 18th.

Brighton, Tuesday, 19th, and Wednesday, 20th

Chichester, Thursday, 21st.

Portsmouth, Friday, 22d.

Gosport, Saturday, 23d.

Isle of Wight, Monday, 25th.

Portsmouth, (again) Tuesday 26th.

Then back to London to see the New Collective assemble, and to see what a figure they will make. These days are *fixed*, dependent solely on my life and health. *TALLEYRAND* is in the *field* again ! We must be prepared too ! I know the way to meet his workings ; and nothing will I neglect, at any rate. The main thing for friends, in the above towns, to attend to is, to ensure beforehand, a place to hold as many people as possible. No matter for the beauty of it. If it keep out the rain it will do ; and as to seats, I must stand all the while, at any rate. I shall go with post-horses, and get into each town successively by *twelve o'clock* in the day, at the latest. The price of admission will, *everywhere*, be *three-pence*, that the **WORKING PEOPLE** may not be shut out ; for let it be remembered, that it was the *working* people, and the work-

ing people alone, that 'defeated the bloody Swiss, and that drove away the tyrant from France. I shall cause to be given at the door, to every person who enters, a copy of the *Petition to the King*, that being the *MANIFESTO of the people of England against the boroughmongers*. I request some friend, at each of the above places, to write to me without delay, to tell me whether a suitable place can be had in the town, and at a reasonable rate, for my expenses will be great in proportion to the receipts. Any rough place will do, if it be big enough and will keep off rain, nothing better than a barn, the doors of which can be closed, and that is watertight, without holes near the ground. Very few lights will be sufficient; men hear very well without gas. I want to speak to rich as well as poor; but particularly to those who live by labour. The HOUR of Lecturing will be SEVEN O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING. If, at any place, I find no place suitable, I shall go on to the next place. When friends have fixed on a proper place, they may if they like, give notice of it, in some way that will cost them nothing. They may depend, life and health permitting, on seeing me in the town by twelve o'clock on the day respectively named, as above.

TO THE PEOPLE OF BOTLEY.

FRIENDS, I have published the little book about WILLIS FLANNING and the GRASPALLS and their DINNERS. It is called COBBETT'S MONTHLY TWO-PENNY TRASH, and this is the 4th number of it. I want you and the working people of all the villages round you to read it; and therefore, though it sells for two pence, I will send to any one THAT I KNOW, in Hampshire, a hundred, or more, for a penny each, the order being post-paid, and the money either sent with the order, or some place in town appointed for me to receive the money. There is one number published every month. It is a nice little book, made expressly for working people to read. God bless you all, and preserve your

flesh and skin and bones and blood from the GRASPALLS.

WM. COBBETT.

GOLD!

"One good turn deserves another." The Bank of Paris propped ours at the time of the late PANIC, and ours is trying to prop that, the two THINGS hang upon one another: if one come down, down comes the other. Therefore, the Jews and Jobbers are moving earth and hell to keep both standing; for, if they come down, there are, a republic in France, the march of the French to the Rhine, and a Reform in England. Now, will they come down? Can that THING in France be kept up, without sending so much gold and silver from England as to produce the necessity of a bank-restriction? I think not, and of this I am nearly sure. City-men, great observers, expect the restriction every hour. The quantity of gold and of silver sent to France within this month is prodigious! Not only from London, but from all the outports are they going at a great rate. And well this may be; for my correspondent at DIEPPE tells me, that the sovereigns are, at that place, at a premium of 22 sols; that is to say, they are worth ELEVEN-PENCE more than their nominal value. I can rely upon my information, and while this is the case, the gold will not remain here. The bullion is going to other countries as well as to France. We have more here than we can keep with our quantity of paper-money out, and we cannot lessen that quantity of paper-money without producing a panic, and panic is reform; and reform is the loan-jobber's and Jew's and boroughmonger's devil; and nobody likes to go to the devil. As to the priest-baron, Louis, the French financier, he is going to lend 75,000,000 of francs to "aid commerce." Aid commerce! What does the old priest-canon-baron-financier mean? What! his taxes falling short, he, not strong enough to pay the expenses with, is going to lend the people's money to the Jews and jobbers and discounters! But what money! What sort of money?

Why, *paper-money* to be sure! And how is he to get that? Bona fide it to be sure! And who is the old baron-canon-priest to borrow it of? Why, of the Jews and robbers to be sure! And what security is he to give them for it? Why, a mortgage on the taxes! Oh, oh! It is a *loan*, then, that the priest-baron is going to make! And who will give real money for his scrip? No man that reads that, about ten days ago, the "National Guard, at the town of Comus, in the Gironde, after being out at a review, marched in a body to the *exchequer* offices in the town, took out the books and burnt them." This is the thing: the taxes will not be paid; the infernal system of funding will be blown up; France will be really free and great; and we shall be compelled to follow her example. I defy the devil and even Talleyrand himself, to prevent this result. In the meanwhile, reader, GET SOME GOLD, if you can.

MR. TENNYSON.

I was gladly do this gentleman justice by inserting his letter. I differ from him about the *tenant's bill*; but that is of little importance compared with the other two points. As to reform, however, *householders* will not satisfy, and ought not to satisfy, the people. Things have gone too far for that. If Mr. Tennyson will take the trouble to read the last Number of *Advice to Young Men*, on the rights and duties of a citizen (which is now printing at Paris, in French), he will there see the grounds of that for which we contend, and of what will finally prevail.

"*Birmingham, Sat. Oct. 1836.*"

"Sir,—In your last Register, I observe that you mention me as having prosecuted two poor fellows who were hanged at Oxford, or pleaded against them."

"I never prosecuted or pleaded against any man in my life, and am an entire stranger to the matter to which you refer; neither had I ever

any concern with the city of Oxford, except that in 1819 I brought, but ineffectually, under the consideration of the House of Commons, the undue interference of the Duke of Marlborough with the election of its members. Accordingly I feel confident you will set me right on this point in the opinion of your readers."

"With regard to the Act which I conducted through Parliament some years ago, and which you say 'changed the law in such a manner as to give the landlords a harder grasp upon the property of tenants.' You will find upon inquiry that its object and consequences were all beneficial to the tenant as to the landlord, unless it were the tenant's true interest unlawfully to overhold land which he ought to have quitted, and to seize upon crops which belong to another. The Act studiously provides every protection to the tenant against oppression, and yours is the first complaint I have ever heard against it, except that its operation was not sufficiently extensive."

"With regard to the limitation of elective suffrage to renters of 10*l.* or 20*l.* a year, I entirely agree with you as to the nature of that proposition. In evidence of this, I declined to bring in any Bill for giving representation to Birmingham, in which the franchise should be framed upon any such principle; and the measure which I introduced, and in which I persisted through the whole of the last Parliament, extended the right of voting to the inhabitant householders paying rent and lot, who had resided and paid rates for a certain period prior to the election. As you appear to confound my views on this subject with those which some others have entertained, I am desirous of correcting your impression, and that which your last Register may have created against me in other quarters."

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"CHARLES TENNYSON."

MR. WAKLEY.

THOUGH this gentleman was foiled as to the *immediate* object of his contest for the Coronership of Middlesex, he is entitled to great praise for those efforts by which he put the power of the boroughmongers to the test, and by which he proved the great decline of that power. I regret that I was not able to be present at the dinner at the Crown and Anchor on the 28th inst., not only as being there would have been a great pleasure in itself, but as it would have afforded me an opportunity of publicly expressing my admiration of Mr. Wakley's conduct during the election; and particularly of the dignified and good-tempered manner in which he closed a contest calculated to excite feelings of no very placid character. He has shown, upon this occasion, that he possesses public spirit, good sense, learning, and talents, which, while they qualify him for stations far above that of Coroner, stamp him as a man in whom the people can safely confide.

THE BELGIANS.

I HAVE, just when sending to press, heard of the *defeat of the Dutch by the Belgians*. I hope in God it is true, and that not one soldier, *who fired on the Belgians*, will return alive! If this news be true, TALLEYRAND may back to his "ROI-CROUVÉ" and the PRESIDENT BANKER, and the Court at Lulworth may adjourn!

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN. This work is now completed, in fourteen numbers, price six-pence each. They make a very handsome volume, the print and paper being very good. Those gentlemen, who have *not got their sets complete* are notified, that they may complete them by application at my shop, or to any bookseller, in town or country; but that the sooner they do this the better; for, there will soon be no *broken sets*, and then their completion cannot take place. The sets may now be had *complete*, and

with labels for binding in boards, but I do not sell this work in boards.

THE FOURTH NUMBER OF THE TWO-PENNY TALES is published, price two-pence.

HISTORY OF GEORGE IV., NUMBER TWO, is published; and this number brings to light facts, of which very few persons have ever before been informed. The price of this work is eight-pence each number, it contains half as much more paper and print as the Nos. of the ADVISER: the paper fine and stout and the print excellent.

THE PEOPLE'S MANIFESTO against the Boroughmongers; or *Petition to the King*. Price one penny, or six shillings a hundred.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. A new edition, price 2s. 6d. With a list of clothes, sea-stores, and other things necessary for a young man, to fit him out well, and give him a fair start in America. The last edition of this work had a *Postscript*; but I have now added this *List*, in consequence of many applications on the subject. It will be very useful; for where so many little things are wanted, some are generally forgotten; and when once you get on board of ship, it is too late to say, "I forgot to bring" this or that. I, though a cabin-passenger, have given a *shilling for an onion*, to a steerage-passenger, who had had more forethought than our captain had had. This List is, however, principally intended for steerage-passengers.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN ITALY, &c., by MR. JAMES COBBETT. This work was promised some weeks back; but the Author going to France in August, prevented its publication according to promise. He is now on his way to England, and his book will be out in a short time after his arrival. The precise day shall be named in the next Register. HIS RIDE IN THE WEST OF FRANCE, and his brother JOHN'S LETTERS FROM FRANCE, during a tour through the NORTH, EAST, and SOUTH, OF FRANCE: these, together with the ITALIAN TOUR, will afford almost all the necessary information as to those countries, whether as to the climate,

the products, the laws, the habits, the manners, or the state of society.

GARDENING BOOK. This is the time of the year when people turn away from looking after gardens; and yet this is just the time when they ought to be making provision for the spring! How provoked I was all last spring to find no *spinage* any-where, at any of the inns. It is, surely, better to read a book of this sort than a romance. How many men would have good gardens, and full of good things, if they only spent as much time in one year in reading a book on gardening as they spend in one month gaping over senseless parts of the columns of newspapers! A lady at Bristol pleased me greatly by showing me her beautifully neat and well-stocked little garden, and still more by telling me, that it was *my book* that had made her and her amiable family gardeners.

THE WOODLANDS;

OR,
A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting down and the applying of the Tree; and all that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 1s.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into this matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of MALTRUS. A small Volume. Price 1s.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

THE LAW OF TURNPIKES; or, an Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Commentaries on, all the General Acts, relative to Turnpike Roads. By WILLIAM COBBETT, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

COTTAGE ECONOMY. I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the Labouring and Middleling Classes of the English Nation; and I knew that the lively and pleasing manner of the writing would cause it to have many readers; and that thus its substance would get handed to those who could not read. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest mode of making *Beer* and *Bread*, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. It was necessary, further, to treat of the keeping of *Cows*, *Pigs*, *Bees*, and *Poultry*, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details; and I think it impossible for any one to read the Book without learning something of utility in the management of a Family. It includes my Writings also on the *Straw Plait*. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, "showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen." This is the Title of the Work, which consists of Two Volumes, the first containing the Series of Letters above described, and the second containing a List of *Abbeys*, *Priories*, *Nunneries*, and other Religious and charitable Endowments, that were seized on and granted away by the Reformers to one another, and to their minions. The List is arranged according to the Counties, alphabetically, and each piece of property is fully stated, with its then, as well as its actual value; by whom founded and when; by whom granted away, and to whom. Of this Work there are two Editions, one in Duodecimo, price 4s. 6d. for the first Volume, and 3s. 6d. for the second; and another in *Royal Octavo*, on handsome paper, with marginal Notes, and a full Index. This latter Edition was printed for Libraries, and there was consequently but a limited number of Copies struck off: the Price 11s. 11s. 6d. in Extra Boards.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, October 9th, 1830.

[Price 7d]



LETTER II.

TO

TALLEYRAND PERIGORD.

Once a Priest, then a Bishop, then a Layman; once a Republican Legislator, then a Citizen Minister under the Republic, then a Prime Minister under Napoleon, then under the Bourbons, Louis and Charles, and the White Flag; and now a Prince Exile from the "Citizen-King" of a "Sovereign People," who hoist the Tri-coloured Flag.

Kensington, 6th October, 1830.

TALLEYRAND,

WHEN the causes of the blowing up of the two LOAN-JOBBERING SYSTEMS, now existing in England and France, shall become matter of history; when we shall have to speak of those two systems as things that have been; when our children, while they express their surprise, and are restrained only by their filial feelings, from expressing their indignation, that their fathers, constituting two great nations, should have submitted, for years, to the sway of a couple of bands of loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers, and Jews, at whose command they cast aside justice, freedom, and renown, as things of no value; when our sons shall blush for our conduct, and shall express their astonishment, that a nation like the English, who had never, for any length of time, submitted to a Greek Yoke, and breathed freedom in every line, who sucked in a love of liberty with the

milk from their mothers' breasts, whose deadly enmity to arbitrary sway is recorded in a thousand scenes of civil strife; and that a nation like the French, who, at one single effort, broke to pieces and cast from them the chains in which craft and cruelty combined had held them bound for twelve hundred years, who then sallied forth on the despots that had combined to re-enslave them, and by deeds of valour eclipsing all that history had ever recorded, subdued the whole of those despots and made them crouch at their feet: when, Talleyrand, our sons shall think of these things, and express their astonishment, that a nation like the English should have crouched to Jews and boroughmongers for fifty years, and that a nation like the French should, in 1830, have tamely submitted to have their houses visited, night or day, by excisemen, to pay a tax on the wine, the produce of their fields, to have the leaves of their tobacco-plants counted by the employés, and to refrain from subtracting a single leaf, lest punishment should follow the crime; when they shall express their astonishment, that the men who fought at Jena, at Austerlitz, at Arcole, and who marched to Amsterdam, Berlin, Rome, Naples, and Vienna; that the men at the bare approach of whom fortresses, by hundreds, before deemed impregnable, opened their gates; when they shall express their astonishment, that after all this, these same men submitted to pay for patents for permission to carry on their trades, that they submitted to be restrained from moving about their own country without a passport, that they submitted to have made and without the assent of a twentieth part of them, and made, too, in great part, by men who claimed an hereditary right to be their law-givers; when they shall express their astonishment at this, and their still greater astonishment, that this brave nation, having roused itself a second time, having a second time

broken the chains that had been gently put, bit by bit, about its limbs, should, all of a sudden, and before the chains were completely shaken off, not only stop in their glorious efforts, but really seem as if they feared that they had already done too much, nay, *that what they had done was wrong!* When our sons shall express their astonishment at these things, and particularly at this concluding, this *strange*, and to France, most humiliating, event; then will those sons, turning to this page, to these letters of mine, to my plain and fearless statement, see the *true causes* of occurrences, apparently so wonderful; and from that same page, before they come to the end of it, they will learn that these causes finally failed of their intended effect, and instead of security to the inventors, brought destruction on their heads.

Thus you see, Talleyrand, I have opened a *large* subject. You know, most likely, but whether you know it or not, the fact is; that I have demolished more schemes of knavery and oppression than any man that ever lived; and that I have in me that quality for which my countrymen are famed, a steady and stubborn pursuit of every object that I once mark out for matter of exertion. I know well how safe you are from my *immediate* grasp; I have no power physically to touch you; you are surrounded and caressed by those who have a standing army of a hundred thousand men at their command, and who, while this people, once so happy and well fed, are steeped in misery and covered with rags and fed upon potatoes, are taking from them sixty millions a year in taxes; but still I shall reach you by degrees: it is, to be sure, the water dropping upon the marble; but at last it makes impression. You have, too, the RICH people of France on your side; they, whose god is kept in a bag or pocket-book, care not who the priest, so long as his efforts are to secure the god. My correspondent at Paris tells me, that some of these, upon reading my *Tableau de l'Angleterre*, No. VII, in the Register of the 25th of September, which Num-

ber was in French as well as in English; my correspondent tells me, that some Frenchmen of the class "*comme il faut*," upon reading this, which was an address to the *brave Parisians* on your *wonderful appointment*, and which contained my opinions, quite frankly expressed, on the strange circumstances connected with the choosing of a king *again*, and another *Bourbon*, too; and with the *voyage*, and the *civil list*, and *slow march* of Charles; these "*gens comme il faut*," or people who live without work, says my correspondent, "when they came to that part of the address which speaks of the new king, shrugged up their shoulders. They greatly applauded what you say about the priest-bishop-citizen-prince; but the part in which you give it as your opinion that Louis-Philippe seems to have been chosen to *keep the place warm* for Charles or his heirs, was much too warm for them."

Thus, you see, old priest-bishop, that I am not blind to the difficulties with which I have to deal; but I shall overcome them. I know, too, that you have (though they are ashamed of it) the greater part of the *Paris journalists with you*. We, in England, know that our press is corrupted; those of us who are acquainted with the matter, know that the owners of the daily part of it have, generally, a monopoly, created by the enormous tax upon it; we know that these owners have, sometimes, *offices and emoluments bestowed on them by our Government*; but this is done in a way so artful, as for the main part of the people not to see it. The government of the "*citizen king*" has, for want of experience, been less crafty; they have bribed the press of Paris *openly*, if the Paris papers speak truth; they gave posts and salaries, at once, and by NAME, to the writers of the *several journals*; and some of the journals complained that they had *not got their share!* Ah, Talleyrand! Ah, Baron Louis! Ah, Louis-Philippe, *premier!* This was a deep stroke; but it will not succeed, in spite of the prosaic cant of Monsieur "*le bon Citoyen Guizot*."

I know, then, that I have against me as follows :-

1. The two governments
2. Nine parts out of ten of the London daily press.
3. Nine parts out of ten, if not all, of the press of Paris.
4. The rich people of France generally.
5. All the fundholders and loan-jobbers of Paris.
6. All the bankers and great merchants of both countries.
7. The boroughmongers of England and the Chambers of France.

I know this well ; and yet, *with regard to France*, I pledge myself to beat them all, and you into the bargain, in spite of all the means that you can put in motion, *unless you and your citizen king, and his priest-minister, put an end to conveyance by post from England to France, and do that if you dare!* I know that one part of your business is to ascertain *who goes from England to France*, and, of course, to *take measures accordingly!* Talleyrand, *I will take care not to go to France while you are here*, the representative of the citizen king! I will not quit English ground for any country of which *you are the representative*. I never saw Paris; I wish to see it, many there wish to see me, but, while *you are the representative of the French rulers*, they shall not have my carcass within their reach.

I know that the journalists of *Paris* will not publish what I write: I know that they will not publish *this letter*, for instance. I put them to the test by the No VII. (above-mentioned) of the *Tribune*; they published all the part in which *your history* was spoken of, but, when I came to the *citizen King* keeping the *place warm* for Charles or his heirs, they left *blank places*. To be sure they did: the citizen king Bourbon had given them *public money*, in *the shape of places*, and the devil is in it if they would publish an *attack* on the new Bourbon king, under whom, and at whose sole pleasure, they hold places! This was the *touchstone*. I wrote the thing for the nonce, and it answered fully to its end. Well, then, what am I to do? What signifies my

publishing *this French* in England! I will tell you, Talleyrand. My paper, will now find its way to *Boulogne, Calais and Dieppe*, will find its way, in a short time, to *Paris*; and now, I tell you, Talleyrand-Perigord, priest-bishop-citizen-prince, that this very letter will be, and shall be, read in every considerable town of France; and this in spite of you, and in spite of the king, and the *king-makers* of France.

In future letters I shall have to tell you of many different things; I shall have to inquire of you, whether you be fool enough to believe, that the people of France will continue to let exiles come into their houses and their fields to take from their money wherewith to pay the interest of a Debt, contracted to pay foreigners for forcing the Bourbons back upon them, and for sacking the Museums of Paris; I shall have to ask you, what right the Chambers had to choose a new King, or any king at all, for the French people; I shall have to make inquiries of you as to several other matters; but, at present, I have to congratulate you on the harmony and happiness, which the newspapers tell us you are enjoying with your old friends, the English Government! It would be a pity to mar this harmony; I have no such desire; and I know that I shall not do it by what I am now going to do; but, as the Paris papers have all stated that you were sent hither "at the request of the English Government," it is right that we should inquire a little into the probable CAUSE of this request (in itself a very strange one by the English Government); for this is, as we shall see in the end, a matter of very great importance to the people of both countries. If, indeed, you had formerly been an admirer of this Government, there would have been a reason for its wishing to have you here; but no reason for the Roi-citoyen sending you. You were, however, its *satirist*, and, as it is said, its *libeller*. Let us, without more preface, see what you said of this *new government*, in the years 1804 and 1805. It is the same government, Talleyrand! It has the same boroughs under its con-

trol it is the same fine thing that Corcor and Girard and Du Pin praise it has not changed either in character or in conduct it is precisely what it was in 1804 and 1805; and I, therefore, pray you, or, rather, THE PEOPLE of England, and those of France, to read with particular attention what you TIEN said of this very Government; and this they will read in the following authentic documents, signed with your hand, and published in every civilized country in the world. Read the document yourself, Talleyrand; read them to Drake and Satin (to whom we pay pensions by-the-by); read them together, and be merry over them; laugh at the "sovereign-people", and laugh heartily, while you may; for, I am quite satisfied, that you will not laugh long.

Circular Letter of the French Ministers of Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Ministers resident at Paris Signed "C. M. Talleyrand, and dated at Paris, March 24, 1804.

THE FIRST Consul has ordered me to address to your Excellency, a copy of the report presented to him by the Grand Judge on the accidental conspiracy planned in France, by Mr. Drake, Minister of his Britannic Majesty at the Court of Munich, and which, as to its object and date, was connected with the infamous plot that is now before the tribunals. The printed copy of the letter and authentic papers of Mr. Drake, is annexed to the report. The originals will be immediately sent, by order of the First Consul, to his Serene Highness the Elector of Bavaria. Such a prostitution of the most honorable trust which could be confided in man, was unexampled in the history of civilised nations. It will astonish and afflict Europe as an unheard-of crime, and which, until the present moment, the most perverse government had not dared to attempt. The First Consul is too well acquainted with the sentiments and good qualities which distinguish the members of the diplomatic body, accredited by him, not to

be convinced, that they will behold, with profound sorrow, the profanation of the sacred character of Ambassadors, so basely metamorphosed into an agency of plots, stratagems, and corruption."

Extract of a Note, transmitted by the French Minister for foreign relations to the Imperial Russian Chargé d'Affaires, dated Paris, 16th May, 1804, and signed, C. M. TALLEYRAND.

"The circumstance against which an outcry is raised, is of a very different nature. By the Treaty of Lunéville, Germany and France had mutually engaged to allow no asylum to any of those men who could disturb their respective tranquillity. The emigrants who resided at Baden, at Freiburg, at Disden, &c., were by that treaty not to be suffered in the German Empire, and this circumstance shows what real impropriety there was in the conduct of Russia. France requires of her to remove emigrants who were in the employment of Russia, at the time when the two countries were at war, from countries where they rendered themselves conspicuous only by their intrigues, and Russia insists upon maintaining them there, and the remonstrance she now makes leads to this question. If, when England planned the murder of Paul I (supposing intelligence to have been received, that the authors of the plot were at a league from the frontier), would not pains have been taken to arrest them? The First Consul hopes that his Imperial Majesty, whose excellent mind and noble character are so well known, will sooner or later perceive that there are men who avail themselves of every means to raise enemies to France, and who thereby seek to make a diversion, and rekindle the flames of a war which is advantageous only to England."

PUBLIC PAPER.

FRENCH CIRCULAR NOTE.—"Circular Note from M. Talleyrand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs to all

"the Agents of his Majesty the Emperor of the French. Dated Aix-la-Chapelle, Sept. 5, 1804."

"You must, Sir, have observed and known, according to my instructions at the time of the communication of the note of Lord Hawkesbury to the Foreign Ministers residing in London, the impression which this publication of the strongest maxims of political and social morality could not fail to produce on the mind of the government with which you reside. I think I ought to return to the subject. I therefore send you officially, a copy of this note, and expressly charge you, by order of his Majesty, to make it the object of a special conference with the ministry. The project which the English Government has conceived for the last half century, gradually to abolish the tutelary system of public law which unites and engages all civilized nations; develops itself with a fearful progression. Will other governments refrain from making opposition to such an enterprise till there no longer exist any moral bond which may preserve their rights, guarantee their engagements, and protect their interests? The powers of the continent have seen with what audacity the faith of oaths has been sported with by this government, and solemn treaties violated, even before they were carried into execution. The maritime nations every day experience its tyranny. There no longer exists any theoretical principle of navigation, any written convention, which have not been scandalously violated on every shore, and in every sea. Neutral states know, that even in using the rights which still remain to them with the most timid circumspection, they expose themselves to insult, to pillage, and to extermination. Those states, in fine, which have the unhappiness to be at war, no more rely on any reciprocal principle of moderation and justice. All the bonds existing between them and the neutral powers are broken. Approach to the coasts and entrance into the ports and islands, though situate at the distance of 200

leagues from the station of their squadrons, have been prohibited by simple proclamation. Thus the English Government has hitherto opposed to every power, according to its particular position, a maxim injurious to its honour, and subversive to all its rights. It now attacks them all together, and the more completely to attain its end, directs its blow against morality itself, and if I may so speak, against the religion of public law. In every country, and at all times, the ministry of diplomatic agents was held in veneration amongst men. Ministers of peace, organs of conciliation, their presence is an omen of wisdom, of justice, and happiness. They speak, they act but to terminate, or prevent, those fatal differences which divide princes, and degrade a people; by the passions, murders, and miseries, which are the offspring of war. Such is the object of the diplomatic ministry; and it must be said, that it is to the observance of the duties it imposes, it is to the generally respectable character of the men who exercise this sacred ministry in Europe, that it owes the glory and the happiness it enjoys; but these happy effects torment the jealous ambition of the only government which makes itself an interest in the ruin, the shame and the servitude of other governments. They wish that diplomatic ministers should be the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors and regulators of machinations, vile spies, cowardly seducers; they order them to foment seditions, to provoke and to pay for assassination; and they pretend to throw over that infamous ministry the respect and inviolability which belong to the mediators of kings, and the pacificators of nations. Diplomatic ministers, says Lord Hawkesbury, ought not to conspire in the country where they reside, against the laws of that country; but they are not subject to the same rules with respect to states at which they are not accredited. Admirable restrictions! Europe will swarm with conspirators, but the defenders of

"public right must not complain. There will always be some local distance between the leader and the accomplices. The ministers of Lord Hawkesbury will pay for the crimes they cause to be committed; but they will have that prudent deference for public morality, not to be at once the instigators and the witnesses. Such maxims are the completion of audacity and hypocrisy. Never were the opinions of cabinets and the consciences of any people made game of more shamelessly. His Majesty the Emperor thinks that it is time to put an end to the disastrous career of principles subversive of all society."

There, Talleyrand! There, can be no doubt as to the authenticity of these documents; there can be no doubt that you did say all this of the government of England; one of two things, then, follows of course; namely, that this government did employ DARR to aid and abet an "infamous plot" against the life of Napoleon; that it did "plan the murder of Paul I," Emperor of Russia; that it did "sport with the faith of oaths;" that it did wish, "that diplomatic ministers should be the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors and regulators of machinations, vile spies, cowardly seducers;" that it did "order them to foment seditions, to provoke and pay for assassinations;" it follows, of course, that ALL THIS IS TRUE; or, that of all the calumniators that ever existed, YOU WERE THE GREAT-EST.

Which of the two is the truth, I neither know nor care; but one of the two propositions must be true. There you are together now, dear and loving friends; they (if the Paris newspapers speak truth) anxious to embrace you, and you anxious to embrace them. And now, sweet companions, remain locked in each others arms, until I, next week, endeavour to show the true cause of this happy reconciliation. And, in the meanwhile, I am with feelings such as a man like me ought to entertain towards a man like you,

WM. COBBETT.

The reader will see, that the thing for us to do is to get the French of the Letters to Talleyrand to be read in France. The Register will get to coffee-houses in Calais, Boulogne, and Dieppe; but that is little. To send the Register to Paris, Lyons, Bourdeaux, Rouen, &c. is next to impossible; and, besides, there is the stamp, and the paying of our pretty fellows for leave to send it. The post and private hand are the only ways. The employés or placemen-editors of Paris will not re-publish it at Paris; at least, they will not while they are pocketing the public money. But many men have parcels to send to France, some are going to France. Now I will immediately cause this letter to Talleyrand to be printed neatly in French only, and sell the pamphlet for 2d., and by the twenty-five, or upwards, for 3s. the twenty-five; and, if any one take a hundred, for 10s. So that any one might for 10s. saw the road all the way along from Calais to Paris. Then, again, the paper shall be light, so that any one who has a mind to send to a friend by post, may do it at little expense. In a short time, numerous persons in France will be eager to see matter so piquante. They will be delighted with home-truths in plain language; and by and by some Paris journalist will find his account in regularly republishing. "COBBETT'S LETTERS TO TALLEYRAND"; Letter 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; and so on; for I have laid my hand upon this man, and, in letters addressed to him, I intend to discuss all matters relating, whether directly or indirectly, to France and its government. The first Letter will be published at my shop, in Ball-court, on Monday next. When collected together, these Letters will make, in the course of a year, a French book, which, besides its political uses, will be very useful to young people who are learning French, and for whom I shall have a cheap and most complete Dictionary (which has been, at times, the work of more than half my life) published before Christmas. At present, however, the grand object is to get these LETTERS TO TALLEYRAND to be READ IN FRANCE. Every re-

former that goes ought to carry a dozen or two. * Each Letter would be read by a hundred people.

Young men should read some publications, 2d. a Number, published by Mr. STRANGE, of No. 21, Paternoster-row. One is a *History of the Last French Revolution*, of which fourteen numbers have been published; another is the **PEOPLE'S BOOK**, amongst other things, containing the names, the NAMES, of the boroughmongers, and the number of tools that each boroughmonger employs; another to be published weekly, price 4d., on public matters, interesting to the middle and working class.

N. B. Mr. STRANGE publishes regularly, price 2d., my *Lectures at the ROTUNDA*. It is right to observe, that I have no pecuniary interest whatsoever in these publications, but highly approve of them, as calculated to convey very useful information to the working classes.

MARQUIS OF EXETER.

THE following account of the proceedings of this Duke of Newcastle, No. 2, ought to be *carefully preserved*; it will be *wanted one of these days*. The Reformers of Stamford, who are *now hoisting the tri-coloured cockade*, ought to take down in writing, and to have printed, the names of all the *corrupt fellows of their town and neighbourhood*; their NAMES, and PLACES of ABODE, should be recorded. The same sort of thing is going on at GAIMBAY. Nothing will *cure these men but the final remedy!* They have been arrogant and insolent so long; they have so long trampled on the people, that they will never take *warnings*; they will never listen to the voice of justice. Reader, read all through; and **KEEP THE RECORD**.

THE MARQUIS OF EXETER AND THE MEMBERS FOR STAMFORD.

On Friday last a game was begun to be played in Stamford, the end or the consequences of which we cannot foresee. On that day the Huntingtower and Newcastle system, of discharging all tenants who voted accord-

ing* to their consciences at the late election, was acted upon in Stamford by the Marquis of Exeter. Numbers of respectable tradesmen were served with notices to quit clothes or houses, which they had held for years, and for which they have as regularly paid rent. Many of these gentlemen smiled at the impotency of such malice, and the inadequacy of such means of inducing them to sacrifice their principles and their proudest privilege. Some encircled the notices with blue ribbons and stuck them up in their windows; others used the tri-colour, and most of those who had given one vote for Lord Thomas Cecil, and for doing which that Nobleman had come express from London to thank them, have openly declared that never more shall either of their suffrages be given to the nominees of such an illegal, tyrannical, and most infamous system. Since Friday additional means have been resorted to, which prove the consciousness of the Burghley party of their own weakness. Tenants under the Marquis, who voted for both his candidates, have been informed, that unless they discharge their tenants who did not so vote, they shall, notwithstanding their own votes, be turned out of all the property they hold under the House of Burghley. Some ventured to remonstrate, saying that they had no power over the votes of their tenants; that such tenants always paid their rents well, and they could not expect to meet with others of whom they should so much approve; and that, from the kindly feelings that for years had subsisted between them, it would be a most painful act to comply with the Marquis's mandate. "Very well, then," was the answer, "TURN OUT."

Some persons, from whom different things were expected, have been weak, cruel, and criminal enough to become parties in this climax of boroughmongering infamy. We know their names, and on the part of the people of Stamford, the freedom of Stamford, and the prosperity of Stamford, we hereby give them notice, that unless they undo in a few days what they have done, we shall make it vastly worse for them than the Marquis can. We will hold up their names to the scoff and the curses of the community. We will use the just influence which fighting in the same cause gives us, to induce the gentlemen of the London newspapers to copy our articles. They shall be exposed in the pillory of the public press, and shall be pelted with jibes for ever; the finger of scorn and the scowl of indignant humanity shall be fixed upon them. Every man who is not so deeply in their books as to be unable to cease doing business with them, shall be called upon, as he values his own character and his own customers, to deal with those less intent upon ruining the town; they shall feel that outraged humanity can punish them by hundreds per annum, while their boroughmongering tyrants can only deprive them of tens.

Nor is this all. Widows, yes, widows, the under ivy deprived of its supporting oak, are

to be violently wrenched away to make room for slaves to vote for the Marquis's nominees. The widows residing and paying rent for Burghley tenements, have received notices, that unless they marry, or contrive by some other means to get the names of persons who can vote entered on the rate-books, out they must turn,

"The world before them where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

Every virtue is to be outraged; the affections are to be forced; the sacred and holy tie of matrimony is to be prostituted, to the detestable purposes of boroughmongering; pity and soft charity are to give place to iron-hearted and savage tyranny; not an eye is to be allowed to shed a tear, or turn a glance upon the weak and withering victims?

"Are honour, conscience, virtue, all exiled?
Is there no pity, no relenting ruth,
To mourn the widow weeping o'er her child,
Then paint their ruined hopes, and their distraction wild?"

Good God! when we hear of cruelty like this, may we not exclaim with the Psalmist, "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?" Well, indeed, might Christ exclaim, "It is more difficult for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle."

As to the Marquis of Exeter, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Brownlow, and Lord Huntingtower, we pity them. Like the miserable and infatuated Bourbons, they are blind to the signs of the times, and rush madly on their own destruction. Do these foolish noblemen reflect, that with a patriot King, who wishes well to his people; with the widespread knowledge of law, and of constitutional privilege, which the people possess; with the example of France, and nearly all Europe, before their eyes, that the people will long refrain from reforming the House of Commons, and the House of Lords likewise, in a way that may seem best to themselves? Do these foolish noblemen reflect, when they are breaking the law by interfering at elections and in election matters, that the people will say, "If the Marquis of Exeter or Lord Huntingtower may with impunity break the law in order to usurp my elective franchise, the dearest right belonging to me; may I not with the same impunity, break the law, and revenge myself by depriving him of his dearest rights?" What are they? Let the conscience of the noblemen we have named, or their fears, supply the answer.

Disguise the matter how they will, unless they permit the people to exercise the right which their fathers obtained for them with their blood, "to this complexion must it come at last."—There will be a revolution in England, not against the King (God bless him!), not against the Ministers, for they are in some degree forced by these borough mongers into their evil courses; but against

the boroughmongers themselves, who, if they cannot be kept within the limits of law any other way, will find what the moral and physical strength of twenty millions of indignant and insulted freemen can effect against them.

We extract the following from *The Champion* of Tuesday:

It will be recollected by all who were present on the day of nomination at our recent election, that a solemn pledge was repeated that no person should be turned out of his house, or otherwise injured, for voting according to his conscience, and that such pledge was distinctly assented to by Lord Thos. Cecil and Col. Chaplin. It will also be recollected, that, in a few days after Lord Thomas Cecil had left Stanford for London, he returned by express to thank those voters who had split their votes between himself and Mr. Tennyson. In the teeth of these pledges and thanks, notices to quit have been served up on a great number of voters who divided between Mr. Tennyson and Lord T. Cecil, and proceedings against others, by third parties, of a nature to which we shall not further advert at present, it is whispered have been threatened. The sensation produced by this conduct, which is not only illegal and unconstitutional in public life, but involves a scandalous and cruel violation of faith, and the honour of a gentleman and a nobleman in private life, has been prodigious. Quiet men, who have held with us the doctrine that property as well as persons should form the basis of Parliamentary representation, and have accordingly conscientiously voted for one nominee of the Marquis, now declare their intentions of opposing that nobleman and each of his nominees with both their votes upon the next occasion. Others, who are in the lower but not less useful classes of society, go much further; they hint that "He who claims the protection of the laws to preserve his nuts, and refuses to act according to law in invading their liberties, may take care of the consequences, as they are determined not to be slaves to any man."

As to the heartless and infamous scoundrels who have advised the Marquis to this act, under the circumstances in which they must have known that nobleman's brother was placed, we cannot afford them pity: they deserve the greatest punishment the law can inflict; they will impress an indelible stain upon the honourable title and crest of the House of Cecil; they will cause the name of that signified family to be bruited in both Houses of Parliament, and in every corner of the kingdom, as the associates, or even worse than the associates, of Huntingtower; they will endanger —

But we must not go on. It is our duty to facilitate patience and a peaceable appeal to the laws. This we earnestly do. The House of Commons will be applied to, to see whether it will or will not vindicate its own privileges; and so long as there is any court to which an appeal can be made, no man should cherish a

feeling save of submissive deference to its decrees.

There is much to be hoped for from a Committee of the House, or rather from the House itself. The recent revolution in France, and the determination of that enlightened people to dispense with a legislative House of Lords, and confine the aristocracy to its proper limitations, have had so little effect in England. Here, in Stamford, since these discharges have arrived, many persons have withdrawn their blue ribands and substituted the tricolours; what that means we leave the Marquis of Exeter and his advisers to discover.

Marquis of Exeter and his Tenants.

The circumstance to which we adverted last week (the issuing a large number of discharges by the Marquis of Exeter), added to some other subjects of irritation, has produced so fearful a state of society in Stamford, that the Magistrates have thought it necessary to require the presence of police officers from London, who, we understand, are now on duty in the town and about Burghley House. This measure was deemed necessary, principally in consequence of what occurred on Friday and Saturday last. From some unexplained cause it was thought right that the notices which had been served on Friday evening, the 17th inst., should be repeated by Lord Exeter's agent on Friday evening, the 24th, and thus the excitement was renewed and increased. During its continuance, on Saturday, about one o'clock, the Marquis rode on horseback into the town to make some calls; this was speedily known to a number of the lower orders, and a mob, composed principally of women and boys, got about and hooted him all the way from Peterhill to the Bridge, using most abusive language and some threats. His Lordship fortunately escaped without personal injury, but in a state of very visible agitation. At night the mob again assembled, and broke many of the windows of Mr. Boyfield (the Marquis's agent, who delivered the notices), of Mr. Torkington (the Town Clerk); Mr. Alderman Simpson, and one or two other persons. None of the offenders were apprehended; the Magistrates, therefore, deemed themselves not safe with the ordinary constabulary force of the town, and with the advice of Lord Exeter, sent to London for police officers. A large number of more respectable special constables were also sworn in on Monday, and at night the Aldermen assembled at the Town Hall, where they sat till a late hour, anticipating, as it seemed, the perpetration of some outrage, but happily nothing particular occurred, and the town has since remained tolerably quiet, except for a short time on Wednesday afternoon, when the Marquis of Exeter rode into the borough, and was again assailed with hootings until he withdrew. In this state, it seems, matters must be expected to remain until the assuasive hand of time shall cool the passions which have been so

unexpectedly called into action in the formerly tranquil town of Stamford.—*Stamford Mercury.*

SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR

THE BRAVE PARISIAN SUFFERERS.

The Amount published in the last Register (2nd Oct.).....	£211 13
Received from	1 4
Subscription from the following good fellows of Southampton :	
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Mr. Samuel Simpson.....	0 0
Mr. Thomas Barnes.....	0 0
H. L.....	0 0
R. L.....	0 0
From a Friend in the Isle of Wight	0 10 6

£217 7 10

The sums from Southampton were accompanied with the following letter, in answer to which I have to say, for

my part, that I thank the writer very much for the honour that he has done me, and that I am certain he will have similar thanks from Sir Thomas Beevor.

"Southampton, 30th September, 1830.

"TO SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, BART. AND

"MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The bearer hereof will pay four pounds to your Fund for the Widows and Orphans of the brave Frenchmen, who died gloriously fighting for Liberty in the City of Paris, on the three days of July last. The names of the contributors are stated on the other side hereof.

"I am, Sirs,

"Your obedient and

"Very humble servant,

"R. Read, Jan."

SUBSCRIPTIONS

For the Widows and Orphans of the Brave Working People, who fell in fighting against the Tax-eaters and their mercenary soldiers at Brussels.

One thousand one hundred and two

Working Men (the money collected by Mr. Cobbett)..... £9 3 8

Mr. Samuel Smith 2 0 0

I request all who are disposed to assist in making up a little purse for the above-mentioned purpose, to send or give their mites at my shop, No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London. If at the shop, they can write their names in the book themselves, or order them to be written in their presence. If by post, direct to me, *postage paid*, at Bolt-court, as above. For my own part, I will pledge myself to collect *(sixty pounds for this purpose)*, and if it be made up to *sixty pounds*, I undertake to send an ambassador at my own expense to carry the money to Brussels. Kings visit each other; why should not people do the same? When the Kings had forced the Bourbons back upon France, had forced the Dutch King upon the Belgians, had loaded these with a debt, had compelled the French to pay for being enslaved, and had stripped their museums; when the Kings had done this, they came *here* to their brother King, and to dance and sing and rejoice; to exult over the fall of the

people of all Europe. And shall not the people exult now? Shall they not visit one another? Large sums are not, in a case like this, so good as small sums. Numerous *littles* are what I want to see. Any friend coming from the country can call at Bolt-court and give and record the contributions, if it be only pennies. We think nothing of the *trouble*; and we will write any man's name in the book for 2d. in the subscription. It is from the *Working People* that I want to see marks of deep interest in this case. I have, my whole life long, been their friend, defender, and often I have been able to be their protector. It is *to them*, to their good sense and justice, principally that I have always looked for the deliverance of the country from the curse of the hell-born boroughmongers, and, of course, for my own deliverance; and, therefore, I pretend not to any particular disinterestedness as to the part I have taken with regard to them.

STATE OF FRANCE.

The following is from my correspondent in France, who read the article in a Rouen newspaper of the 31st of September. It is worthy of particular attention.

"JOURNAL DE ROUEN, Thursday, 31st September.—A petition, entitled '*Vœu du Peuple*, or the '*Wish of the People*,' and destined to be presented to the Chamber of Deputies, is deposited at our office; it has already received a certain number of signatures: its authors invite their fellow-citizens to come and affix their names, after having examined it. Without believing all the propositions contained in this advice practicable, we must say that there is not one which a man of worth and a friend of his country can disavow, and that if some be objectionable, it is from excess of love for justice and equality. That which is desired by the writers and subscribers of the petition, is, that the revolution of July should not be confined to a change of names and persons; that the public ex-

"*penses be diminished*, and that those
 "which remain should be *more use-*
 "*fully applied*; that the imposts on
 "consumption should not only not
 "subtract from the subsistence of the
 "poor; but, on the contrary, weigh,
 "as much as possible, upon articles
 "of luxury; finally, *that the good*
 "*promised to France be realized.*

"We cannot but applaud such wishes,
 "though we may not approve of all the
 "means proposed in order to accom-
 "plish them; and we think, that if all
 "parts of France would pronounce their
 "desires and projects for ameliorations
 "with the same freedom, the Chambers
 "and the Ministers would comprehend
 "that it is not by empty speeches that
 "they can make any progress.

"I have just," says my correspond-
 "ent, "seen a curious little instance of
 "the spirit of the people. Since the
 "Revolution, the flag, together with the
 "national emblem, which is a cock
 "(type of courage and love) with his
 "wings out, has been posted on the
 "*Halle aux Vins* at Paris. This was
 "done by the masters, employés, and,
 "generally, by the '*premiers garçons*'
 "of the *HALL*. To-day, however,
 "the workmen who had not been in-
 "vited by the '*premiers garçons* to par-
 "take in subscribing to the *coque Gau-*
 "*lois* and drapeau, have posted another,
 "much larger and more splendid, at
 "their own expense. That of the mas-
 "ters cost 100 francs, and theirs 250
 "francs. They have put it on a roof
 "(of which there are several) opposite
 "to that where the other is, and it looks
 "as if it were crowing over it.

"At Rouen, the workmen of the Na-
 "tional Guard, in the parts where the
 "chief number are workmen, do not elect
 "their masters to be officers, but *one of*
 "*themselves*. A gentleman was talking
 "at the table d'hôte of a friend of his,
 "whose cowherd was his captain! This
 "is the '*nicé*' which is spoken of as
 "existing in the National Guard at pre-
 "sent. The elections are by ballot.
 "This shows how the ballot would op-
 "erate at Preston, for instance.

"People are discussing the manœu-
 "vres likely to be adopted by England

"with regard to Flanders; and the ge-
 "neral supposition is that that govern-
 "ment will interfere. They do not
 "seem here to be at all '*à la hauteur*
 "*des circonstances*,' as to the situation
 "of the English Government; but,
 "they understand that there will be an
 "attack on the Government for reform,
 "by the '*côté gauche*' (opposition)
 "which Parliament meets. I told them
 "that a great part of the *côté gauche*
 "was occupied by representatives of
 "*bourgs pourris* (rotten boroughs); and
 "that many of the '*marchands de bourgs*
 "*pourris* (boroughmongers) opposed the
 "government; at which they were great-
 "ly surprised!"

Well they might, poor fellows! they
 never had an idea of fulseeness and vil-
 lany, such as is familiar with us. One
 single boroughmonger has more cunning
 villany in him than Charles X. and all
 his crew; aye, and more barbarity too.
 These little circumstances are more truly
 indicative of the real state of France,
 than all the elaborate statements that we
 see in the French newspapers. The
 people would, however, be cheated:
 they would be amused with the *drapeau*
 (flag); but, the drapeau will not silence
 the *tax-gatherer*: it will not enable peo-
 ple to pay taxes: Louis Philippe is a
 very pretty name; but the sound of it
 will not fill the belly; and, therefore, if
 the payment of the interest of the Debt
 be attempted to be enforced, there will
 be another revolution. Louis Philippe,
 who is a great fundholder (mind that),
 must either give up his funds or his
 crown; and, if he attempt force to re-
 tain either, he will lose both.

This choosing of officers by the
 privates of the National Guard is all
 right. It is what is done in America,
 and it is agreeable to the laws of Eng-
 land, as those were acted on in former
 times. We have only fragments of our
 laws left! Look at BLACKSTONE, and
 you will see, that the laws of England
 knew of no soldiers who did not choose
 their own officers. All soldiers ought to
 do this; and this they might do with-
 safety, if they were, as they ought to
 be, citizens at the same time.

"ORANGE BOVAN."

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Bell-court, 7th October, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

You cannot have forgotten, and can never forgive, the insolence of the Boroughmongers, and all the whole tribe of tax-eaters, and particularly the nasty SHE-tax-eaters, at the time (1814) when the combined fellows marched into France, along the road opened for them by treason! You remember how they exulted, how they lifted their hoofs to trample on us; and, above all things, you remember, how the SHE-tax-eaters, the nastiest and most corrupt beasts in nature, came scudding from all parts to lick the snivel from the beard of "OLD BLUCKER!" You remember all this, and ten times more than this of these SHE-public robbers: you remember how they squalled out "ORANGE BOVAN" that is, the House of ORANGE VICTORIOUS; you remember how the base hell-cats decorated the footmen and their horses with *orange-coloured ribbons*; you remember that, in their looks, they told us, that we *should be their slaves for ever*.

Well, my friends, the Orange was uppermost; these robbers had their wish; but now *our day* is come; and by the following account, which I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 4th instant, and the horrid facts stated in which are all now fully confirmed, you will see, that the "ORANGE BOVAN" have not overlooked the ENGLISH FEMALES that fell in their way. These are the feats of the *loyal*! These are the feats of those who fight for kings and "*legitimacy*!" These are the feats of those who fight for "*social order*" and "*our holy religion*!" Look at these feats; and, when you have so done, think again of the insolent boastings of the SHE-tax-eaters in 1814 and 1815! Think of Paul Methuen, sensible Paul Methuen's bragging, that England had the "*glory*" to be at the head of *legitimacy*! And, when you have read about the monsters, hear me again.

"Bruxelles, Oct. 1, 1830."

"SIR,—In my last communication I undertook to send you a detailed and an

authentic account of the numerous atrocities committed on English residents here by the Dutch troops in their recent attack of this city. In this letter you will find that promise fulfilled. Now that the Belgians have nobly delivered their country from the tyranny of the Dutch, we rest assured that the letters of the English will no longer be opened and stopped, as they have hitherto been, to afford information to a feeble and suspicious Government.

"The Belgian Papers will have informed you that an army, composed of nearly 30,000 men; the '*élite*' of the Dutch troops, with an extensive train of artillery, most completely appointed, quitted Holland only a few days since, for the conquest of the Belgic territory; that this army appeared suddenly on the boulevards of Brussels; and without the usual form of summoning a besieged town, at once employed every horrid implement of war against this 'open' and almost defenceless city many of whose inhabitants were asleep at the commencement of the assault; that, during four days of continual bombardment with heavy artillery, mortars, Congreve rockets, and other projectiles, the Dutch officers set an example to their men of all that has ever been related in history, or can be conceived by the imagination as most barbarous and atrocious; pillage, assassinations, incendiarism, violation; an example of crimes of which no horde of savages has ever been known to be guilty, even against its deadliest foes; crimes, not only sanctioned, but positively 'justified' (to an Englishman) by the Prince Farnesio, whose first campaign has opened with the massacre of his father's subjects!!! There has been an insanity in these bloody excesses of the Dutch.

"Providence, however, has willed that citizens, hastily assembled, irregularly armed, without military chiefs, without any combined plan of operation, deprived of almost all means of defence by the treachery of several of the upper classes of the Bourgeois, confounded by alarming reports, industriously circulated by traitors, who had been bought by the King with Belgic gold; that

these citizens, thus unprepared and defenceless, should, after four days of heroic resistance, have driven their cruel enemies into an ignominious flight, diminished in numbers, disgraced in reputation, and thoroughly demoralized, too fortunate if they ever reach the turbid waters of Holland in their retreat. They carry back to his Majesty of Holland the bloody fruits of fifteen years' misrule over this noble people. They will be the heralds of his just dethronement, as they have been the sanguinary instruments of his vindictive obstinacy.

"Thus, however, has it pleased Almighty God, *'by whom the people rule'*, to prosper the righteous cause, and to avenge the injuries so long, so foully, and so vainly, complained of by an enlightened and generous nation." While the Monarch of Holland shall be recorded on the page of history, as the barbarous butcher of the Belgians, it will be said, in after ages, that the brave Belgic race displayed not less of mercy and generosity towards their wounded enemies and prisoners, than they had evinced resolution and heroism in driving the invaders from their soil.

"EXCESSES COMMITTED BY THE DUTCH TROOPS IN THE HOUSES OF THE ENGLISH AT BRUSSELS."

"The Lord Blantyre mortally wounded, whilst surrounded by his wife and family.

"The wife of the Maitre d'Hotel of the English Embassy most brutally treated on the boulevards; and her children during some hours menaced with death before her eyes.

"Numerous Englishmen dragged out of their houses, and compelled, at the point of the bayonet, to surrender their money and other valuables.

"Numerous houses belonging to the English fired upon, broken into, furniture destroyed, pillaged, and burnt.

"The daughter of an English Field Officer cruelly maltreated; his own life threatened, his plate carried off, his cellars emptied of their contents, and all his money stolen.

"An English servant, living in the Faubourg of Schaerbreeck, crucified at

the door, burnt by a slow fire, and his body pierced with balls and bayonets.

"The house of an English gentleman, in the Rue Royale, completely sacked and plundered of plate and money, and other valuables to an enormous extent, himself dragged out into the street, to be shot, and only saved by a miracle.

"Two families, entirely composed of English females, and together in one house near the Parc, robbed of everything, after having been threatened during many hours with instant death; compelled to taste the liquors demanded, as a proof of their not having been poisoned.

"The daughter of an Englishman violated before her father's eyes, and then shot. This man will complain to our Government at home.

"A boarding-school for young ladies broken into, and seventeen violated; the report of the surgeon, attending them, of these not known how many are really English!

"But, Sir, here I must stop; the heart sickens at the relation of such horrors, and I am lost in tears and indignation. Throughout the whole of the recent proceedings here, the Dutch have evidently, and *'no doubt by authority'*, selected the English residents at Brussels, as the *especial*, but not, alas! the *exclusive* objects of their furious atrocities. The Belgians have their tale too of horrors to record. As far as the English are concerned, I do hope, that these details will have a direct and positive influence on our Government in their view of the Belgic question, as in their dealings with *'the ex-King'* of the Pays Bas; and that the people of England will never allow our Ministers to enact a crusade for the worst of causes, *'Royal tyranny'*, over a nation whose will it is to be free, and to have a national existence.

"However this may be, the fact is but too certain that humanity has been sadly outraged on this occasion. One melancholy case has been communicated to us on the best authority. An English officer, whom we forbear to name, had five daughters violated; three of them are

since dead, and it is not expected that the remaining two will survive."

There, tax-eaters, and especially the SHES, take that; brag of *that*! But, my friends, leaving the tax-eaters to brag of these adventures of the *loyal* soldiers of the Orange Boven King, let us turn to something for us to brag of; namely, the glorious deeds of the people of Belgium, who, in one short month, have freed their country from swarms of tax-gatherers, and greater swarms of base and abominable tax-eaters. Their conduct has filled all good men in England with admiration not to be expressed. It has made us recall to our minds the words of one of our poets:

"Oh! how much like their Belgic sires of old!

"Rough, pious, frank, ungovernably bold;

"War on each breast and freedom on each brow;

"How much *unlike* the sons of England now!"

These words, containing a slight deviation from the original, we may apply to the Belgians of the present day, hoping that the *reproach* on ourselves, which is expressed in the last line, *our future conduct will prove that we do not merit*. It is time that despots learn that there is a limit to their oppressions: the Belgians have given them an excellent lesson; a lesson, however, from which they will not profit; and, therefore, the wise way is, *never to trust them again!*

The people of England have long felt indignant at the treatment to which this brave nation have been obliged to submit. We know that their fathers were a brave and virtuous and free people; that God has blessed them with one of the finest countries in the whole world; and that they have been ground down into misery by a *taxing* system, which has proceeded from a government *which is on them against their will*. We know that they, like the French, have been compelled to pay the interest of a debt contracted for the purpose of *enslaving* them; a debt to pay those who

came to subjugate them, and for the further purpose of keeping them in slavery for ever.

There will be plenty of opportunities of remarking on this most interesting and important event, which *must end* in an alliance between Belgium and France, as close as that between man and wife; and this too in spite of all THE DINNERS that the "*Hero of Waterloo*," and the "*twice conqueror of France*" (as insolent BANKES called him) may give to the priest-bishop-citizen-prince ambassador from the "*Roi Citoyen*" of *sovereign* people, whom our newspapers call *his subjects*; in spite of these dinners, and of all that can be done by all the despots and tools of despots in the world, France will go to the Rhine, and one great federative (perhaps) and mighty Republic will embrace all the countries between the river and the Pyrenees.

In the meanwhile, there are some nice little points in this glorious revolution at Belgium. It began, in fact, in consequence of the banishment of M. De POTTER, a *writer and printer*, who had made a bold stand for the rights of his country: and this very M. De POTTER is now at the head of the government of his country, and we see ordinances issued in his name! The Royal race has not now, however, found for the first time, a formidable enemy in a *printer*. General BRUNE, who chased the Duke of York two hundred miles in the vain hope of catching him (he was very fleet!), and who actually caught his army, or rather, the remnant of it, had been a *printer's boy* in the Limosin! No wonder that Duke, the darling-Duke, had such an enmity to the press!

Another little point is, the fate of the field of Waterloo, to which so many thousands of English tax-eaters and parsons actually performed a pilgrimage! Oh! for the *wound*, and the *Lion*, and the *Prussian Column*, and the Column of dear Hanover! As to the *English Lion*, he, though thirty feet high, and put on a mound (which was paid for by we know whom) one hundred feet high, to commemorate the immortal deeds of our "*Achilles*;" as to this Lion, I

know a gentleman that saw him with a *tri-coloured flag* on his shoulder, more than a month ago! And, what is to become of *Waterloo Bridge*, *Waterloo-squares*, so many of them, and, Oh! What is to become of *WATERLOO-ACHILLES*! And, oh! oh! What is to become of the *Waterloo-triumphal arches*! If we *should*! if we *should* live to see! oh! cruel thought! But, if we *should* live to see the *tri-coloured flag flying on all of them*, as it is now at Stamford! Ah! the base thought brings up a groan from the very bottom of one's body!

There is yet a point, however, of interest not much short of the last. The "*Prince of Waterloo*" will, of course, keep his *title*, as Polignac will keep his after the surprisingly *humane* Chambers have let him escape; but, the Prince of Waterloo has something more than *title* belonging to Belgium: he has an *estate*, worth 2,000*l.* a year (so he himself says in his *peerage*), which was granted him in Belgium by the King of the country! Now, it is about fifty thousand to one that the Belgians will be able to discover any good reason for *their continuing to him this grant*, especially as the grant was to reward him for the services he rendered in subjugating them!

These are all *nice points*, and my readers will do well to keep their eye on them. But of all things the most pleasing is the reflection, that this brave conduct of the Belgians has *disconcerted all the schemes of the king-makers and Jews* (who are frequently the same persons) of Paris, and the *boroughmongers and Jews* of England. The cry of these two crews was, *peace, peace, order, order; public credit, national faith; keep up the funds!* The Dutch King marched, every base jobber, banker, and fundholder, in France and England, wished him success, and the infamous *Times newspaper* coolly delivered over "the offenders" to the *hangman*! What a disappointment! Not only the Dutch King beaten and driven out of the country; but the country forming a republican government! And this victory gained, too, after several days' fighting, *working people* against whiskered

and long-spurred troops! This happened, too, in the very *first week of Talleyrand's residence in London*; a week that was, doubtless, to have been spent in such *pleasing chat* with old and long-absent friends!

This blows up the whole scheme for making *no real change in France*; for amusing the French with the *flag and Roi-citoyen*; for doing nothing, in short, but merely changing *names and persons*. But the schemers do not look at the *true cause* of all these revolutions; with regard to that of France, they do not see that the great ground of discontent existed *before the ordinances of the 25th July*; that this ground was, *the weight of the taxes*; that the ordinances merely *put the match to the magazine*; and that, therefore, if Louis-Philippe, Roi-citoyen, though he be, do not *take off a large part of the taxes*, he will be no better than Charles; and, if he do, the Jews and jobbers must go *unpaid*! One short sentence describes the whole affair: *the people* are, everywhere, resolved not to *work any longer to feed idlers*; the bees are resolved no longer to gather honey for loan-mongering wasps and aristocratical hornets. *That is it, Talleyrand*; and that is a matter that sets the "*recherché fine*" of diplomacy at defiance.

In another part of this Register, I have announced my intention to raise a little sum to be presented to the widows and orphans of the *working men* who were killed at Brussels, fighting against mercenary troops. I have begun that subscription; and my readers will, in future Registers, see the progress of it.

Were published, on the 1st day of this month:

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF THE REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV., price 8*d.*, to be continued monthly.

COBBETT'S MONTHLY TWO-PENNY TRASH, OR USEFUL KNOWLEDGE FOR THE WORKING CLASSES; price 2*d.*

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN is finished. The *last number* of this work is now printing in French at Paris, at which I am very much pleased; for

there are the *duties of the citizen properly explained!* This printing at Paris is not on my account. The History of Geo. IV. is also translating, and about to be published at Paris. So that I am poking my pen in amongst them!

POOR MAN'S FRIEND. I have published a new edition of this, price 8d. It is, though small, the real book of knowledge as to the *rights of the working people*. It is a *law-book*, a *really* learned law-book; and not a heap of unintelligible stuff, such as what are called law-books generally contain. Its title is: "Cobbett's Poor Man's Friend; or, a Defence of the Rights of those 'who do the Work and fight the Battles'."

LECTURING TOUR.

I SHALL leave London on the *eleventh* of October, on the evening of which day I shall Lecture at DUNFERRM; and after that, and including that, at the following places:

Deptford, Monday, 11th October.
Gravesend, Tuesday, 12th.
Rochester, Wednesday, 13th.
Maidstone, Thursday, 14th.
Tonbridge, Friday, 15th.
Battle, Saturday, 16th.
Lewes, Monday, 18th.
Brighton, Tuesday, 19th, and Wednesday, 20th.
Chichester, Thursday, 21st.
Portsmouth, Friday, 22d.
Gosport, Saturday, 23d.
Isle of Wight, Monday, 25th.
Portsmouth (again) Tuesday 26th.

Then back to London to see the New Collective assembly, and to see what a figure they will make. These days are *fixed*, dependent solely on my life and health. TALLYRAND is in the *field* again! We must be prepared too. I know the way to meet his workings, and nothing will I neglect, at any rate. The main thing for friends, in the above towns, to attend to is, to ensure beforehand, a *place to hold as many people as possible*. No matter for the beauty of it. If it keep out the rain it will do, and as to seats, I must stand all the

while at any rate. I shall go with post-horses, and get into each town successively by *twelve o'clock in the day*, at the latest. The price of admission will, *every-where*, be *three-pence*, that the **WORKING PEOPLE** may not be shut out; for let it be remembered, that it was the working people, and the working people alone, that defeated the bloody Swiss, and that drove away the tyrant from France. I shall cause to be given at the door, to every person who enters, a copy of the *Petition to the King*, that being the *MANIFESTO of the people of England against the bourgeoisie*. I request some friend, at each of the above places, to write to me *without delay*, to tell me whether a suitable place can be had in the town, and at a reasonable rate, for my expenses will be great in proportion to the receipts. Any *rough* place will do, if it be *big enough* and will *keep off rain*: nothing better than a barn, the doors of which can be closed, and that is watertight, without holes near the ground. Very few lights will be sufficient: men *hear* very well without gas. I want to speak to rich as well as poor; but particularly to those who live by their labour. The **HOURLY** of Lecturing will be **SEVEN O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING**. If, at any place, I find no place suitable, I shall go on to the next place. When friends have fixed on a proper place, they may if they like, give notice of it, in some way that will *cost them nothing*. They may depend, life and health permitting, on seeing me in the town by twelve o'clock on the day respectively named, as above.

BANK PARLIAMENT.—We understand the meeting to-day in the Bank Parlour lasted much longer than usual, to determine, it is supposed, on such precautionary measures, necessary on the continued decline of the Foreign Exchange.—The Export of GOLD is not so free, though much secrecy is observed therewith.

Morning Chronicle, Friday, 8th Oct.

SEVERAL THINGS OMITTED.

THE **MUSICAL BISHOP** omitted for want of room.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

VOL. 79.—No. 16.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.]



READERS OF THE REGISTER.

On the present state of the Concern of the Boroughmongers and Loan Jobbers.

Lewisham, Kent, Tuesday, 12th Oct., 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

Now, now, NOW we have the false, the foul, the hypocritical, the crafty, the fraudulent, the cruel, the rapacious, the ferocious, the BLOODY vagabonds upon the hip! When the murderer, or the usurer (which last St. Ambrose says is, if there be any difference, the worst of the two), has, in consequence of selling his soul to the devil for a term of years, after long revelling in innocent blood and in the fruit of the toil of the needy; when after being for half a lifetime, in the habit of seeing victim after victim fall defenceless before his extortions, his frauds, his perjuries, his plunderings, or his less cruel bayonet or knife; when, at the end of a long series of acts, every one of which has merited the gibbet in this world and hell in the next; when, at the end of, perhaps, forty or fifty years of a career so infernal, and when long impunity and success have made him totally forget the bargain, in virtue of which he has thus succeeded; when, just at the moment when he is contemplating new and still bolder acts of plunder; just when he is marking out for destruction a fresh group of helpless victims; when the monster, just in that moment of joyous anticipation, is, all of a sudden, tapped upon the shoulder by the Father of Lies, and reminded that the lease is expired his knees knock together, the teeth chatter in his head, the blood rushes from his cheeks to his caithiff-heart, and that caithiff-heart sinks, and beats no

more. Not far from resembling this state is that of our mortal enemies, the boroughmongers and loan-mongers, at this moment. Despair has seized on their caithiff hearts; and in that state we will, for the present, leave them, while we take a look at what the ministerial papers are saying with regard to the intentions of our Government in this important crisis.

And first of all, let us do a little justice to ourselves; for I never, when I am putting forward my claim to public merit, separate myself from YOU, who, through good report and evil report, have, at the expense of so many sacrifices, adhered to and sustained me. To be sure my efforts, my labours, my perseverance, have been wonderful, and far beyond all parallel, as far, at least as my observations have gone; but all things considered, your fidelity to me, the risks you have run, the injuries you have patiently endured, on my account, the sacrifices you have made for me, without any, even the most distant hope of compensation, and, in most instances, without the smallest expectation of ever seeing me, are not less wonderful nor less beyond all parallel. It is you who have sustained me; it is you who have enabled me to do what I have done not by your paying for my writings; but by the hope which your conduct has constantly kept alive in my bosom, that those writings would finally be crowned with success.

Let us, then, do, on this occasion, a little justice to ourselves; let us remind our malignant calumniators, that, in 1814 (to go no further back), I told CASTLEREAGH, that the triumphs on the Serpentine River, and that the rejoicing at the Waterloo victory, would be of short duration; that the time was not distant when the people of Europe would have their turn; for that we had the reckoning to pay; and that, as we could not pay that, a new score was impossible; and yet, without a new score, it would be impossible to prevent the French from recovering their freedom, and that whenever they did that,

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we should have *a reform of the Parliament*. In 1816, I told the borough-mongers that we, *the people*, had a friend in *Mrs. Derr*, that would finally be too strong for them all; that she was ever watchful, quite invulnerable; faithful as the saints themselves; that she was as staunch as she was strong; that she laughed at standing armies and yeomanry cavalry; that she was to be attacked only by sap and mine; and that, if blown up, down *would come the whole fabric of corruption along with her*. In 1818, I bade the borough-mongers beware; for that if they did not give way in time, *concession would come too late*; that the interest of the Debt would finally strip them of the means of upholding their corruptions; and that when that hour should arrive, concession would be a word without a meaning. How many times, good God! have I predicted precisely that state of things which we now have before our eyes! In what year; in what month; nay, in what week, for sixteen years last past, have I not said: "Our wars (God be praised!) *against liberty* are at an end. The long and bloody war *against the French people was to prevent parliamentary reform in England*; and it *did* prevent it for the time; but to carry on that war, it was necessary to hire foreign armies, to make a vast expenditure; and to do these things, it was necessary to borrow immense sums of money; the triumphs were *purchased*; the victories were *bought*; they are not paid for; and it is *this Debt* which will prevent any further attempt to crush liberty abroad; while the taxes entailed on us by the war will finally so press on the middle class as to force them to join the working class in a demand of *parliamentary reform*; and thus will a reform, a real and radical reform, come out of the very means that were employed to stifle it for ever."

How often, my friends; in how many scores of Registers have you read this, and almost in these very words! But, in 1822, just after I had been at a county meeting at Maidstone, and had been most gloriously abused in the House of Commons (as it is called) for

having there proposed and carried a motion for "a *just* reduction of the interest of the Debt," I addressed a letter to the men of Kent, in which I said, "The figure of eight and the eight *noughts* (800,000,000) say to the King of England, YOU SHALL NEVER GO TO WAR AGAIN WHILE WE ARE IN EXISTENCE." That is, that the Debt which was contracted for the purpose of crushing freedom in France, has disabled you for war for ever, as long as the interest of it is paid, for, besides the weight of it, you have an army to pay to cause it to be collected; and I had, at the meeting, told the lords and squires how unreasonable it was to call on the Government to *reduce the establishments*, while there were thirty millions a year to be collected on account of the Debt. This assertion about the figure of eight and the eight noughts, made a paragraph in almost all the newspapers; it was a thing for their readers to laugh at; a little joke at my expense; a nice piece of fun, and generally the text to some new calumny against me. I have always trusted to time, and to the continuation of the goodness of God in giving me health as a tenfold reward for my sobriety and abstemiousness. And how do these witty beasts look NOW! On which side of those mouths from which issues their stinking breath, coming from their foul stomachs and through their rotten teeth, do they LAUGH now! Can they go to war now? The very question is farcical; but we must sober our heads a little, and treat the matter as seriously as we can; for it is a matter of very great importance; it is a matter worthy of the mind of a *real statesman*; and not such fellows as have been called statesmen in our country; not such fellows as LIVERPOOL, CANNING, and HUSKISSON; and, by the by, this will put you, my readers, in mind of an article in my Register, dated from Bollitree Castle, in Herefordshire, in the year 1823; in which article (a letter addressed to Canning), after relating that he, I, Huskisson, and Liverpool, dined together once, in 1800, I said: "You three have pursued the *flowery path*, I the *path of thorns*; you have

"arrived at great riches, power, and what are called honours: I have led a life of poverty, embarrassment, and have, all the while, been covered with obloquy by you and your base hirelings: yet *I would not change places with the best of you now*; and mark me, Canning, OUR DESTINY HAS NOT YET DONE WITH US; and, notwithstanding your pride, power, and insolence, mind, I tell you, that this very page that I am now writing will be read and admired, when you *three shall be rotten and forgotten*, or, at any rate, remembered only by being lashed in that page and in other pages from the same pen."

There let them lie and rot, those three swallows of public money, and mortal enemies of freedom; let Liverpool now pursue the *stern path of duty*; let Huskisson now defend corn-bills and vote and speak against jacobins; let CANNING crack his jokes on the "*revered and ruptured Ogden*"; let "the House cheer him long and loudly"; and let us take a look at what the ministerial papers are putting forth relative to the *disposition of the Government with regard to war*; which, as I said before, is a *most important matter*; and, my friends, it is of peculiar importance to you and me, because we shall now find that which was called my *mad prediction*, completely fulfilled. The prediction had been put forth in 1814; often repeated, and made more memorable by the positive manner of it in 1822. Since that time there have been, 1. *The invasion of Spain by the Bourbons*; 2. *The invasion and half-subjugation of Turkey by Russia*; 3. *The cession of the Floridas to the United States*; 4. *The settlement of part of Mexico by the United States*; and 5. *The conquest of part of Africa by the French*. Here were five distinct, legitimate, grounds of war. Five things, neither of which England would, at any former period, have suffered to take place, any more than she would have suffered the French to take possession of the Isle of Wight. Therefore, with reference to all and each of these, I have constantly *applied to my prediction*. But what shall we say now, when another revolution has taken place in France; when Bel-

gium has hurled from his throne the king that England placed there for her own protection, and to support whom on that throne she was bound by treaty; what shall we say now, when she not only does *not stir*, but when she appears as if stone-dead? We thank God, indeed, that she does not stir; that she stands looking on, as if she were made of marble; that she is become the very "monument of *Patience* smiling at *Grief*"; we rejoice at this, in the present instance: but it is of vast importance that we ascertain the *cause*; aye, and that we make *that cause* to be clearly seen by the people and by the honest statesmen in France and in Belgium, who must wonder what in all the world it is that can have made the great big British "Empire," which has (at an expense to the people of a million of pounds sterling), an "*Imperial bushel*" and an "*Imperial yard*," the capacity and length of which are to be regulated by "the vibrations of an *Imperial pendulum*, in a heat of sixty-two degrees "of Farenheit's thermometer"; O Lord! I shall lose my breath, and my cheek burns with indignation as I write; but these French and Belgians must wonder what in all the world it is, that can have made the "great big British Empire," so *gentle*, so *tame*, so *cold* all at once, as to suffer revolution and republicanism to rage round her, and to seem hardly to observe what is passing! It is necessary that they be made *fully acquainted with this cause*, to disguise which from them so much pains has been taken by our Government and press, and which pains are now taken too by the Talleyrand-Ministry and press of France, which, as you will see by and by, make *common cause with our pretty system*. They will be foiled in this very soon; but in order to effect this, we must make the people of France see the *true cause* of this *gentleness* of the great big British Empire, which has an *army of a hundred thousand men* and a *fleet of thirty ships of the line in commission*; and which has more admirals and generals than the whole of the rest of the world!

But you will say, "How can the people of France and of Belgium be ignorant of this cause, since we know

"it so well, and since the Register *must* have got to Paris, at any rate?" My friends, if I were to state to you, in detail, all the schemes, all the regulations, all the means, put in practice by the Bourbons and by the tax-eaters in this country, to prevent the Register getting into France, you would be astonished. So completely had they shut it out, that while I was, and for many years had been, famous as a *grammarian* and an *historian*, hardly a man at Paris, even amongst literary men, knew, *two months ago*, that I had ever written on politics! But I shall come to this matter again by and by. And now, let me not explain the cause above-mentioned to you, because you know it well; but let me lay before you what the *ministerial papers* say, with regard to the disposition of our Government *relative to war*. These papers have been wriggling and twisting about for a good while. When the brave people of Paris had put down the tyranny and drove away the tyrant, these papers assumed an air of *half-threats*. They then drew in their horns. The feelers went to Paris; they there found *bankers* and *loan-jobbers* in power; that was *just the thing*; legitimacy was tossed to the devil *when the funds were at stake*. TALLEYRAND was sent over; the marriage with the old Bourbons was dissolved, and another contracted with the new Bourbons. But as the devil of the *boroughmongers* would have it, the broke loose! It was hoped poor fellows, would soon be *if the French did not go to*; and the base loan-jobbers of aid the cold hand upon the gall French people, and left the Belgians, who had always been so faithful France, *to be crushed by the Dutch* g and his army; and here was TALLEYRAND in England, to make, of course, a merit, on the part of the new legitimate Bourbon, of having left the poor Belgians *to be subdued*, and, of course, *punished*.

Thank God and the brave men of Brussels, the loan-jobbing vagabonds, on both sides of the water, were deceived: the Belgians beat the Dutch King and his army! Drove them out of their fine and fertile country; did not

do the thing by halves; declared themselves *independent*; and left the Dutch, if they chose to do it, *to pay the interest of that Debt* which had been fixed upon the Belgians by force, along with the Dutch King! Judge you, my friends, of the feelings of the amiable old priest-bishop-citizen-prince Talleyrand when he heard of these things! Well, but the great big "British Empire," with the "Imperial" bushel and yard in its *Statute Book*; did it not stir *now*, though bound by treaty to preserve Belgium to the Dutch King? Did it not stir even to preserve the "*field of Waterloo*" and the mound and the lion and the "*Hanoverian column*," and those fortresses which the "*Prince of Waterloo*" was to go and inspect every year, and in the country, too, where the Prince had an estate of 2,000*l.* a year as a reward for his services to the Dutch King in taking Belgium from the French: the devil! what! did England *not stir*, in this case, *though this Prince himself was at the head of her Government*? She did not! What! did this Prince, who, when at Paris in 1815, demanded, *on the part of the Dutch King*, the *Belgian pictures* to be taken out of the museums at Paris (see his note on the subject, in the instances of *bad writing* at the end of my *English Grammar*, last edition); did this Prince suffer these Belgians to take the whole country, *pictures and all*, from the Dutch King, and *not call upon England to stir*? Yes, by all that's wonderful, he did! and now let us hear what the *Courier*, the great ministerial newspaper, said upon the subject, last Saturday, the 9th instant. I am about to solicit your attention to *two* passages in this paper; the first on the subject of the rare scheme for making a son of the *Dutch King king of Belgium*! The second on the *pacific disposition of our Government*! The first is as follows: "We must, of course, expect that some opposition will be offered to this or any other reasonable scheme for the pacification of the Netherlands, by the violent men who are now exercising authority in Belgium; but the interests of so many influential persons are concerned in taking a proper

"view of the subject, that *we do not despair* of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. M. de POTTER appears to have *decided for a republican* form of Government, probably because it would afford him an opportunity of *taking a leading part in it*; but the *turbulent character* of the Belgians would; we think, have *too much development under a republic*, which, at the best, is fitted only for a *new, a very quietly-disposed people*. A constitutional monarchy would be much better for them, and much more agreeable to their neighbours. That such may be the result is, we are sure, the wish of the *well-disposed* part of the nation, and to the Prince of Orange the crown will probably be offered. This Prince is said to have a *strong predilection for the Belgians*, and the prospect of a resident sovereign and of a *perpetual court* will conciliate the Belgians and *flatter their vanity*."

There is a beast for you! The man who writes for the *Courier*, is, I am told, a SCOTCHMAN, called DR. GALT, who was the emigration agent of our pretty fellows in that terrestrial paradise, *Canada*; and I never yet knew a Scotchman who wrote upon politics (with the exception of Dr. Black) who was *ever right in any one instance*. But as to the matter before us, only think of the monstrous fool imagining, that the brave and resolute and sensible Belgians, after *driving away this prince* (foh! *prince*, indeed!) and his plundering and ravishing myrmidons, are to be wheedled to *take him for a king!* and that, too, without rhyme or reason! Oh! but this fellow "is said to have a *strong predilection for the Belgians*." A cannibal, when brought into a court in America, to give evidence against a man who was on trial for his life, was asked whether he had any ground of *dislike* to the prisoner; he answered "No, no, me like him too well; me eat him, you let me, when he be hang." This was, indeed, a very "*strong predilection*," and of about the same sort as that of this "prince" for the Belgians! Not that he would *literally* eat their bodies; but that his "*predilection*" is for their *property*, for their *earnings*,

for their *substance*, extorted from them in *taxes*; that this is the ground of his predilection, who is beast enough to doubt?

But, mark the *soft* tone of the Scotchman! "*We do not despair*." You may, then, kilt-man; for the Belgians are not such beasts as to make another noose to put their heads into, after having snapped that which had nearly choked them before. M. de POTTER wants a republic "*that he may take a leading part in it*." And suppose that; *why not?* You are a base Scotchman for imputing such a motive to him to which he is no more fairly liable than Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, or (a *far greater man* than either of them) Paine, would have been; but be it so, and what then? His ambition may be quite compatible with the good of his country. He is acting wisely *now*, at any rate; and the English people have not failed to observe the vast superiority of the proceedings of the Belgian provisional government over those of the bankers and loan-jobbers of Paris.

"The *turbulent character* of the Belgians would, *we think*, have *too much development under a republic*." GALT, who made you a doctor? I, in virtue of my office as "Monarch of the Press," gave a title to your countryman of the *Morning Chronicle*; but who the devil made you a doctor! "*Too much development*!" Oh! thou conceited ass! But as to the fact, where is there on this earth a people more fit for life under a republic than the Belgians? Plain in their manners, simple in their dress, industrious, sober, patient of toil, steady in their purposes, proverbially pious; inhabiting a rich soil, frugal in their living, excellent husbandmen, cleanly and economical in their houses; upright in their dealings, and above all, obstinately brave and persevering. And yet, they are unfit for a republic, and it would be "*much better for them* to have a *constitutional monarchy*!" Like *ours*, of course! There was a nursery maid used to say to one of my children: "You'd *better* sit down, my dear, and not gallop about the room so." "No, Dickey," said the child, "I bette' *not*"; laying a very heavy emphasis upon the word *NOT*. And thus the Belgians

would answer, if they were to read the exhortations of this man with the kiff and philibeg. How the Belgians would stare, if they were to see this politician in petticoats, who takes upon him to recommend to them a "*perpetual court*" as a thing calculated to "*flatter their vanity*"! Faith, they have had too much of an *occasional court* to want a "*perpetual*" one. They have read of the cheap government in America; and so has all the world; and, in short, the industrious part of mankind are now resolved not to toil any longer for the sole benefit of lazy and rapacious and insolent aristocracy.

We now come to the second extract, which may be called "*the tears of the place-hunting Scotch*," who live on taxes and thrive on tyranny in all parts of the world. This Scotchman had, it seems, published some days before, an article, that induced another Scotchman to fear, that our pretty men at Whitehall had some notion of war: whereupon that other Scotchman expressed his alarm, and bade his readers to look out for the danger to *their money*. Seeing this, our COURIER Scotchman comes out with the following *pacific assurances*; which I beseech you, my friends, to read with the *greatest attention*. It is the COURIER, mind you; that speaks; and that paper is *notoriously the organ of the people in office*. The words are, therefore, of the greatest importance: they were published in the COURIER of the 9th instant; and I verily believe they were written, not by Galt, but at *Whitchall*. Now read them; pay particular attention to those in *italics*.

"The Scotsman of Wednesday, after quoting from the *Courier* an article on the Netherlands, says:

"It seems to follow from the *Courier's* words on Thursday last, if faith may be put in them, that the question of interference has been considered, and that it has not, at all events, been decided in the negative. The subject sinks every other into absolute insignificance; and this simple announcement ought in our opinion to be a signal to every man in the country who values his money, his property, his freedom, or security, to raise his voice against a measure which would strike at them all, and entail unnumbered evils on the country."

"The contradiction which we gave on Saturday last to the report that

"the British Cabinet had resolved to interfere in the quarrel, and which the Scotsman, in the spirit of fairness which characterises that journal, has copied, ought, we think, to have been sufficient to remove any alarm which had been created. We regret that inadvertency on our part, or misconception by our contemporary, should have led to a belief that there was a disposition in the Cabinet to plunge this country in a war, for the purpose of preserving the integrity of a foreign king's dominions. We merely stated that the question was one of difficulty, and that other interests than those of the King of the Netherlands were involved in it; but we stated also, in the most positive manner, that there was a determination in the proper quarter not to interfere, unless the interest and honour of Great Britain should demand interference, and new circumstances should arise to compel the Government of this country to adopt a course against which they have, in principle and practice, protested. To this we added, that the necessity of intervention was not apparent; and yet we are charged with having justified by our words the fear which has been expressed, that intervention was contemplated. It will sometimes happen that, in the race against time, which is one of the most important characteristics of a daily newspaper, words may be used which the writer would have discarded for others of less ambiguity, if time had permitted reflection; it is hardly fair, therefore, to bind the editor of a newspaper by a random word. The spirit of an article, and the general context, should rather be looked to. In the present case, however, we do not think we have left our meaning doubtful even as to words. We stated that there would be no interference unless new circumstances should arise, and the interests and honour of this country should render intervention absolutely necessary, constantly observing also that nothing had transpired to show the necessity of our meddling hostilely in the quarrel between Holland and Belgium. This, and the known disin-

"*clination for war by the Duke of Wellington, a disinclination founded upon a thorough knowledge of its horrors, ought to have made the public easy on the subject.*" To what has been said we have only to add, that "nothing has since occurred to render probable such an intervention as would involve us in war, but much to make it most improbable. There was but one truly difficult point, which the sincerity of the French Government has removed; and we may now, we trust, congratulate the country on the prospect of undisturbed peace in our foreign policy, and the realization of the important improvements in our domestic policy, which the good sense and patriotism of the Premier and his zealous colleague in the cause of gradual and rational reform, Sir Robert Peel, have suggested and may yet suggest. It would be absurd to say that nothing can ever arise to render war an act of necessity or duty; but it is still more absurd to suppose that every little storm abroad is to affect this country. Our hope, our belief, is that peace will be maintained, for the present generation at least, whatever may happen to posterity."

All the remark is unnecessary; except, first, that every one in London must know, that this came directly from Whitehall; and second, that the cause of publishing such an article was, and could be, no other than the necessity of doing some thing to stop, if possible, the drain upon the bank for gold! There is the tender part: there is the real cause of the pacific disposition of the English Government: there is the source of safety to the French and Belgic people: and there is the sure and certain source of parliamentary reform: it is the figure of eight and eight noughts (800,000,000! avant, hideous sight!) that have produced in the Prince of Waterloo and the Marquis of Douro, and God knows what besides, "a disinclination for war": "Paper-money" says Mr. PAINE, whom the English aristocracy and parsons burnt in effigy; "paper-money is strength in the beginning and weakness in the end."

People of France, Teutlers of Belgium,

people of England, read this paper; think well on its contents; and you will feel your hearts bound at the thought, that a proud, rapacious and insolent aristocracy, abetted by a not less rapacious and insolent band of Jews and loan-jobbers, now discovers its fears, after ages upon ages of rapacity, insolence and cruelty.

WM. COBBETT.

I INSERT here a *French translation* of the FIRST LETTER to Talleyrand; for this is now to be called the *first*. I shall not, in future, publish these in French in the *Register*: they occupy too much room; and the other way will be more effectual. But I am uncommonly anxious that this letter, this first broadside on the old priest-bishop-citizen-prince should have every chance of being read in France, and in Belgium; and therefore, this time I insert it in French in the *Register*. It is published separately, and sold at my shop at Bolt-court, for 2d., and 25 for 3s., and 100 for 10s. The *employés*, who have now the press of Paris in their hands, and who are just as corrupt as the people of the *Old Times*, will not republish them. But they will get in plenty to Paris in this cheap way. I had 100 copies bought last Monday morning, by a gentleman who was going to Paris; so that that candle is not under a bushel, at any rate. A very good way is to leave one or two at each inn along the road from Calais on Boulogne, to Paris. At Paris means will be found of getting these little *lumières* to other towns; and by-and-by, they will be reprinted regularly at Paris. The next letter to Talleyrand will appear next week, and will also be published separately in French for 2d. The *Journal des Débats* shall find, that the London press will soon be heard in France in spite of the bankers and loan-jobbers. It shall find, that we, at any rate, are not to be duped by a chamber with a banker at the head of it. N.B. The first Letter to Talleyrand (for sale in France) may be had, in any number, at any time for ten or fifteen days to come. If I could reach these fellows across the Atlantic, the devil's in it if I can't reach those across the channel!

LETTRE I.

TALLEYRAND PERIGORD,

Jadis Prêtre, Evêque et Laïque; jadis Législateur Republicain et Citoyen-Ministre sous la République; Prince-Ministre sous Napoléon; sous les deux Bourbons, Louis et Charles, et sous le Drapeau Blanc; aujourd'hui Prince, Envoyé Extraordinaire du "Citoyen-Roi," d'un "Peuple Souverain," qui arbore le Drapeau Tricolore.

Kensington, le 5 Octobre, 1830.

TALLEYRAND,

LORSQUE l'histoire rapportera les causes de la chute des deux systèmes d'emprunt qui existent aujourd'hui en France et en Angleterre; lorsque nous aurons à parler de ces deux vils systèmes comme de choses qui ont subsisté; lorsque nos enfants, par respect filial, contiendront leur indignation de ce que leur pères, constituant deux grandes nations, se sont soumis, pendant nombre d'années, à l'influence de deux bandes de brocanteurs d'emprunts, d'agioteurs et de juifs, à la volonté desquels ils ont mis de côté la justice, la liberté, et la réputation comme des choses de peu de valeur; lorsque nos fils rougiront de notre conduite et exprimeront leur surprise de ce qu'une nation, comme la nation anglaise, qui, pendant un long espace de temps, refusa de se soumettre à la tyrannie; une nation dont les lois respiraient à chaque ligne la liberté que ses enfants avaient sucé avec le lait de leur mère; une nation dont la haine pour le pouvoir arbitraire est retracée dans l'histoire de chaque scène de ses nombreuses dissensions civiles; et qu'une nation, comme la nation française qui, d'un seul effort, a rompu les chaînes que l'astuce et la cruauté réunies lui avaient imposées, pendant douze siècles, et fondu tout-à-coup sur les despotes qui s'étaient pour l'enchaîner de nouveau; n qui, par des actes d'une valeur inouïe, a éclipsé tout ce que l'histoire a rapporté d'étonnant, à subjugué tous ces despotes, et les a forcés ramper devant elle; lorsque, Talleyrand, nos enfants penseront à ces choses

et exprimeront leur étonnement de ce qu'une nation, comme la nation française, s'est soumise, en 1830, à voir les employés des droits réunis pénétrer, de nuit et de jour, dans leurs domiciles, les forcer à payer un impôt sur les vins produits par leurs champs, compter les feuilles de leurs plantations à tabac, s'abstenant soigneusement d'en soustraire une seule, crainte de châtement; lorsqu'ils seront étonnés de voir les hommes qui combattirent à Jena, à Austerlitz, à Arcole, qui marchèrent sur Rome, sur Amsterdam, sur Berlin, Naples et Vienne, et à l'approche desquels des forteresses, jusqu'alors réputées imprenables, ouvrirent, leurs portes, par centaines; lorsqu'ils exprimeront leur étonnement de ce que, après tous ces exploits, ces mêmes hommes se sont soumis à payer des droits de patente, pour exercer leur profession, ne voyager dans leur propre pays sans être muni d'un passeport, qu'ils se sont soumis à des lois faites sans leur consentement et, en grande partie, par des hommes qui prétendent à un droit héréditaire de faire des lois; lorsqu'ils exprimeront leur étonnement de tous ces faits, et seront encore plus étonnés de voir que cette brave nation après s'être soulevée pour la seconde fois, et brisé, pour la seconde fois, les chaînes qu'on lui avait insensiblement passées autour de chaque membre, s'arrêter tout-à-coup, au milieu de ses glorieux efforts, et avant d'avoir entièrement rompu ses chaînes, sembler craindre avoir trop fait, ou plutôt d'avoir fait quelque chose de mal; lorsque nos fils exprimeront leur étonnement de toutes ces choses, et surtout de la manière dont s'est terminé cet événement si étrange et si humiliant pour la France; alors ces mêmes fils, portant leurs regards sur cette page-ci et sur mes lettres, y verront les détails que j'y donne avec autant de hardiesse que de franchise; et se rendront compte des vraies causes de ces événements, en apparence si étonnants, et avant d'arriver à la fin de cette même page, ils apprendront pourquoi ces mêmes événements ont manqué de produire leur effet, et pourquoi au lieu de la sécurité que les auteurs avaient espéré d'y trouver, ils ont porté la destruction parmi eux.

Ainsi vous voyez, Talleyrand, que j'ai

entrepris un vaste sujet. Vous savez probablement, mais que vous le sachiez ou que vous ne le sachiez pas, le fait est que j'ai renversé, à moi seul, plus de projets de fourberie et d'oppression qu'aucun homme qui ait jamais existé, et que je possède cette qualité pour laquelle mes compatriotes sont fameux, c'est-à-dire que je poursuis, avec autant de constance que d'opiniâtreté, tout ce que j'ai résolu d'entreprendre. Sans doute vous êtes pour le moment à l'abri de mes atteintes; je n'ai physiquement aucun pouvoir de vous nuire; vous êtes entouré et choyé par ceux qui ont à leurs ordres une armée de cent mille hommes sur pied, et qui arrachent soixante millions de taxes par an de ce peuple jadis si neureux et si bien nourri, mais qui se trouve aujourd'hui plongé dans la misère, couvert de haillons, et réduit à vivre de pommes de terre. Au surplus, je vous atteindrai par degrés. Ce ne sera, il est vrai, que de l'eau qui tombera sur du marbre, mais elle finira par faire impression. Vous avez aussi de votre côté les RICHES de la France; ceux dont le dieu est préservé dans un sac ou dans un porte-feuille, et auxquels il importe peu quel soit le prêtre, pourvu que ses efforts tendent à conserver leur dieu. Mon correspondant de Paris me mande que quelques-uns d'entre eux en lisant mon TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE, No. VII., qui se trouvait, en Français et en Anglais, dans le Régistre du 25 Septembre dernier, mon correspondant, dis-je, me mande que quelques Français de la classe "comme il faut," en lisant ledit article, adressé aux *braves Parisiens*, touchant votre nomination, et exprimant franchement mon opinion sur les circonstances extraordinaires qui se rattachaient au choix d'un nouveau roi, autre Bourbon, au voyage, à la liste civile, et à la marche lente de Charles; "ces gens comme il faut, c'est-à-dire ces gens qui vivent sans rien faire, dit mon correspondant, levèrent les épaules, lorsqu'ils arrivèrent à cette partie de l'adresse qui parle du nouveau roi. Ils louèrent beaucoup ce que vous dites du prêtre-évêque-citoyen-prince; mais cette, partie où vous semblez croire que Louis-Philippe paraît avoir été choisi pour tenir la place chaude pour Charles,

ou ses héritiers, était beaucoup trop "chaude pour eux."

Ainsi vous voyez, vieux prêtre-évêque, que je ne me dissimule nullement les obstacles que j'ai à surmonter; mais je les surmonterai. Je sais aussi que vous avez à vos ordres la majeure partie des journalistes de Paris, bien qu'ils aient honte de l'avouer. Nous, Anglais, nous savons bien que notre presse est corrompue; ceux d'entre nous qui sont initiés dans cette affaire, savent bien que les propriétaires de la plupart des journaux quotidiens jouissent, généralement parlant, d'un monopole produit par l'énormité du droit de timbre; nous savons bien que ces propriétaires obtiennent parfois du gouvernement des places et des gratifications; mais cela se fait d'une manière si adroite que la masse du peuple ne s'en aperçoit point. Le gouvernement du "citoyen-roi," faute d'expérience, s'est montré moins astucieux; il a corrompu ouvertement la presse de Paris, s'il faut en croire leurs journaux; il a donné, sans détour et en nommant tout bonnement les individus, des places et des émoluments, aux rédacteurs de plusieurs journaux, et quelques-uns d'entre eux se sont plaints de ce qu'ils n'avaient pas eu leur part. Ah Talleyrand! Ah Baron Louis! Ah Louis-Philippe premier! Ce coup de politique a été profond sans doute, mais il ne réussira pas, malgré le jargon prosaïque de Monsieur "le bon citoyen Guisot."

Je sais donc que j'ai contre moi.

1. Les deux gouvernements.
2. Neuf sur dix journaux quotidiens de Londres.
3. Neuf sur dix, sinon tous les journaux de Paris.
4. Les hommes riches de la France, en général.
5. Tous les possesseurs de fonds et tous les brocanteurs d'emprunts de Paris.
6. Tous les banquiers et les grands négociants des deux pays.
7. Les *boroughmongers* d'Angleterre, et les deux Chambres de France.

Je sais bien tout ceci, et cependant, pour ce qui a rapport à la France, je m'engage à les confondre tous, et vous par dessus le marché, en dépit de tous les moyens que vous pourrez employer, à moins que vous, votre *citoyen-roi* et

son prêtre-ministre, ne parveniez à arrêter le cours des postes d'Angleterre en France; et faites-le, si vous osez! Je n'ignore pas qu'une partie de vos attributions est de savoir au juste quelles sont les personnes qui vont d'Angleterre en France, et de prendre des mesures en conséquence. Talleyrand, je me donnerai bien de garde d'aller en France, tant que vous serez le représentant de votre citoyen-roi dans ce pays-ci. Je ne quitterai jamais l'Angleterre pour aller dans quelque pays que ce puisse être dont vous seriez le représentant. Je n'ai jamais vu Paris; je désire le voir; mais tant que vous serez le représentant de ceux qui gouvernent la France, ils n'auront certainement pas ma carcasse en leur pouvoir.

Je sais fort bien que les journalistes de Paris ne publieront pas ce que j'écris; je sais, par exemple, qu'ils ne publieront pas cette lettre-ci. Je les ai mis à l'épreuve par ma lettre No. VII, ci-dessus mentionnée, du *Tableau d'Angleterre*. Ils ont publié tout ce qui avait rapport à votre histoire; mais lorsque j'en suis venu à dire que le citoyen-roi tenait la place *chaud* pour Charles ou ses héritiers, ils ont laissé cette partie en blanc; oui, ils l'ont laissée en blanc. Le citoyen-roi Bourbon leur avait donné l'argent du public, en leur donnant des places, et c'eût bien été le diable s'ils avaient publié une attaque contre le nouveau roi-Bourbon, sous lequel, et au plaisir duquel ils occupent des places. C'étoit là la pierre de touche. Je l'avais écrit dans ce dessein, et cela m'a parfaitement réussi. Eh, bien! que me reste-t-il à faire? Quel est mon but en publiant cette lettre, en Français en Angleterre? Je vous le dirai, Talleyrand. J'ai les moyens maintenant de faire parvenir mon journal à *Boulogne*, à *Calais* et à *Dieppe*, bientôt même à *Paris*, et je vous déclare, Talleyrand-Perigord, prêtre-évêque-citoyen-prince, que cette lettre même sera lue, oui sera lue, dans chaque ville considérable de la France; et cela malgré vous, malgré le roi, et malgré les *faiseurs de rois* de France.

Dans mes lettres subséquentes, j'aurai à vous entretenir de divers objets. J'aurai à vous demander si en effet vous avez la folie de croire que le peuple

français continuera à souffrir que les rats de cave viennent dans leurs maisons et dans leurs champs leur arracher de l'argent pour payer l'intérêt d'une dette contractée à l'effet de payer des étrangers pour leur avoir rendu les Bourbons, bon gré, mal gré, et pour avoir saccagé les musées de Paris? J'aurai à vous demander de quel droit les chambres se sont permis d'élire un nouveau roi, ou un roi quelconque pour le peuple français. J'aurai à vous questionner sur d'autres sujets; mais, pour le moment, je me contenterai de vous offrir mes félicitations sur l'harmonie heureuse qui, si j'en dois croire les journaux, règne entre vous et vos vieux amis, les ministres anglais! Ce serait grand dommage de troubler cette harmonie; je n'en ai aucune envie; et je sais que ce que je vais faire n'y tendra nullement; mais comme tous les journaux de Paris ont affirmé qu'on vous avait envoyé ici "à la requête du gouvernement anglais," il serait à propos, ce me semble, d'approfondir un peu la cause probable de cette requête; car, ainsi que nous finirons par le voir, cet objet est d'une bien haute importance pour les deux pays. En effet, si vous vous étiez montré jadis admirateur de ce gouvernement-ci, il aurait eu quelque raison de désirer de vous avoir près de lui; mais il n'y aurait pas de raison pour que le roi-citoyen vous y envoyât. Vous l'avez tourné en *ridicule*; on dit même que vous l'avez diffamé par des *libelles*. Voyons, sans autre préambule, ce que vous avez dit sur ce gouvernement *chatouilleux*, en 1804 et 1805. C'est encore le même gouvernement, Talleyrand! Il a les mêmes bourgeois dans sa manche: c'est toujours la même *jolie* chose que Cotto et Guizot et Dupin vantent; il n'a changé ni de caractère ni de conduite; *il est absolument ce qu'il était en 1804 et 1805*. Je vous prie donc, ou plutôt je prie le peuple anglais et le peuple français de lire avec une attention toute particulière ce que vous dites à cette époque de ce même gouvernement. Le voici consigné dans les documents authentiques qui suivent, signés de votre main et publiés dans tous les pays civilisés de la terre. Lisez vous-même ces documents, Talleyrand, lisez-les à *Drake* et à *Smith*, auxquels, par paren-

thèse, nous payons des pensions; lisez-les ensemble, et riez-en à votre aise. Riez de la simplicité du peuple-souverain, riez-en votre soûl, tandis que vous le pouvez; car je suis bien convaincu que vous ne rirez pas long-temps.

“ Circulaire du Ministre des relations extérieures de France aux Ministres des puissances étrangères résidant à Paris; signée C. M. Talleyrand, et datée de Paris, le 24 Mars, 1804.

“ Le premier Consul m'a ordonné d'adresser à votre Excellence copie du rapport qui lui a été présenté par le Grand-Juge sur la conspiration incidente formée en France par Mr. Drake, Ministre de Sa Majesté Britannique près la cour de Munich, laquelle, quant à l'objet et à la date, se trouvait en rapport avec l'infâme complot soumis dans ce moment au jugement des tribunaux. Les originaux seront envoyés sur-le-champ par le premier Consul à S. A. S. l'Electeur de Bavière. Une telle prostitution du poste le plus honorable dont un homme puisse être revêtu, est sans exemple dans l'histoire des nations civilisées. L'Europe sera aussi étonnée qu'affligée d'un crime que le gouvernement le plus pervers n'osa jamais tenter jusqu'à ce jour. Le premier Consul connaît trop bien les sentiments et les bonnes qualités qui distinguent les membres du corps diplomatique, accrédités près de lui, pour ne pas être convaincu qu'ils veront avec un chagrin profond une profanation du caractère sacré d'ambassadeur, methamorphosé d'une manière si odieuse en une agence de complots, de stratagèmes et de corruption.

“ Extrait d'une note, transmise par le ministre des relations extérieures de France au Chargé d'affaires de l'empire russe, datée de Paris, le 16 Mai, 1804, et signée Ch. M. Talleyrand.

“ La circonstance contre laquelle il s'élève un cri général est d'une nature bien différente. Par le traité de Lunéville, l'Allemagne et la France s'étaient réciproquement engagées à ne point donner asile à aucun de ces hommes capables de troubler leur

tranquillité respective. D'après ce traité, on ne souffrait point dans l'Empire germanique les émigrés qui résidaient à Bâle, à Fribourg, à Dresde, &c., cette circonstance démontre l'inconvenance réelle de la conduite de la Russie. La France demande qu'elle éloigne les émigrés qui étaient à son service, à l'époque où les deux pays étaient en guerre, des pays où ils ne se sont signalés que par leurs intrigues. La Russie, au contraire, persiste à les y maintenir, et la remontrance qu'elle fait maintenant conduit à cette question. Si, à l'époque où l'Angleterre complota l'assassinat de Paul I. (admettant qu'on eût reçu avis que les auteurs du complot étaient à une lieue de distance de la frontière) ne se serait-on pas donné beaucoup de mouvement pour les arrêter? Le premier consul espère que sa Majesté Impériale, dont l'excellent esprit et le noble caractère sont si connus, s'apercevra tôt ou tard qu'il y a des hommes qui profitent de tous les moyens pour susciter des ennemis à la France, qui cherchent à faire une diversion, et à rallumer le flambeau de la guerre qui ne peut être avantageuse qu'à l'Angleterre.

DOCUMENT OFFICIEL.

CIRCULAIRE DE FRANCE. “ Circulaire de M. de Talleyrand, Ministre des affaires étrangères de France à tous les Agents de S. M. l'Empereur des Français, datée d'Aix-la-Chapelle, le 5 Septembre 1804.

Vous avez dû, Monsieur, remarquer et savoir, d'après mes instructions à l'époque de la communication de la note de Lord Hawkesbury aux ministres des puissances étrangères résidant à Londres, l'impression que cette manifestation des plus fortes maximes de morale politique et sociale ne pouvait manquer de produire sur l'esprit du gouvernement auprès duquel vous vous trouvez. Je crois devoir revenir sur ce sujet. En conséquence, je vous envoie une copie officielle de cette note, et vous enjoins expressément, par ordre de Sa Majesté, d'en faire le sujet d'une conférence spéciale avec le Ministère. Le projet conçu par le gouvernement anglais, depuis plus de 50 ans, de détruire insensiblement le

" système tutélaire du droit public qui
 " unit et lie toutes les nations civilisées,
 " se développe avec une effrayante rapi-
 " dité. Les autres gouvernements tar-
 " deront-ils à s'opposer à une telle en-
 " treprise jusqu'à ce qu'il n'existe de
 " lien moral pour conserver leurs
 " droits, pour garantir leurs engage-
 " ments et protéger leurs intérêts ?
 " Les puissances continentales ont
 " vu avec quelle audace ce gouverne-
 " ment s'est joué de la foi des serments,
 " et a violé des traités solennels, avant
 " même qu'ils fussent mis à exécution.
 " Les nations maritimes éprouvent tous
 " les jours sa tyrannie. Il n'y a point
 " de principe théorique de navigation,
 " point de convention écrite qu'il n'ait
 " violé avec audace sur tous les rivages
 " et dans toutes les mers. Les états
 " neutres savent que, même en usant
 " avec la plus grande circonspection
 " des droits qui leur restent, ils s'ex-
 " posent à être insultés, pillés, ex-
 " terminés. Ces états, enfin, qui ont
 " le malheur d'être en guerre, ne
 " peuvent plus compter sur aucun
 " principe réciproque de modération et
 " de justice. Tous les liens qui exis-
 " tent entre eux et les puissances neutres
 " sont rompus. Une simple proclama-
 " tion a suffi pour interdire l'approche
 " des côtes, l'entrée des ports et des îles,
 " quoique éloignés de ses escadres de
 " plus de deux cents lieues. Ainsi le
 " gouvernement anglais a jusqu'ici op-
 " posé à chaque puissance, d'après sa
 " position particulière, une maxime in-
 " jurieuse à son honneur et subversive
 " de tous ses droits. Il les attaque au-
 " jourd'hui toutes à la fois ; et, pour
 " atteindre plus sûrement son but, il
 " dirige ses coups contre la moralité
 " même, et, si je puis ainsi m'exprimer,
 " contre la religion du droit public.
 " Dans tous les temps et dans tous les
 " pays, on a respecté le caractère des
 " agents diplomatiques. Ministres de
 " paix, organes de conciliation, leur
 " présence est un présage de sagesse, de
 " justice et de bonheur. Ils ne parlent,
 " ils n'agissent que pour terminer ou
 " prévenir ces funestes différends qui di-
 " visent les princes et dégradent les
 " peuples par les passions, les meurtres,
 " et toutes les horreurs qui sont les
 " avant-coureurs de la guerre. Tel est

" le but, d'un agent diplomatique ; et
 " l'on doit dire que c'est à l'observation
 " des devoirs que ses fonctions lui im-
 " posent, et au caractère, généralement
 " respectable, des hommes qui exercent
 " ce ministère sacré en Europe, qu'elle
 " doit la gloire et le bonheur dont elle
 " jouit ; mais ces heureux effets excitent
 " la jalouse ambition du seul gouverne-
 " ment qui se croit intéressé à la ruine,
 " à la honte et à la servitude des autres
 " états. Il voudrait que les agents di-
 " plomatiques fussent des instigateurs
 " de complots, des agents de troubles,
 " des directeurs et des régulateurs de
 " machinations, de vils espions, de hon-
 " teux corrupteurs. Il leur ordonne de
 " fomenter la sédition, de provoquer et
 " de payer l'assassinat, et il prétend faire
 " jouir cet infâme ministère du respect et
 " de l'inviolabilité qui appartient
 " aux médiateurs des rois et aux pacifi-
 " cateurs des nations. Les agents diplo-
 " matiques, dit Lord Hawkesbury, ne
 " doivent pas conspirer contre les lois du
 " pays où ils résident ; mais ils ne sont
 " point soumis aux mêmes obligations à
 " l'égard des états près desquels ils ne
 " sont pas accrédités. Admirables res-
 " trictions ! L'Europe fourmillera de
 " conspirateurs, et les défenseurs du droit
 " des nations n'auront pas le droit de se
 " plaindre ! Il y aura toujours quelque
 " distance locale entre le chef et les com-
 " plices. Les ministres de Lord Hawkes-
 " bury payeront le prix des crimes commis
 " en leur nom ; mais ils seront assez pru-
 " dents pour respecter la morale pu-
 " blique, en ne devenant pas à la fois
 " instigateurs et témoins. De telles
 " maximes sont le comble de l'audace
 " et de l'hypocrisie. Jamais on ne se
 " joua avec plus d'effronterie de l'opi-
 " nion des cabinets et de la conscience
 " des peuples. S. M. l'Empereur juge
 " qu'il est temps d'arrêter ce déborda-
 " ment de principes subversifs de toute
 " société.

Voilà, Talleyrand ! L'authenticité de
 ces documents ne saurait être contestée.
 On ne saurait non plus révoquer en
 doute que ce ne soit là le langage
 que vous avez tenu touchant le gou-
 vernement anglais. Il s'ensuit donc de
 deux choses l'une : ou que ce gouverne-
 ment-ci chargé en effet Drake de former
 et encourager un infâme complot contre

la vie de Napoléon ; qu'il traça le plan de l'assassinat de Paul premier, empereur de Russie ; qu'il se joua de la foi des serments ; qu'il voulut que ses agents diplomatiques fussent des instigateurs de complots, des brouillons, des directeurs et des régulateurs de machinations, de vils espions, de honteux corrupteurs ; qu'il leur ordonna de fomenter la sédition, de provoquer et de payer l'assassinat, et enfin que tout CELA ÉTAIT VRAI, ou que VOUS ÉTIEZ LE PLUS GRAND CALOMNIATEUR qui eût jamais existé.

Je ne sais, et il m'importe peu de savoir de quel côté est la vérité ; mais l'une de ces deux propositions doit nécessairement être vraie. Cependant vous voilà aujourd'hui rassemblés, chers et bons amis ; eux, s'il faut en croire les journaux de Paris, impatientes de vous embrasser, et vous sans doute non moins empressé de vous jeter dans leurs bras. Maintenant, chers camarades, restez enlacés dans les bras les uns des autres jusqu'à la semaine prochaine où je tâcherai de dévoiler les causes de cette heureuse réconciliation. En attendant, je suis avec les sentiments qu'un homme, tel que moi, doit avoir pour un homme, tel que vous.

G^{MR}. COBBETT.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR

THE BRAVE PARISIAN SUFFERERS.

	£.	s.	d.
Amount advertised in last Register	217	7	10
Mr. Samuel Smith	2	0	0
Mr. Jeremiah Smith, Norton, Suffolk	1	0	0
W. D. Weller	0	0	9
Ten persons in St. George's, East	0	10	0
A Buckinghamshire Tear	0	0	2
An Old Radical of H.	0	1	0
W. Rowelliff	0	10	0

Total up to 14th Oct. £221 9 9

N.B. The list, in the Register of 2nd Oct., contained 3l. "from Maidstone." It should have been from "the Reformers of Leeds, near Maidstone." The letter was addressed to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, and as he had not a moment to spare, I promised to attend to the insertion in the list ; but, in the bustle of the day, I did it imperfectly, for which I beg pardon of the good men of the village of Leeds.

ANOTHER ERROR in that list was this :

"In an anonymous letter to Mr. Cobbett, 2l." It should have been, "From James Gudgeon, Esq., Stowmarket, Suffolk, for himself and Mr. J. A. Webb."

ANOTHER ERROR in the last Register. Mr. Samuel Smith meant his 2l. for the French, and we put them down to the Belgians.

This puts all to rights so far. A book will be kept open, at my shop, in Bolt-court, to receive Subscriptions for the French until Monday, 1st November inclusive, when the account will be closed, and the money sent to Paris by Sir Thomas Beevor, through such channel as he may please.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

For the Widows and Orphans of the Brave Working People of Brussels.

One thousand one hundred and two	£	s.	d.
Working Men, the money collected by Mr. Cobbett	9	3	
Mr. T. Breever	0	10	
Mr. R. Rogers	0	10	
Mrs. Potter and her daughter	0	7	
An Enemy to the brutal Dutch troops	0	2	
No. "Orange Bovan"	0	3	
The Waterloo Mound	0	5	
The Waterloo Lion	0	5	
The naked Achilles, erected by "the Ladies of England"	0		
The Hanoverian Column	0	5	
A Patlander	0	2	
G. Mant	0	12	
W. Rowelliff	0	10	

Total up to 14th Oct. £ 13 1

As I said before, I engage that my own collections, independent of what shall be collected at my shop, shall amount to 30l. I am not without hope, the sum will, in the whole, amount to 100l. But, be it what it may, I engage to send an Ambassador with it to Brussels, at my own expense ; aye, an ambassador to represent truly the millions of England ! Those laborious millions, who sympathize in every nerve and every vein with the brave men who have shed this blood rather than continue to toil and sweat, to support in luxury a rapacious and insolent Aristocracy. Those brave people, who had always been so faithful to the French, merited the support of the French now, and, I dare say, expected it ! The French people were ready to flee to their aid ; but, alas ! the moment I saw a banker at the head of the French parliament, put there by the almost unanimous voice of

the members, I saw that, if the French did assist the Belgians, it must be with out the consent, and against the will, of the French government. That government, that Talleyrand-government, left the Belgians to their fate, while the people of France were burning to be in Belgium. However, these brave people, though thus abandoned by the Funding System Government of France, did not flinch from the combat; they fought the Dutch troops, and drove the Dutch king out of their country.

And here we ought to remark on the baseness of a part of the London press, and particularly on that of the OLD TIMES paper, which is now universally called "THE BLOODY OLD TIMES," from its having uniformly advocated punishment, cruelty, proscription and blood, against all those, in whatever country, who were striving for freedom. This vile, this atrocious paper, which has always been the favourite tool of our bribing borough-villains, actually hunted unfortunate CASHMAN to the gallows; it applauded, and, indeed, suggested, the dungeon and gag laws of Sidmouth and Castlereagh; it urged the Bourbons, in 1814, to slaughter those who had served Napoleon; it called on our Government to strip the Museums of Paris; it justified the killing of Marshal Ney; it justified the murder of the Protestants at Nismes; it called on England not to put up the sword, till James Madison was deposed. These facts and a hundred other proofs of its bloody-mindedness I can, and, the moment I have room, I will, prove from its own columns; and I will also publish the names of its proprietors as soon as I get back to London.

For these very sufficient reasons, this infamous paper is called "the bloody Old Times;" and, really, it ought to be printed in red ink. True to its character, this bloody old Paper, not having foresight any thing like equal to its malignity, thought, when it heard of the march of the Dutch army to Brussels, that the Belgians were defeated; and, always having blood in its eye, began to bespeak the halters and axes for those brave people whom it had the infamy to call "a mob." On the 28th of September, when it was reported that

the Dutch plunderers and ravishers had beaten the people of Brussels, for whom every honest English heart was bleeding, this corrupt, this dirty-blooded thing, put forth the following flagitious words:

"The populace or workmen out of employ must have been the chief actors in those sanguinary conflicts. Great disunion existed in the ranks, and paralysed the councils of the more respectable insurgents. The Committee of Public Safety seemed to have consulted its own safety by flying to the French frontier; the Regency had ceased to act from Monday the 20th instant, and the Provisional Government existed only on paper; the head of it, M. de Potter, being probably still in Paris. The poor misguided citizens were thus left to fight for the redress of imaginary wrongs under leaders as ignorant of real grievances as themselves. Such, we hope and trust, is the end of a revolt which originated in a mob, and has terminated in a massacre,—which was as mad in its conception as it was contemptible in its means of execution; and which would only excite our ridicule, if our feeling of the ridiculous were not overpowered by our horror at the needless shedding of blood—by our sympathy for the innocent sufferers, and our pity for those whom the LAW MAY CLAIM AS ITS VICTIMS, after the sword has been sheathed."

Reader, English reader, think of the baseness of the wretch who could sit in safety himself, or herself, and put this upon paper! Women, when they do engage in bloody deeds, are known to be more bloody than men. As they are more ardent in their affections, so they, when the devil has taken possession of their souls, are more ferocious. And I really do think that this bloody passage, this justification beforehand for the works of the Dutch king's hangmen and bowel-rippers, this handing the people over to the executioner in sport, must have come from the pen of some devil-possessed woman. If so, how the she-devil must have raved and tore her nasty matted hair, when she found that the "populace," the mere "workmen," the "insurgents," had beaten the Dutch

murderers and ravishers, and had driven them and their "*royal*" leaders out of the country! Leaving the *Bloody Old Times* till I have time and room for a regular basting of her, let me now address a word to the Belgians.

No. I.
TO THE BRAVE PEOPLE
OF BELGIUM.

FRIENDS, *Rochester, 13th October, 1830.*

BE assured that the MILLIONS OF ENGLAND applaud your glorious deeds, and fervently pray to God, that your valour and virtue may be rewarded by ages of freedom, prosperity, and happiness. Amongst these millions, I, who now address you, am one; I am collecting some mites of money to be presented to the widows and orphans of the brave men who fell at Brussels, not as the means of *relief*, for that you will provide for, but as a mark of our admiration of your conduct, and of our sympathy in your cause. But, of far greater service to you I may possibly be, by communicating to you information which you will never get through the channel of our *Journals*, the far greater part of which are at the command of the Government, or, which is nearly the same thing, under the influence of the all-corrupting paper-money and loan-jobbing system. Forty years of experience, ten spent in the United States of America, and thirty in England, enable me to offer you, in this important crisis, matter which I hope may be deemed worthy of your attention.

It is, in the first place, of importance for you to be *assured*, and you may be assured, that our Government will not stir hand or foot against you, in the way either of *war* or of *subsidy*; and that, therefore, "like your Belgic sires of old," you may now be *free*, and form just what government you please. The situation of our Government is this: it cannot, even now, collect taxes sufficient to pay the interest of the Debt in full, and to maintain all its establishments as they *now are*; yet, the taxes are so heavy as to produce misery the most deplorable, and discontent raging from one end of the country to the other. All the middle classes of society are calling for a *reduction of taxes*; and

such reduction must take place, or the nation will be *convulsed*. Where are, then, the means of *war*, or of *subsidies*? At this very moment the several parishes of London and its environs are combining, in order to obtain relief from the taxes with which we are already loaded. Here are a million and a half of people, now actually in motion against the taxes. What more is wanted to convince any man, that *new taxes* cannot be imposed; and yet how is war to be made or subsidies paid without new taxes? And, when you reflect, that war would cut off half the *trade* and *manufactures* of the country; you must see that war would plunge us into utter confusion.

But, besides this obstacle, there is, great as this is, one much greater, much more *immediate*, and much more frightful to our government; namely, the FUNDS, associated with and dependent on, the PAPER-MONEY. England is *rich*, England is *great*, England abounds in all the sources of wealth and of power. But, this same England has a *Debt* and a *paper-money*, which, if suddenly blown up, would *bring down the whole fabric of the government*, level the Aristocracy and the Hierarchy with the earth, and, in all likelihood, make a total change in the proprietorship of every possession in this kingdom; and, observe, it is *impossible* for this government to *go to war*, at this time, without causing the Debt and paper-money system to be *blown up*.

The statements and arguments to prove the truth of this would demand more time than I have to spare at present. The facts are notorious here; no one denies them; and, in these facts you have the explanation of the wonderful phenomenon, that this government keep quiet as a mouse, though kings are driven from their thrones, or shaken on their thrones, all around it. England is *rich*, as rich as ever in valuable things; but England has a paper-money to five times, and perhaps (including paper of all sorts), to twenty times the amount of her *real money*. This paper-money has drawn all property and all enjoyments into the hands of a few: *destroy it all at once*, and there is, instantly, a *new distribution of property*! The object, the possibility, is the most

terrific that ever engaged the contemplation of man. And, observe, *at this very moment*, its existence, the power of the government to uphold it, is a question *as to the length of time*, every man being satisfied, that it must be destroyed *first or last*.

At present bank-notes are payable, on demand, *in gold*. The gold is now leaving England in great quantities, and in all directions. If this continue, a law must be passed to put a stop to payments in gold; and then our paper-money becomes *assignats*. This would blow up the whole fabric in a short time; and every one knows, and every one says, that a war would instantly produce a system of *assignats*. Here, *Belgians*; here, *people of France*; here is the source of your security *against foreign attack*. Austria and Prussia and Russia cannot march without *English money*; English money is to be had only by blowing up the whole fabric of government in England, and by throwing back society into its first elements; and, therefore, *English money will not be had*.

France is in a somewhat similar situation. Why is her new government so anxious "to preserve the peace of Europe"? Why does it check the *Spanish patriots*? Why did it leave you to your fate? Why does it so largely pay *Charles X.* for the massacre at Paris? Why did it send *Talleyrand* to England? What made it so very contented to let the field of *Waterloo* remain in the hands of the *Dutch King*? Because it has a DEBT and FUNDS that it wishes to preserve; because *the Chambers* are deeply interested in that Debt and those Funds; because bankers and loan-mongers and stock-jobbers, all of whom thrive on the toil of the people, have as yet, the power in their hands, because they know, that war would prevent the interest of, the Debt from being paid; and because that would take from them the power of living in luxury on the sweat of the people. You see the *Banker-Deputies of Paris* becoming bankrupts; you will see more of that; the two governments of France and England are at work to uphold the two systems. They will fail. That of Holland is already nearly gone. That of France will follow; and how long ours will sur-

vive, no man can precisely tell. The taxes to pay the interest of the Debt, in France, cannot and will not, be paid for another year; and when they cease to be paid, the revolution will march on to a real republic, a cheap government, and a rich and happy people.

Here, then, brave Belgians, are the causes of your safety. You are free to choose your form of government. On that subject, I will, with great respect and deference, address you in my next Number; and, in the meanwhile, I pray God to prosper all your councils, and that the result of those councils may be to cause your happiness to make you an example to all other nations around you.

WM. COBBETT.

THE MUSICAL SCOTCH BISHOP OF ROCHESTER must remain hung up on my peg for another week.

My Son has brought from Paris THE LIFE OF LAFAYETTE, which will be published, in English, at my shop in Bolt-court, in a few days; price about 1s.

BROUGHAM must have patience; he and his maker, Baines, the great Liar of the North, and the humble Lord Milton, shall all have it, before the meeting of the Collective. What sport we shall have with Baines's member!

TWO COLOURED HANDKERCHIEFS are sold at No. 68, Gracechurch street.

LECTURING TOUR. Battle, Saturday, 16th. Lewes, Monday, 18th. Brighton, 19th and 20th. Chichester, 21st. Portsmouth, 22nd. Gosport, 23d. Isle of Wight, 25th. Portsmouth (or rather Portsea), 26th. SOUTHAMPTON (if possible), Wednesday, 27th. In my next I shall speak positively about Southampton. I want to get at FLEMING, if I can. Correspondents will be so good as to write to me at the Post-offices, as above, if they have anything to communicate relative to any Tour. I am now at Rochester; Wednesday, 13th.

(Advertisement.)

PROSECUTION OF THE PRESS BY THE WHIG ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

A *Political Letter-Office*, 11, Bowyer-st., Fleet-st. This Office has now arrived, which is to determine whether Englishmen shall be at liberty to discuss the measures of Government, and communicate to each other information of the present appalling state of the Kingdom, the *British Slave*, &c.

As it is now commenced against the Author of the *Political Letter-Office*, by an information at the suit of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, will bring this question to an issue which cannot be doubtful, if he be not fairly supported by his *Yellow-countrymen*.

This day, a *Monthly Letter* to Sir ROBERT PERK, containing a comprehensive digest of Foreign and Domestic news, the size of the *Examiner*. Price 4d. Sold by the Author.

A friend to the freedom of the press having sent to the office a sovereign, the Editor cannot better appropriate it, than by selling one hundred copies of the *POLITICAL LETTER*, at one penny each; to be had at the office; or Mr. Strange's, 21, Paternoster Row.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vor 70^o—№ 17]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23RD, 1830

[Price 7d



TO THE NEWSMEN

This next will be a Double Reformer, that is to say, two Sheets in the, and of course, price no proportion. For the purpose of having room for the PLAN OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, (which I believe the people of England will make a stand, and without which I am convinced that England will never again be quiet,

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FRIENDS AT CHICHESTER

PORTSMOUTH, ISLE OF WIGHT, &c.

Bolt court, Thursday, 21st October, 1930.

MY FRIENDS.

I HAD got to Leves in Sussex, and should have been at Brighton on Wednesday night, at Castlebar on Thursday, and so on agreeably to my notification, but, on Wednesday morning came the London papers, bringing me the melancholy intelligence, not of the death, indeed, but of the very dangerous illness of my old mother at Threadneedle Street! I told my good friends, that you shall be acquainted with me; I know you will be shocked at "coarse" and rough language, and have been called; "brutal and unpolished," as ANNA BAPPIN (who, by the way, ought not, God knows, to be a pauncher!) has represented me. "The feeling" as I was said to be in the case of the mild and humane Mr. Charles Castlereagh, who said "He spent his days on the rock of St. Helena, and who, tender-hearted creature, afterwards cut his own throat and killed himself at North Cray in Kent, and

who, poor man, had been *Secretary of State* for the three departments, and had been leader of the House of Commons for several weeks while he was *in office*, or else the North Cray jury were late and perjured; "unfeeling" as I was represented to have been in that case; and also at the death of those "most unmerciful" kings George the Third and George the Fourth, the first the best of fathers, and the last the best of monarchs, as well as of fathers; "unfeeling" as I was said to be in the case of the "Miserable" CANNING, who was so witty, and who set the "feeling" Howe in such a roar of laughter, in alluding to the burning of the body of CANNING, "unfeeling" as I was called when I cracked at the ruin and the shambles of the Yeomanry Cavalry, some of whom killed or wounded five hundred unarmed and unoffending people at Manchester; "unfeeling" as I was said to be when I commanded the people of Westminster to *pull* (in the month of August last) *down* and *down* the *hinges* of Covent Garden, *down* *down* and *down*, the weather being so dry to afford a supply of that mud which would have been more appropriate, and the slaughter-houses being so abundant to supply, on the spur of the moment, the still more appropriate materials of guts and blood; "unfeeling" as I have, with regard to these and other unhappy sufferers, been represented to be; *unfeeling* as I say, *unfeeling* as I am quite sure, that I am as much as, France and Hampden, and all say that I have ever displayed any want of feeling for, or any want of the attention to, my old mother, or father, our common old mother, in Broadwood Street.

rently exceeding the rest in dismalness of description of her ailments and of forebodings as to her fate, and nobody seeming to know *what was the matter of her*! Like the famous boroughmonger, when told in a letter from the Prime Minister, that a request of his *could not be granted* because the *Prince Regent had ordered otherwise*, I, flinging down the papers, hollowed out "*Bring me my boots*!" forgetting that I had nothing but a pair of very thin shoes, and that they were already on my feet. In vain did my Sussex friends get about me; in vain did they endeavour to allay my anxiety by telling me that I "*could do her no good*"; that we must "*submit to the decrees of Providence*"; that we must "*all pay the debt of nature first or last*"; "*Stand off,*" said I, pulling myself away from them. "DEBT," "in your teeth! What is she, merely because she *owes a trifle*, to be left to die without a single child, and especially her favourite and *favoured son*, to close her eyes!" And then, taking a couple of old Liverpool's (Jenkinson's) pennies out of my pocket, "Shall she," said I, "expire without my laying these upon her lids! Though I wanted them to buy me a bit of bread, to that use they should go! What! shall I keep these pennies; shall I cram my maw by the means of that miserable brass (dashing the pennies down on the table), and leave the corpse of my aged mother staring up at the sky like that of a rotten old South-down ewe, turned up at her back in a gutter in Pevensey Level!"

This had its effect; *that came home* to their bosoms; this softened them. But as we were now far advanced in the day, and it being impossible, though I travelled with post-horses, that I should get to London before about two o'clock, when the rogues and fools would be just going to bed, and when honest and sensible people would not yet be stirring, I assented at last to remain at Lewes for that night, and in the evening to give a *second Lecture* for the purpose of communicating to my friends the *apprehensions* which I entertained, to *prepare them for the worst*;

to mingle my tears with theirs, and thus, as it were, to become the melancholy messenger, bearing their adieus to their departing parent. Accordingly, to the play-house we went at seven, came away at half-past nine, sat up, and (while I drank milk and they beer) exchanged "sigh for sigh and groan for groan" till eleven; got up (I did) at three precisely, and made hungry by grief, having breakfasted on bacon and bread and *caff au lait* at Godstone, got to Bolt-court about half after ten, in a state of mind which I am sure, my kind-hearted friends, you will spare me the task of describing. Never did I pass seven hours so dismal as those it required to convey me from Lewes to London. On the forest of St. Leonard the sun saluted us with his earliest beams. "What a charming morning," said my clerk. "Ah," said I, "Mr. Clement: but that sun-rise is, perhaps, the last that will be beheld by our dear and mild old mother, to support whose spotless reputation so many hundreds of men have been swung from the gallows! And," pulling out my white handkerchief, "shall the dear old woman never see the sun rise again!"

There was, however, ANOTHER CAUSE for my sudden return to London; namely, the SETTLED DESIGN which the same newspapers convinced me was entertained by the government of France, and by their co-operators on this side of the water, to SAVE THE LIVES of POLIGNAC and the other fellow, whose name is, I think, PIERSON, who gave orders for massacring the people of Paris. My own intelligence from Paris corresponded with what I saw in these papers. I, as the public are informed, had had my suspicions long awake upon this subject; I had made up my mind that the putting of these tyrants to death, or the saving of them, would determine the real character and the ultimate views of the new government of France, I had seen that loanmongers and aristocrats had got the lead, that Talleyrand and other men, who had been the tools of Charles, were the ministers

under Philippe; that Talleyrand had been at the *soiree* of Lafayette, and I should have been a beast if I had shut my eyes to this; I had seen, that the crown for the citizen king of a sovereign people had in fact been given by a loan-monger, into whose arms he fell in the farce played off on that occasion, and in which farce the wife and six children were actors. I had seen the scheme for putting an end to the punishment of death for political crimes broached all of a sudden, and that on at a time so unfit for cool philosophical discussion; I had seen Lafayette one of the foremost in promoting this scheme, not to have seen the real and only object of which scheme would have been to prove myself an idiot. All this I had seen before the newspapers reached me, at Lewes, on Wednesday; but when I saw "O. K. G." whose name I well know, and whom I know to be the chaplain of an ambassador at Paris, when I saw this servile pen foisting upon Dr. Black positive assertions that the lives of the bloody monsters were to be saved, and justifying the French government for its conduct in this respect; when I saw the bloody old Times and the not less bloody Courier, which had pursued poor Gasman to the gallows, which had called for the blood of Ney and Labedoyere, which had called for slaughtering the people of England; which howled like wolves for the blood of Brandreth, Foulwood, the Scotch Reformers, the Irish people, and had praised every word of death for "treason" in the long reigns of the two last kings; when I saw the columns of these bloody papers, of these base and savage instruments of bloody deeds; when I saw these prostituted columns teeming with expressions of abhorrence at the thought of taking away life; when I saw the wretches who applauded the deeds of Sidmouth and Castlereagh so anxious to save the lives of the atrocious criminals; when I saw them all assume the tone of excessive lenity, and especially when I heard them say, that the new government of France was pledged to the other government of Eu-

rope to save these bloody ministers; when I saw this it was high time for me to tear myself from the downs and fields and the solicitations of my friends, to do my duty, and to throw my feather, light as it might be, into the scale of justice.

This I have done in an address to the *corrupted* people of Paris, which will be found in another part of this Register, a copy of which will lie in the hand of each reader by Sunday or Monday. I shall, if the address translated into French, shall sell it at my shop for 2d., or for a hundred. So that any body may take it to Paris in great numbers. I shall, if possible, have it for sale at my shop on Monday next, or on Tuesday next at the latest. Thus it is that I have put my feather in the scale of real humanity against bloody tyranny.

In the mean while, my friends of Sussex and Hampshire, the French people seem resolved to have justice in spite of the pledge of their new government given to foreign courts; and it appears to me that if that government of loan-jobbers do not give way in time, it will come down, and that a real republic will be raised on its ruins. My son at Paris writes to me thus, on the subject, under date of the 18th instant. "Ten days ago every body thought that the punishment of the guilty ministers was certain. But the theatrical exhibition (relative to the law for abolishing the punishment of death) which was played off four days ago, and especially the conduct of Lafayette, created doubts and alarms throughout the public, and many men began to think that the government would carry its point.

On Sunday, however, the 10th instant, the National Guard, at the review in the Champs Elysees, thundered in the ears of the king and Lafayette, **A MORT LES MINISTRES! A MORT LES MINISTRES! A MORT LES MINISTRES! A MORT LES MINISTRES!** The royalist papers would insinuate that there are no republicans *but at Paris*; but the truth is, that the National Guard from *without Paris*, those dressed in the rustic uniform, which is a blue smock-

"frock, with a belt round the waist, something like the garb of the back-woodsmen, in America; those men from the country were *must vociferous* upon this occasion. I have seen this fact stated in none of the papers, even the most opposed to the extreme of moderation with which the government seems to be disposed to follow up the sacrifices of the brave and honest common people. But these journals are by no means backward to openly and forcibly opposing the scheme for sending Polignac and Peyronnet to *confine at Edinburgh Castle*. On Sunday, the *Courrier Français* and the *Journal de Paris* openly started objections to this measure. Yesterday other papers joined them, and to-day the *Constitutionnel* and all the liberal papers, except the *Journal des Débats*, are in full cry.

Since the date of the above letter, it seems that the government has become afraid to pass the law for abolishing the punishment of death; and it remains to be seen what other tricks will be played off to save the horrible villains who shed the blood of the people of Paris. There will be other tricks I have no doubt, but I trust they will fail. Leaving this subject, for the present, let us take a passing look at our poor dear old mother, whom I found even worse than I expected. The scheme for stopping the French revolution without success. It was to be stopped for the sake of the borough-mongers here, and for that of the loan-mongers on both sides of the water; for while the former saw that it would take from them that which they were to be rapacious and dishonest, and impunity, the latter saw that it would put a stop to their rapacious plunder, because if it went on, the people of France would not pay the interest of the debt. Well, they will not pay it now. They are, in fact, refusing to pay it now, and that man must be a madman who has braved the attack, and who does not now and then take as much as possible, and put the gold in and keep it in gold. The French will never stop till they have a republic, which is what they want, what they will have, and what is the sort of govern-

ment suitable to their country. I am sorry that Dr. Black, of the *Morning Chronicle*, which paper has, of late been worth all the other daily papers in London, should give currency (without commentary) to the turn-coat observation of "O. P. Q." on this subject. How often did he tell us, that thirty out of the thirty-two millions of Frenchmen were republicans! He has now found out that they prefer a *kingly government*. His palm has been touched, and the electric effect has reached his mind. Let it, let us laugh at him; but let not Dr. Black be his dupe. I am, my friends of Sussex and Hampshire,

Your faithful friend,

and most obedient servant;

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have received a long and most interesting letter from my son, at Paris, which I shall publish in my next. I have no doubt at all, that, if the new government *do not change its course quickly*, it will be tumbled down. The following is a short postscript to his letter. "Lafayette has lost his popularity and influence with the National Guard, who have the sole charge of the prisoners. These guards are now demanding their elections of their officers, and, preparatory to the great office, they will make sure of the right men. Last night, at the Palais Royal, after the King came from Versailles, the people sang the Marseillaise, and called for the King; when he came to the balcony, they cried, *I want the ministers*. After that, they went to another place, where there are many, and some of the best singers gathering them. They sang the Marseillaise, with their hats off, about fifty times, and after every time, they *cried* 'Monsieur les ministres! La tête de Polignac et de Peyronnet aussi,' and kept up the concert till a late hour." "The death of Polignac and Peyronnet also!" "That is clear, that the lives of these rapacious is not all. The people are discontented with the whole thing. They find that they have accomplished no real change. The cry for the heads

of the tyrants is, in fact, a cry for a republic. This is plain truth; and the sooner we are convinced of it the better.

"Let not, whatever other ills assail,
"A damned Anultery prevail."

GOLDSMITH,

TO

THE BOROUGHMONGERS.

On the Political State and Prospects of England.

Eastbourne, Sussex, Sunday, 17th Oct., 1830.

BOROUGHMONGERS,

You, the most rapacious, the most cruel, the most merciless, the most corrupt, the most perfidious, villainous, that the world ever heard of; you who have done more mischief to good morals, who have debased and corrupted more of mankind; you who have caused more tears to flow from the eyes of virtuous parents and children, you who have drawn more sweat unjustly from the labouring man, you who have caused despair to fill the hearts of more widows and orphans; you whose base corruptions have caused a greater mass of those evils than has been caused by the acts of all the openly-avowed tyrants that ever scourged the earth from the days of AHAB down to those of CHARLES THE TENTH; villainous boroughmongers! you who, in addition to all your other odious and detestable qualities, have hitherto added those of impudence, arrogance, and insolence, surpassing those of Scotchmen when in power, which far surpass those of the Devil himself, you base and brutal boroughmongers, who have, up to within these two months, seemed to set the vengeance of Heaven itself at defiance, seemed to mock at the awful denunciations of God, who has said, that "we shall consume the tabernacles of bribery;" you, atrocious and hardened ruffians, who, in use of your words, have seemed, for half a century, to "draw damnation face to face;" you, obdurate monsters, who seemed to puff at the thunder of heaven rolling over

your heads, still glorying in those infamies that were as notorious as the sun at noon-day, and the bare imputation of which would have sunk the hearts in the bosoms of any of the rest of mankind; you, corrupt, perjured, steeply-hearted ruffians have, at last, and *all of a sudden*, become silent and reserved, betaken you to cant and hypocrisy, and have ceased your hateful, brutal and bloody menaces.

You and I, boroughmongers, have a long score to settle, a very long score; but this is not the place to talk of that. You must be dull in the sort of reticement in which you now are, and I will endeavour to amuse you by giving you some account of the political state and prospects of England, of which I have, since last December, span the far greater part, from the German Ocean to the Atlantic, and from the north of Yorkshire to the south of Sussex, where I now am, just enlightened by a sight of the choice person of the she-proprietor of your choice vehicle of lies, the bloody *old Times*. I cannot describe this state and these prospects better than by giving you an account of my *Lecturing Tour* from London to this place, and an account, or report, or a sketch of a report, of my speech to the people at *Belle*. Therefore, this is what I shall now do, premising that at every place the price of admittance has been three pence, two for the Lecture and one for a copy of the London Petition to the King.

I began at *Durrow*, where the only untoward circumstance was, that the place provided was not large enough for the purpose, but the town-hall. The Mayor gave his consent, on condition that the Aldermen would agree to it. The Alderman, who spoke for the rest, said, "The people here are ignorant, and happy in their ignorance, and we will take care to keep them so." That was *frank*. This Alderman's name was *Chouen*. At *ROCHES* I had a large repository, and a very attentive audience. At *MAIDEN* rose a floor of a large malt-house; at *TONBRIDGE* a Methodist Chapel, now become a store-house for

hops and corn; and at both these places the most hospitable and generous reception and treatment at private houses. At BATTLE, last night, a large booth, made of poles and sails, the latter brought from Hastings, and the work performed at the expense of some fine, public-spirited young men of that quiet and solid little town. Young working people, observe! None of those who live by trick and contrivance. I never was more delighted in my life than when I saw this booth and saw the audience assembled in it. Look at the scene, base and rapacious boroughmongers. A stage, made with faggots and boards, for me to stand on; a small table, with two candles on it, before me; a chair for me to sit on before I began; an audience consisting of about 500 persons, chiefly from the villages round this town, and some from a distance of 15 miles, about a third part of the audience in smock-frocks; about a twentieth of it consisting of women, mostly young; and, while the rest of the audience had to stand all the while, seats had been provided for a row of these pretty, single-women (always adorned by me) who were thus ranged directly before me! I was really at home here. Here were assembled a sample of that part of this honest, sincere, kind and true, free and happy people, amongst whom I was born and bred up, and towards whom my affections have increased with my age. *Sufferings*, indeed! What sufferings have I endured, what is loss of fortune, what is imprisonment, what is exile, what are even a quarter of a century of calamities from your wicked tools; what are all these when set against the reward that I received in the hearty cheers of this audience when mounting the stage in this booth!

The first feeling, upon such occasions is, *great surprise*; every one starts and seems to say, "What is this the like?" that the base Waverers and the other hellish tools of the boroughmongers have been decided as a *thorough* punishment, an *early* rice and a *big* parson and *cleaner* limbs!" That feeling was quickly succeeded by that of indignation against my calumniators; and that

by an eagerness to listen, and a predisposition to place confidence in my statements. And now, boroughmongers, I will give, for your comfort, a sketch of my speech at Battle. It must be a mere sketch; for it lasted *two hours*. In coming through Kent, I had, of course, learned all about the *burnings*, and I am not a man to flinch from my duty, though the house burn about my ears. It was my duty to *speak out* upon this subject in particular; and I have done it in every place where I have been.

I began my speech by observing, that the events in France ought to make us reflect on our own situation; that we had most laudably expressed our admiration of the deeds of the people of Paris; that, to their everlasting honour, the working people in many of the towns and villages of Kent had subscribed their names to be sent to the widows of Paris; that, however, we ought clearly to bear in mind the *reason* for which this had been done; that we ought to bear in mind, that the tyrants of France had issued decrees to *destroy the freedom of the press*, and to *rob the people of all real representation in the Parliament*; that it became us, then, to consider how we ourselves stood in this respect, and whether we could applaud the brave French for their conduct without feeling shame warming our own cheeks. I then described to them the state of our press; told them of those acts of Parliament that held me in *licences and bonds*; told them, that out of every *shilling* for which I sold a Register, the Government took *fourpence farthing*, leaving me a penny farthing to pay for paper, print, publishing, even the rent of a house to publish in, and for my talents and labour bestowed in the writing; that no man dared not say any periodical thing often more than a *month* or a *year* less than *another*; and that, lest he should still be *debarred* to do it, he was disabled by *summons*, which compelled him to *write the thing* *more than two sheets of paper*, all covered with *print*, and that, moreover, lest he should discover some *small sheet* of paper, the Parliament had enacted, that each sheet

should be *twenty-one inches long, and seventeen inches wide!*

After a hearty laugh from my hearers at the commendations which I here bestowed on this surprising minuteness and care of our fine "representations," and of the proof that this afforded of their anxious and sincere desire that the people should become interested, I returned to the *bonds* in which they hold me and penalties which they have constantly hanging over my head. I told them that, in the first place, I must have a *license* before I can have a press or types; that, having a mind to publish a newspaper, daily or weekly, I must first go before the Government commissioners with my intended printer and publisher, and to them we must swear that the paper is to be called by such a name, that we are the proprietor, printer, and publisher, that the paper is to be published at such a place, and that we ourselves live at such and such houses; that after this I must take two *bondsmen* to the same commissioners, to swear that they are worth such and such sums, and to be security for my paying the taxes that these commissioners may demand of me for advertisements; that before I can print, I must next go before one of the judges, take *three bondsmen* with me, and when each of them has sworn that he is worth *four hundred pounds*, over and above all debts and demands, we all three enter into bonds to forfeit and pay to the King *four hundred pounds* towards paying any fine that any judge may sentence me to pay for any thing that my paper may ever contain! That, thus tightly bound up, I may, when I have paid in advance for stamping the paper, I have to print or send forth my paper, that the Attorney-General has the absolute power of accusing me of libel by what he calls an information; that as soon as he has done this, he can send me to jail, there to await my trial; and that if he choose, he may when the day for that comes, not *have me tried*; and then I am let out of jail without any law to give me compensation. I may keep myself out of jail until the day for trial by finding two men to be bail for my

appearance, and for my keeping the peace and being of good behaviour in the meantime; but if he do not choose to bring me to trial, or if I be tried and acquitted, though it be thus proved that he has held me to bail *wrongfully*, if I before the day of trial commit any breach of the peace, or do any thing which he can make appear to be *misbehaviour*, I and my bail have to *forfeit the recognizance* which had been *wrongfully taken*! "Oh much injured

Charles and Polignac! Englishmen, do not your cheeks burn when you reflect on the praises that you have bestowed on those who drove one out of the country, and put the other in prison, merely because they attempted to *destroy the liberty of the press*!"

I then explained to them how much better it was for a country to have no press at all than a press like ours, which is a monopoly, leagued against truth. I showed them that it was this base press, that had prolonged the sufferings of the people; and that of all the curses that ever afflicted a nation, the greatest was a mercenary and corrupt and monopolised press, free in name, and in reality the villainous slave of power and influence, regardless of the interest of the people. I illustrated this by several cases of individual newspaper villains, whom I said, in a short time, string up by name for the amusement of the people of Paris.

Having finished the press, I came to the other charge against Charles and his bloody ministers; namely, the attempt to take from the French people the right of choosing their representatives in the parliament! "Oh! the villains, said I, 'Oh, the hellish tyrants! Want to prevent the people of France from freely, and by ballot, choosing those who lay the taxes upon them! Not, indeed, to let them have no parliament; they meant to let them have a very nice parliament; meant to let them have representatives of the people still; but they themselves meant to choose them! What horrible tyrants! what barefaced How I was interrupted by such a laughing, such a cheering,

such a clapping of hands, and such psalms of execrations against borough-mongers, that I found it would be waste of time to speak of LORD GRAY's 154 and Mr. MADDOX's couple, and went, at once, into, the subject of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, observing, that it was not a *theory*, not a *mere name*, not a *whim*, but a great and important *reality*, for which we were contending. After stating to them, that SIR JAMES GARRAHAM had shown that 118 of the aristocracy belonging to the privy council, leaving out the Bishops and members of the Royal family, received public money to the amount of 650,000*l.* a-year, being more than 20*l.* a year for every working man's family in the county of Sussex; being, at that rate (and that is more than they get on an average) enough to maintain 162,000 people, a number exceeding that of the whole of the population of Bedfordshire or Buckinghamshire: after stating to them, that BUZZARD's pension had been paid out of our labour for now thirty years since his death; that we had already paid 95,000*l.* on account of it, and that we were paying it still: after stating to them, that, in 1808, Mrs. HICKRIE and her four daughters were on the pension list, and might be there still), while a poor old man at TICEHURST, in this county, who kept himself out of the poor-house by the rent of two small cottages, was ordered by the magistrates to *sell* the cottages to get means of keeping from the parish his orphan *grand-children*, and while the law justly compels the son to maintain his father and mother, if they become chargeable to a parish, and if he be able to relieve them: after stating to them, that, for forty-two years past, the two families of Grenville and Dundas had received more of public money than the cost, during the same time, of supporting the whole of the *real government of the United States of America*: after stating to them the number of our Generals and Admirals, showing who and what they were, showing who the military academy people were, what were the motives of this establishment, who appointed the bishops, how the livings were dis-

tributed, and so on; after this I asked them, whether they believed that these things would be, *if the people chose freely those who laid on the taxes and expended the money!*

Having received the negative in a general shout, I congratulated my hearers on the rumour, that, after all the abuse heaped upon reformers, the minister is going to *propose a reform himself*; actually going to follow my advice. I then told them, that the corrupt press of London (to which reform is *death*) is now telling us, that Mr. BAUGHAM is to bring forward the plan, and that the Duke is not to oppose it. I then described the bawling Scotch Lawyer and dirty-skinned Paines, who had put him in for Yorkshire. I gave a history of Brougham's rotten-borough life, and told them of his rotten-borough brother. I described the sweet scheme for humbugging the people with seats for swell-headed fellows for Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds. I explained to them why it was that the big boroughmongers had suffered this fellow to rave and brag at such a rate, and when I spoke of their creeping for shelter under the Scotchman's KILT, which I minutely described (*pinching my nose with my thumb and fingers at the same time*), the booth shook with our laughter. Silence being restored I proceeded somewhat thus: "What trick will be attempted I know not. "The Duke is a man of plain sense, "and may, perhaps, do right at once, "that is to say, yield to universal suffrage and voting by ballot; but that rapacious and perfidious faction, the Whigs, will hang on to the profitable corruptions to the last moment; and, beaten from one hold to another, will, at last, hope, cling to household suffrage, that is, to exclude all men from voting, who are not householders; and, by refusing the ballot, make them vote in obedience to their landlords and their customers; and thus, in fact, give us no reform at all." I then explained to them, not only the injustice, but the insolence, of refusing votes to the young men, who are to fight the battles of the country; the insolence,

the atrocious and unbearable insolence, of telling a man, on the day of election that he has no right to vote, because, as the brazen vagabonds call it, "he has no stake in the country;" and, the next day, to have the devil-like brass to command him to come forth to *shed his blood in defence of that country!* "He is old enough," said I, "to fight, wise and experienced enough to shed his blood in defence of the laws; but not wise enough to have a vote in the choosing of those who are to make those laws! And will the young men of England submit to this! Will they creep under the kilt of this 'bawling Scotch Lawyer!'" "No, no, no, no!" told me that the bawler would become (as I have always said he would) the scorn of the nation; not the hatred, but the scorn. "But," said I, "let us see how such a scheme would work. Our Government, having Talleyrand in its bosom, and, for many reasons, loving the Citizen King, are not, at present, in danger from the French. But, if any thing were to turn up to place a hundred, steam-boats at Boulogne, each with a thousand armed soldiers on board (there are boats in America carrying 2,000), and each with two or three pieces of cannon, and with a board on the mast of each, with the words, *BAND TO PEUVREY LEVY*, upon it. What a galloping about here, for instance, to call people out to defend the coast! The old men would be of no use; the farmers must take care of their houses and corn and cattle, the shop-keepers of their shops and goods. The Lord Lieutenant and his Deputies must then call out the young men, 'Come, come, my brave fellows, drive back these Frenchmen!' For what? You say that we have no stake in the country; why, therefore, should we risk our lives? The French will not eat us; and they can take from us no rights; for we have none."

That was enough! That settled the point in the minds of all my hearers. The unjust and stupid Scotch scheme of householder suffrage was hooted off in derision; and the ballot being explained

to the people, every one seemed heartily to assent to the proposition, that nothing but a downright *political rogue*, none but a base boroughmonger, could possibly oppose the ballot, that being the only effectual means of *securing freedom* at elections.

I then came to the matter about which I was most anxious, as it was of vast importance in itself, and immediately pressing; the *burnings* in the county of Kent, to some of which I had been very near, as I had come along, and which it would be folly to suppose will, unless a remedy be applied, either cease, or be confined to that country. I began by observing, that, for many years past, I had taken every opportunity, whether by print or by speech, to warn the middle class, and particularly the farmers, against the arrival of the time when the millions would take vengeance on the thousands, and to call on the latter to make, while there was yet time, common cause with the former; advice which I should now take the liberty to urge on, or, at least, to suggest to, such farmers as then did me the honour to be present. "How many hundreds of times," said I, "I have warned my readers, my hearers, the public and the Government of this danger! How many times have I told them, that to this dreadful state things would come at last, unless measures were adopted to prevent it! No such measures have been adopted, and this state of things is come. To expect it to be confined, in the end, to the county of Kent, is nonsense. As winter approaches it will spread, and violence and terror will prevail throughout the greater part of England. The rule of this Government, and of all persons in authority, for many years, appears to have been, that *force* and *punishment* was the *only remedy* for every thing that was wrong. The people are suffering from *hunger*, and are discontented; oh! an addition to the *severity of the law*. The people, pressed by *hunger* kill the game more than they did; oh! empower the Squires to transport them for seven years, instead of putting them in prison for three

" months. The people are become so
 " poor and wretched at their homes,
 " that they prefer a prison to these
 " homes: oh! do they? make a *bread-*
 " *mill* to torment them there. The
 " people come to demand in virtue of
 " the law, *parish relief*, and the over-
 " seer, sometimes not much better off
 " than themselves, gives them too much
 " relief: oh! does he? bring up *Sturges*
 " (old Parson *Sturges*'s son and a mem-
 " ber for Christchurch); bring up this
 " *amiable friend* of Canning; bring
 " him up from Hampshire, with a
 " couple of Acts, ready prepared by the
 " Parsons, the first, to give many votes
 " to one rich rate-payer, and to leave
 " the poorish rate-payer with a single
 " vote; and the second, to enable this
 " new sort of Vestry to make a *Se-*
 " *lect Vestry*, with power to *con-*
 " *stitute* the overseer, to take from him the
 " power of giving relief, to make him a
 " mere collector of the rates, to employ
 " a stranger, if they choose, an Irish-
 " man, a Scotchman, a Dutchman, or
 " even a *Sot*, to be the dispenser of
 " relief to the poor; to pay this fellow a
 " salary out of the money raised to feed
 " the poor with; and, as it actually the
 " case in many parishes, to make his
 " salary large in proportion as he makes
 " the relief small! And, after all this,
 " they expect the people to be contented
 " and good-humoured! It has been
 " proved by evidence given before com-
 " mittees of the House of Commons,
 " that the honest and industrious la-
 " bourer is fed and clothed worse than
 " the felons in the hulks; that hundreds
 " and thousands of honest and good
 " labourers have been compelled to live
 " in wagons and carts like *gangs* of *Irish-*
 " *men*; that it is the practice to put the
 " labourers up to auction and sell them
 " for different terms, as the negroes are
 " sold in the West Indies; that it is
 " the practice to keep poor men apart
 " from their wives to prevent them from
 " having children; all these and many
 " more such things have been proved
 " before committees of the House of
 " Commons, and the labourers have
 " been *taxed* to pay for printing this
 " evidence; but, has that House ever

" even instituted an *inquiry* into the
 " causes of this disgraceful change in
 " the state of the people? Never; and
 " never will, until it be chosen by the
 " people at large. Is there a common
 " left for the labourer's cow or pig or
 " goose? Is there a stick of wood or a
 " bit of *heath* or turf left to warm his
 " wife and her miserable baby? And
 " yet men affect to wonder what in all
 " the world can ail the people! What
 " can make them so discontented and
 " so *gratified*!"

I concluded with the bill for autho-
 " rising the *steeple* overseer, or any keeper
 " of the poor or of poor-rick, or poor-
 " debtors, to dispose of their dead bodies,
 " and, of course, to sell them for dissec-
 " tion, unless some one came and gave
 " security that he would pay for their in-
 " terment in the usual way! Thus
 " putting the poorest of the poor, the
 " most unfortunate of the unfortunate,
 " upon a level with the murderer! This
 " horrible bill, I told my hearers,
 " brought in by one WARRINGTON and
 " defended by the BLOODY OLD TIMES,
 " by HOGHOUSE, the son of the commis-
 " sary of the Nabob of Arcot's debts, and
 " who (where is the wonder!) has since
 " been peevish from the hustings of Co-
 " vent-garden with cabbages and turnips:
 " this bill, I told them, this cruel bill,
 " was passed almost unanimously by those
 " who were called the representatives of the
 " people; that the Ministers in both Houses
 " supported it; and that I verily believed
 " it would have become a law, if I had
 " not petitioned against it. I then gave
 " them the history of that petition, and
 " concluded with a description of the in-
 " evitable effects of that atrocious bill. I
 " described a husband with his pretty, in-
 " nocent, and recently blooming Sussex
 " wife, brought by accumulated calamity
 " to the verge of death under the
 " shadow of one of *Sturges* Bourne's kind
 " overseers; I supposed the poor husband
 " seeing that beautiful body, the object
 " of his affection, handed over to
 " ruffians to be carried away from his
 " sight to be stretched out naked upon a
 " board, there to be pulled and stretched
 " and poked and backed to pieces like
 " the carcass of a rotten sheep! " What

"must be his feelings," said I, "and what, if he had strength remaining, would be the act of that husband! If the lightning's blast were refused to his prayer, would not Nature, in its last dictates, guide his hand to a dagger, a knife, or a something!"

Boroughmongers, have you ever seen the famous picture representing the death of the hypocrite Achan? Look at it: you will see the upper part of the bodies of the spectators drawn back, their chins sinking towards their breasts, their mouths open, eyes fixed on the Apostle, horror at the blasphemous crime, and awe at the dreadful judgment expressed in every countenance. Such precisely was the effect on my audience at Battle, and especially on the pretty innocent women, who were sitting immediately before me, while the execrations of the young men were muttered throughout the assembly.

Here, then, as I told them, are the true causes of the fires in Kent. I then pointed out the remedy, and the only remedy; menaces and force and punishment being now wholly unavailing; and when the Parliament has evidence before it, proving that men commit crimes in order to get into the habit of BETTER THEIR LOT, of what kind can menaces be? What dread can such men have of the jail or the bullet? I told the Duke of Wellington, the moment he was in office, "The time is at hand when it will become a choice with the labourers, *either death from starvation, or the chance of death from rope or gun*; and he assured my Lord Duke, that Englishmen will prefer the latter. Think, then, the times of the consequences of parish after parish combined (all there be still a *county in combination*).

The remedy, I told them, was that for the farmers of every parish to call all the people together, to read to them *our London petition* for which I had given a copy to every hearer; to explain it to them, as Mr. Harvey at Witley, shire, in Kent, did to the Committee of the House of Commons, that it was the *fact* that disabled the farmers to give the labourers sufficient wages; to show

them that the farmers are *fellow-sufferers with them*; to show them that all the new and severe laws, all that enrages them, *have been caused by acts of the Parliament*; that these have been passed *because the people do not choose the members*; that the remedy for this is, for the people to demand, in the legal and peaceable way of petition, a restoration of their right to choose the members; and that *here is a petition ready*; let us all sign it, and then we shall soon be restored to the happy state in which our forefathers lived. I then told them that if pride, or any other motive, induced the farmers to refuse to resort to this easy remedy, induced them still to refuse to make common cause with the labourers, it was they who would be the sufferers in the end; or rather, that they would be the first sufferers, and that the end would be general commotion, and a changing of hands of all property.

And now, boroughmongers, let me turn again to you for a moment. Read, read, boroughmongers, and you will find that this country, this formerly happy England, is now much about in the state that France was just before the revolution of 1799; that it was not Robespierre or Diderot or any other philosopher, but the rapacious and insolent nobles and the grinding tax-gatherers and the selfish Jews and loan-jobbers who produced that revolution; that it began not amongst the "rabble" (as the bloody old Times calls the working people) of Paris, but amongst the quiet and dispersed labourers in the fields and vineyards; and boroughmongers, hear it and reflect in time, their motto or signal was, *Guerre aux chateaux, paix aux chaumières*. "War to the houses of the rich, peace to the cottage." Think of this, look at Kent, see winter coming. Do, however, just what you please; say or do what you like; creep under Brougham's belt (folk!) if you choose; but you will not have to say, that you have not been ably warned by

W. COBBETT.

C. B. Will no one give us a picture representing a parcel of boroughmongers poking their heads up under Brougham's

kelt, like a parcel of *large chickens*, poking their heads up under the wings of the hen? There might be several still excluded, and piping about for want of room. The bodies might be those of fowls, and the heads those of men, or rather of monsters.

TO THE
BRAVE WORKING PEOPLE OF
PARIS.

Leu es, Suisse, 19th Oct. 1830.

FRIENDS,

EVERY good man in England feels indignant at the base attempt that is now making to withdraw from justice the savage and ferocious men who caused your streets to flow with innocent blood. We were surprised at many things; we saw with surprise another Bourbon set up over you, and that, too, without consulting the "sovereign people" upon the subject; we were astonished to see, that *loan-jobbers* took the lead in your affairs, that *Brazon Louis*, who was one of the ministers of Louis XVIII., was one of your new ministers, but, the sending of *Talleyrand* to England opened our eyes, and convinced us, that your blood, if things must go no further, had been shed in vain. In short, we saw that you had, in effect, gained nothing at all; and that, unless you were as vigilant as you had been brave, you would again be brought, *tout doucement*, gently and softly, into the same state in which the Bourbons had held you before.

All this we saw before. The evident that it was intended to save the lives of the bloody ministers. Now we clearly see, that all our suspicions were well founded; we see, that from the first, the intention was to betray you. It was you, and you only, that defeated the tyrants and their butchering Swiss troops; when you had won the victory, then came the *banquets* and the *peers* to join you; they never appeared till the battle was over; they were, as it is now clear to us, *sorry for your victory*; they pretended admiration of your

conduct; they heaped applause upon you; their design was to *wheddle* you back again within their rapacious grasp.

This is all now evident enough. They *bribed the press* by giving places that is giving *tares*, that is giving the fruit of your labour, to the editors of newspapers; and they thought that they should be able to compel you and your children to work like slaves to pay the debt, which had been contracted to pay the Allies for forcing the Bourbons back upon you; to pay the emigrants for betraying you; to pay the cohorts of Cossacks to trample on you for five years; to pay, in short, for stripping your museums and taking from you all the fruits of your wondrous valour.

We expected that the brave Belgians would receive from you assistance and support; we expected to see the burning of your villages avenged; we expected, in short, that the cause of the people would now, at last, prevail over the cause of tyrants. For a while surprise filled our minds, when we saw the brave Belgians abandoned to their fate, when we saw that the debt, the infernal debt, was still to press you to the earth, when we saw, that there was still a "*procureur du Roi*" (horrible title!) to make war upon truth; but now surprise is made to give place to indignation, when we so clearly see, that it is intended to rescue from justice the bloody men who slaughtered your fathers, brothers, wives and children, and, apparently, to shed, if possible, *even your blood*, rather than not accomplish this nefarious purpose. We saw, that almost as soon as the new Bourbon had been set up over you, the Chambers began to talk of a law to abolish the punishment of death for political offences. We thought it strange that this law should have been thought of just at such a time. We thought, that a matter, requiring patient investigation and cool deliberation, ought not to have been taken up at a time of so much bustle, and when there were so many important matters immediately pressing upon the attention of the Chambers. The doctrine itself we thought very bad, very dangerous; for,

how are you or we ever to be safe, if death be not the doom of him *who shall sell a fortress or a fleet to an enemy?* It was curious, too, that this fit of excessive humanity should have seized on your rulers *just at this time*. They not only saw *NIV, LABEDYSSAN*, and scores of others put to death by the *legitimate* Bourbons; but many of these same *excessively humane* men *had a hand in causing them to be put to death!* But, now, when those who have caused your fathers and brothers and children and wives to be butchered by ruffians, paid, clothed and fed out of taxes raised from your labour, these humane, these tender souls, *shudder* at the thought of taking the life of a *fellow-creature!*

Frenchmen, on your *valour* we have a firm reliance; the only danger is, that your *generosity* may mislead you. The men who now wish to soften and deceive you are profound hypocrites. When did they spare you, or propose to spare you? The law of God, by the mouth of Moses, says, "He who sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Jesus Christ says, "He who lives by the sword, shall die by the sword." Talk of *Jesuits*, indeed! What Jesuit is there equal in hypocrisy and fraud to those who are endeavouring to save these sanguinary tyrants, who were playing at cards, or shooting birds, while their hired butchers were slaughtering the people of Paris? What! eight thousand innocent men, women and children, stabbed or shot by order of these merciless tyrants; fathers and mothers left to wail the death of their children; orphans to weep for their parents; widows for their husbands, and husbands for their wives; a slaughter surpassing in number of slain the bloody massacre of the *Saint Bartholomew*, totally unprovoked and wantonly committed; and, after suffering the chief tyrant to escape, and even giving him an immense sum of *your money* as a reward for his deeds, these *humane philanthropists* are now engaged in the work of saving the lives even of the under-tyrants, whose orders produced the carnage! Talk of *Jesuits*, indeed! What Jesuit that the world ever saw

was guilty of hypocrisy and perfidy equal to these?

Brave and generous men of France! let me beg you patiently to attend to me while I describe the *motives* of those who wish to save these base and cruel tyrants. Their endeavours are so manifestly unjust, the object of them is so wicked, they are so directly against nature, the heart of man so involuntarily swells with indignation at the bare thought of the audacious design, that we are hurried away from the *motives*; yet, we ought to look well at these motives; for we shall find them of the greatest importance to you.

From the moment that you had broken the tyrants, the great object of the Chambers, was to preserve the *public funds*; that is to say, to be able still to get from you, out of the fruit of your labour, *taxes* to pay the interest of the debt which had been contracted to enslave you, and which must make you slaves as long as you continue to pay it. We, in this country, laughed when we saw a banker at the head of the Deputies, and when we saw that banker offering the crown to the new King! To preserve the *public funds* there must be no talk of war. We, here, are in the same situation. This Government and the Bourbons had been closely united; and the owners of the funds in France were extremely desirous, as were ours here, that your revolution should not dissolve the union. Hence your new government soon became connected closely with ours; Charles came here instead of going to America; your kind-hearted government gave him plenty of your money; your new King sent over Talleyrand to represent "the sovereign people" of France; you had got the three-coloured flag again; that was to amuse you; and you were to pay interest of debt, and to be taxed as heavily as you had been before; and thus, quietly and softly, you were to be robbed of all the fruit of your valour and your blood. The interest which you pay on the debt amounts to 275,000,000 of francs every year; and the far greater part of this comes out of *your labour*. The rich people, bankers, and the like, are owners

of the public funds; they, therefore, receive this money; and they want this system to continue, and they know that it could not continue under a republican government; and they know, also, that it cannot continue if they have any thing like such a government.

These people who, mark well, *live on your labour*, are extremely desirous to be *closely connected with our Government*, because that is necessary to keep up your public funds. Now, our Government has very good reasons to wish not to see ministers put to death for slaughtering the people! And I have no doubt that all the foreign courts have united to make a bargain with yours for saving the lives of the ministers. Besides this, there is the danger of the example! And, then, who knows what secrets the ministers may have to tell! However, the principal motive is, to keep all quiet; and it is expected, that if you can be made to let these men escape, you will be again subdued, and easily made to submit to any thing. And these calculations are very correct; for, if these men escape, there is no crime that may not be committed against you with impunity; if they can thus shed your blood, and go unpunished, will any tyrant be, in future, afraid to rob you of your property or your liberty?

That they will not go unpunished is, we hope, certain, though we perceive that all sorts of means are put in motion for the purpose of preventing it. We see the preparations going on at the Luxembourg; we see the efforts of the Paris press, and of the English villains who write from Paris, and who are hired and paid to deceive you and us. We see, that there are some men who would set you to kill one another in order to save the lives of these atrocious murderers. We behold, however, with great pleasure, that you are resolved that the miscreants shall die; that they shall not live to laugh at the tears of the widows and the orphans of Paris. We see, and we see it with deep sorrow, that there is ONE MAN, in whose virtue we all confided, on whose long-tried patriotism we all relied, whose

voice is expected to induce you to abandon your claim of justice. We should ascribe to *great age*; we should ascribe to deception practised on him; we should ascribe to any thing but perjury, the conduct of that ONE MAN, if he were, unhappily, to become an advocate for saving the lives of these foul and bloody traitors. But, however painful it might be to condemn, even tacitly, the conduct of that ONE MAN, condemn it we must, and that of a thousand such men, if found on the side of enmity towards these savage tyrants. Let that ONE MAN, or any other man or men, pardon for themselves: if he have had a child a wife or a father, slaughtered, let him pardon for himself; but let him not pardon for you; let him not, from any motive relative to peace and quietness; let him not, from any imaginary expediency, thwart the straight march of eternal justice; let him not tarnish his last days by doing that which would amount to a declaration, that the working people may be slaughtered with impunity, and that vengeance is not to cry from the earth for the shedding of their blood. Oh! for the honour of liberty and patriotism, for the united honour of America and France, let him leave an attempt to save those villains to intriguers, tax-devourers, loan-mongers, and Jews; but let Lafayette say with Washington, in a case where the offence was not a thousandth part so great, "The crime was against the people, justice to them demands the punishment, and let justice be obeyed." And was he destitute of "humanity," were he not a man of sense and patient consideration and wisdom waiting in his mind and habits; had not he a bosom as gentle as that of Louis Philippe; did he sign that death warrant without shedding tears; did his acts of rigid justice teach the people of America to be ferocious? Oh! for the honour of the cause of freedom, let not the name of Lafayette traverse the Atlantic associated with those of Jews, jobbers, and aristocrats, combined to rescue from justice the murderers of men contending for their rights!

Wm. COLBETT.

HISTORY OF THE PROTEST- ANT REFORMATION.

THINKING that this work, which has been translated into, and published in, all the languages, and in all the nations of Europe, and in the republics of North and South America, deserved to be put into a *fine book*, I published about two years ago a large edition in TWO ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUMES, the paper and print very fine and costly, with *marginal references*, or abstracts, and with a copious and complete index; making a really fine library-book, sold at *one pound eleven and six-pence*, instead of the *eight shillings*, for which the small duodecimo edition in two volumes was and is sold. I was out in my estimate: I did not consider that the quantity of piety and justice and sense was not always in a direct proportion to the length of purse; and that while the *cheap* edition was, as it is, continually in great demand, the *dear* edition remained on hand, or at least went off much more slowly than things must move to be agreeable to my taste. I have, therefore, resolved to quicken the motion of this edition by selling THESE TWO ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUMES AT TEN SHILLINGS, only two shillings more than the price of the two duodecimo volumes, making to myself a solemn promise never to publish a dear book again. These books, like my other books, may be had of all booksellers in town and country.

A new edition of the *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*, with a list of *articles of dress* and of *sea-stores* necessary to the emigrant, price 2s. 6d.

N. B. The Third Number of the History of George IV., price 8d., will be published on the first of November.

GOLD.

THE English sovereign is at a premium of 23 sols in France. The French Funds will become *worth nothing* in less than a year. This is my decided opinion. The people cannot be such beasts as to go on toiling and sweating and half-starving for the sake of

the greedy, the grasping, Jews, the *varnished wretches* who lent their money to the Bourbons, that these might be able to enslave those who are *now to work for taxes to pay these wretches!* This is impossible: the French Funds must become *worth nothing*. Ours will, in one way or another, follow the same line of march. The two systems rest *one on the other*. I shall (week after next I think) publish an *Appeal to the plain sense of the French nation* on the subject of a *Republican Government* for France. I shall *prove* that France can never know peace again, never know harmony and safety to property, *until she have a republic*. But, in the mean time, let us bear in mind, that our *old mother* is ill. Some think that an *operation* will be performed upon her as soon as Collective Physicians and Surgeons are assembled. In plain words, a *bank-restriction* is expected in the city; and I expected it too. Get gold, therefore, reader, while you can.

O. P. Q.

THIS quaint and dogmatical scribe, who writes from Paris, who is of a rare cast that outdoes the chameleon, and who was very correct until it became worth while for corruption to work on him, tells us to-day, (22nd,) in the *Morning Chronicle*, that Polignac and his fellow-murderers "*must die*," when it is only about eight days ago that he said, "*They shall not die; they shall not soil the earth of France with their blood.*" This is so barefaced that I wonder Dr. Black becomes the circulator of it. It must throw discredit on his paper, good as that ~~man~~ is in most other respects. ~~The~~ or himself too, I am sorry to say, ~~has~~ *fallen into the cant* in this case. He ~~thinks~~ that the people of Paris should make it *such a point* to have these "*worthless men* put to death!" Come, come, Doctor, no shuffling: you never said that Cashman, Brandreth, Turner, Ludlam, and the brave Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, and Tidd, ought to have been saved on account of their *worthlessness!* Mark that. Ah, Doctor! The eyes of the people

are open. The base and hypocritical scheme for *abolishing the punishment of death* has blasted even those in whom the people had most confidence.

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On Wednesday next, the 27th inst., I shall deliver a Lecture to the **YOUNG MEN OF LONDON**, on the necessity of *maintaining their rights*; at the **ROTUNDA**, Blackfriars-Road, at 7 o'clock. Entrance 2d. each.

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PLAN OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

ADDRESSED TO

THE YOUNG MEN OF ENGLAND.

Kensington, 22d October, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

WHEN, in the month of May, 1828, I, under the title of "Noble Nonsense," exposed the stupidity and impudence of GRENVILLE, who, after having had the sinecure as Auditor of the Exchequer for about fifty years, for which he had received about 200,000*l.* of the public money, and having, during the same period, received about 150,000*l.* more of the public money, as Speaker of the House of Commons, as Secretary of State for foreign affairs, and as First Lord of the Treasury, while his two brothers, during the same period, had, agreeably to returns published by the House of Commons, received for their sinecures not less than about 700,000*l.* of the public money; when at the time above mentioned, I exposed the stupidity and impudence of this man, who had been one of the projectors of the Pitt sinking-fund, who had assisted actively to carry it on for forty-two years, and who, when the thing had according to his own confession cost the nation 80,000,000 of pounds sterling, had discovered, and had at the time above stated, published a pamphlet asserting, that the whole thing was a "delusion," that it was, "in its very essence, delusive and mischievous;" when he did this, repeatedly like a school-boy, that which I asserted and proved and made as clear as daylight, twenty-five years before;

when this impudent Lord, this devourer of the fruit of our skill and our labour, did this; when he gave this oppressed nation this striking proof of the ruin and misery which we had endured, and had still to endure, from the whole powers of the state being in the hands of that aristocracy of which this man had, for forty years been deemed one of the most able; and when I, under the title aforementioned, called upon others to join me in making efforts to rescue our country from the sway of a cast so stupid, so haughty, so insolent, and so mischievous; when I did this, it was on the YOUNG MEN that I called; it was to their justice and spirit that I appealed, stating that there was no hope in us, their fathers, who had been so lashed, so scourged, so beaten down, so often silenced by gags and spies, so terrified by the horrible dungeons, so often alarmed lest the expression of our thoughts should stretch our necks, rip up our bowels, and our heads rolling from the scaffold; and place the four quarters of our bodies at the disposal of the king; who had been, in short, so long disciplined to submission, and to tremble even at the name of lord; that there was not one out of one thousand of us, who was forty or fifty years of age, in whose soul there remained one particle of that spirit for which our fathers had been so famed throughout the world, and for which they had been so hated by tyrants.

For the same reason, it is to you, the YOUNG MEN OF ENGLAND, that I address myself now. I choose this mode of submitting to my country A PLAN OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and I choose it because,

you have the great interest at stake in the matter.

because it is the first place, and in the next place your interest is, it must be, on your principles, on your decision, on your result will depend, courage, that the subject naturally divides itself into three questions;

namely—

1. The subject naturally divides itself into three questions;

2. The subject naturally divides itself into three questions;

3. The subject naturally divides itself into three questions;

1. Is a Reform of the Parliament necessary?

2. Of what description ought it to be?

3. How is it to be carried into effect?

1. *Is a reform of the Parliament necessary?* This is a question that it seems to be almost impertinent to put to any man who knows the present state of what is called the representation.

For mere form sake, let me state, that, in 1793, it was proved, not only on the word and the evidence ready to be tendered by Mr. GRAY, now Lord GRAY, that a hundred and fifty-four men, some of them peers, and some great commoners, together with the officers of the treasury, being about four or five in number, returned by their absolute will a decided majority of the whole of the members of the House of Commons. Since that time, the union with Ireland has taken place, which has added one hundred members to the House, and it is notorious that, of that hundred, a still greater portion are returned by the absolute will of the aristocracy. It is perfectly notorious that, at Gutton, Old Sarum, and some other places, two members for each of those places are returned by the voice of from one to three or four pretended electors, while the whole of the rich county of Bedford returns but four members. Of the practices carried on in the filling of the seats, what need we of any thing more than the well-recorded history of the transactions of the month of May, 1809? On the eleventh day of that month, Mr. MADDUX, member for Boston, whose death is sincerely lamented by all who knew him well, stood up in his place, declared, that a seat in that House had been sold by the Ministers of the King; that one condition of the sale was, that the purchaser should vote with the Ministers; that the purchaser

did not vote with the Ministers upon that occasion; that they upon him to vacate

one particular acute his seat according to another that he did not

then that they Mr. Maddux

his seat accordingly, and admitted to call

man into that seat these facts; made a motion to be presented,

witnesses to the bar to prove that there were 395 members present,

and that only *eighty-five* voted for the motion, the great argument in the Debate against which was, that the practice was so common, as notorious as the sun at noon-day, that it would be unjust to adopt proceedings against the Ministers for that which they had done in this case.

Such, then, is the state of what is called the representation of the people; after which it is unnecessary to say, as Mr. PITT in his better days said, that the people of England are no more represented in that House than are the people of China or of Hindoostan. Of late years, indeed, there has been no one impudent enough to pretend that they are represented there. On the contrary, the defenders of the present system, not only say that they are not represented there, but that they ought not to be, and the boldest and most profligate defender of corruption that we have ever known, the late CANNING, said, in 1822, month of June, that he liked the House the better because it did not represent the people, for, that it *worked well* as it was, and that was what was wanted; that working so well, it ought not to be changed upon any fanciful notion of improvement.

Now, this is precisely the ground which I have always been willing to take, which ground, indeed, accords with all my habits of thinking, and the practice of my life. It is the effect of any thing that I look at, and not at the theory and the principle from which it proceeds. These may be too nice, may lie too deeply hidden from my perception; but the effects I can see, and am able to estimate. How many hundred times have I been pressed by various friends and acquaintances to inspect the wonderful machinery which is everywhere to be seen in the north! I have always said, "No! I have not time to bestow upon such inspection; I shall be but a poor judge of the matter, after all; tell me the effects; tell me the number of yards of cloth produced by these means more than by the hand of man; this I can understand, and on this found my estimate stand, of the machine." In like of the value.

manner I judge of the Parliament; if it did "*work well*;" if it did produce good effects: if its acts did tend to uphold the honour and the power of England; if they did produce, and I saw them produce, happiness amongst the great mass of the people, I should say, "Let it remain as it is: let it be; we are well, as we are; a change may make us worse;" if told of the hundred and fifty-four worthies who return the decided majority of the House, I should say, "What matters it, whether the members be nominated by the Peers, by the Ministers, or by whomsoever? the thing *works well*; it makes the nation great; it makes trade prosper; it makes agriculture clap its hands with joy; it gives peace and plenty to the cottage; it renders military force unnecessary; it flings open the prison doors, and takes away the occupation of the gallows and the scaffold; in short, it makes England happy and free, and what signifies it by whom its members are appointed?"

But; but, alas! if, upon looking at the state of the nation, I find it to produce effects the contrary of all these; if I find that this nation, so famed for its power, so jealous of its honour, to whom the dominion of the seas is so essential; if I find it provided with an army and a fleet, costing more annually than its army and fleet cost it in the year 1780, when it was carrying on a war against France, Spain, Holland, and the American States, all united against it, if I find the nation taxed to maintain such an army and such a fleet, and if, at the same time, I see even the imbecile Bourbons march into Spain, take possession of Cadiz, and thereby render Gibraltar of no use to us, if I see Russia overrun, and, in fact, subjugate the Turkish empire, open the Dardanelles and the channel of Constantinople, and establish a military marine in the Levant, ready, at all times, to co-operate with the French and drive us out of that sea; if I see even the miserable Bourbons conquer Algiers, rifle its treasures, establish a colony at the mouth of the Mediterranean, and lay a foundation for the

conquest of Egypt; if I see the Americans take quiet possession of the Floridas, making manifest preparations for the conquest of Cuba, shut us out of the Gulf of Mexico, invade, and make settlements in the Texas, while they are patiently going on building a fleet capable of coping with that of England; nay, when I see our ally, the Dutch King, whose dominions we are bound by treaty to secure to him, having those dominions taken from him with as little ceremony as a sheriff's officer executes a writ of ejection; when I behold all this, and behold the thundering army and fleet, the one shifting its quarters from town to town and from barrack to barrack in England and Ireland, and the other lounging and flapping about in our harbours and roads; when I behold this government proclaiming in every indirect manner that it can resort to that its intentions are pacific towards all the world, and, when I hear it declared in the House of Commons itself, that we cannot go to war without resorting to a system of *assignments*; am I still to say that this Parliament *works well*?

Great as is the disgrace which this picture exhibits; great as the shame of Englishmen must be to see their country thus sunk in the eyes of foreigners, this shame is nothing compared with that which we ought to feel in viewing the internal situation of our country. To attempt to describe the situation of this people who were once the best fed and best clad of any people in the world, would be presumption in any man however great his powers of description. A few plain facts shortly stated will be quite sufficient for the purpose, and those facts shall be such as have been given in evidence before committees of this very House itself. Before those committees, then, it has been proved, by witnesses chosen by the committees themselves, that formerly, labouring men brewed their own beer, and that now they never do it; that formerly the working people had plenty of bread and meat and cheese to eat, and that now they live almost wholly on potatoes; that men are set to draw wagons

and cart-like beasts of burden, that men are kept by the parish authorities, separate from their wives, in order to prevent them from having children, that men are ranged in rows and sold for length of time at various prices by the parish officers; that the labouring people are so poor that they are unable to pay the fees on their marriage, and that, therefore, it is now the universal practice for them to cohabit beforehand in order to induce the parish-officers to pay the expense of the marriage in order to ensure a father to maintain the child, that the prisons have lost their terror; that the labourers are so much worse off in their own dwellings than the felons are in the jails, that they commit crimes with a view of *bettering their lot by getting into jail!*

Scores of other facts, equally illustrative of our degraded situation, might be mentioned; but these which I have stated here have all been stated in evidence given before the House of Commons itself; and even after these statements had been made, the judicious son of the green-room had the impudence to say that the House *was not well*, and that, too, amidst the rising cheers of the House. Amongst the consequences of this state of things, are, a prodigious increase of the number and size of the jails, produced by an increase of the number of crimes. The Parliament, instead of ascertaining and removing the cause of the evil, has been continually, incessantly, adding to the severity of the laws; till at last, this additional severity has produced a defiance of the laws even with these additional severities; and at the very moment when I am writing, neither property nor person can be said to be safe in some of the most important counties in the kingdom. From one end to the other of England there is a degree of resentment of bitterness, a vindictive feeling prevalent in the breasts of the working people, which is the natural produce of the well-known fact, that the honest labouring man is not allowed more than half as much as the convicted felon in the jail or the

hulks, exclusive of clothing, fuel, and lodging.

Such, then, is the picture that once-happy England presents under this Parliament that *works so well!* Every one of these evils, all the feebleness of the country, all its embarrassments, all the uncertainty in which merchants, manufacturers, traders, farmers, and even landowners are placed, all are directly traced to acts and votes of the Parliament. To them the nation owes its poverty and its misery; to them it owes the swelling of the jails, the crimes and immoralities of the people, to them it owes that the Russians are in Lukey, the French in Africa, the Americans in Mexico; to them it owes that a hundred and thirteen privy councillors swallow up annually more than goes to the maintenance of thirty-two thousand labourers' families, consisting of 160 000 persons; to them it owes that the two families of Grenville and Dundas have, during the last forty years, swallowed up more in sinecures and pensions than it has cost to support the whole of the civil government of America during that period; to them it owes that the soldier's fat horse and the soldier cost as much as goes to the maintenance of five labourers' families consisting of twenty-five persons; to them it owes the slaughter of the people at Manchester, and to them it owes the fires that are blazing in Kent. What more, then, need be said, though volumes might be written upon the subject, though a bare enumeration of the several evils, and of the sufferings of the people would fill a volume, and a large volume, too, what more need be said to prove the fact that a reform of this Parliament is necessary? If any thing more were needed, and indeed this alone would be enough, look at the miseries arising from the fluctuations and changing in the value of the currency, look at the state of property embarked in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, look at the anxiety of all proprietors; see industry paralyzed, skill, care, and foresight, rendered of no avail; see even frugality bilked of its natural benefits, behold human affairs rendered uncertain and

human life a burden; all the produce of the acts and votes of this Parliament; and then, hope if you can, young men, hope, if you can, that the country in which you are beginning life, and the happiness and honour of which can never be separated from your own; hope, if you can, that that country, for which it is your duty, if necessary, to shed your blood, can ever again know greatness, happiness, or peace, until this Parliament be reformed.

2. *Of what description ought the Reform to be?* Having brought ourselves to the thorough conviction, at which conviction indeed ninety-nine hundredths of the people had arrived long ago, that a *Reform of the Parliament is necessary*, the next question to be answered, is, that which I have just asked; namely, of what description the reform ought to be. Things have now come to that pass, that some sort of reform will be proposed, I dare say, even by the minister himself. It is said, that this will be the case; but, to hope that he will propose the sort of Reform which the circumstances of the nation require, would be to be one's own dupe. Be this as it may, however, it becomes me, it is my duty indeed to lay before you my opinions upon the subject; to state to you distinctly *my plan of Reform*, or, more properly speaking, the plan which I think the nation ought to insist upon. To suppose that the country is going to be contented with the pitiful project of giving two members to Birmingham, and two to each of three other great towns, would argue almost insanity. The thing is scoffed at even by those who have been forward to talk of a moderate reform; and if the bawling lawyer who has put himself forward as the hero of this project, be not frightened from it before the day of trial, he will become the by-word and scoffing-stock even of the clowns in the villages, who, ~~clowns~~ as they are, all understand the matter too well to be imposed upon by means like these, even for one single moment. It is hard to say what, amongst all the contrivances that will be hatched for the purpose of giving the name and

withholding the substance of reform; amongst all the schemes that will be tried to cajole and deceive the people; amongst all the great variety of projects that will probably be presented to our view; it is hardly possible to guess at what precise point of shadow, shutting out the substance, the projectors will rest; but, let us suppose, that, alarmed at present appearances; let us suppose that, bearing in mind the deeds of the working people of Paris and of Brussels, and estimating the effect of those deeds upon the minds of the mass of the people in England; let us suppose that, at last, and at this eleventh hour, it be resolved to do something; and let us even suppose that it be in the midst of daily-increasing dangers resolved to abolish the infernal boroughs of every description, and to give the people their fair choice, only confining the right of voting to householders. This is a great deal too much for any man to suppose; but let us suppose it, for the argument's sake; let us suppose that, they are, at last, willing to give a vote to every man that occupies a house, whether he pay direct taxes or not. Then, this does not satisfy me. It ought not to satisfy you, and it will not give peace and happiness and freedom to the country. The reform which would be just, and which you ought to demand, is as follows:

1. That a new Parliament shall be chosen every year.
2. That every man, having attained the age of eighteen, shall have a vote, and that no man shall have more than one vote.
3. That no man shall be excluded, whether pauper, soldier, sailor, or anything else, if he be of sane mind, and is not branded by sentence of a court of justice for some indelible crime which renders him incapable of giving evidence in a court of justice in civil matters.
4. That there be no pecuniary qualification for members, and that the only qualifications necessary shall be, that the member be a native of the county, that he have resided in it three years previous to being

elected; and that each member be twenty-one years of age.

5. That the mode of choosing the members be by ballot.

Here is a *string of innovations*. Why, this is "turning every thing topsy-turvy," as that sensible man, Prosperity Robinson, said, when he was bragging of the wisdom of the measures of the House which soon afterwards produced the PANIC. Even some sincere reformers, such as the MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD, and the "OLD LAWYER" of Edinburgh, and especially that profound and pelted gentleman, who yields in point of sincerity, to nothing on this side, or even on the other side, of the Styx; even he, though still seeing the turnips and the cabbages in vision, will cry out, "What monstrous innovations! Things totally unknown to our fathers." Granted; granted, Burdett; not, however, unknown to that spirit of justice, that careful protection of the people, for which the laws and usages of our fathers provided. We are in a STATE OF INNOVATION. The laws of our fathers are not in existence, excepting in small and ineffectual part. Those laws knew of no such thing as taking a man's property, or punishing his person, without a trial and conviction by his peers or equals. In nine cases out of ten, if not ninety-nine out of a hundred, the trial by jury has been abolished, and the conviction, as well as the punishment, left entirely to the discretion of men appointed and removable at the pleasure of the ministers of the day. Is not this an innovation? Talk of innovations, indeed; talk of the constitution! To what period do our opponents refer? Do they refer to a period of ancient date? Then the possession of the abbey-lands; the possession of Covent-garden, for instance, by the Duke of Bedford; the appropriation of the tithes by married parsons; the compelling of the people in general to maintain the poor, instead of those poor being maintained out of the tithes and other revenues of the church; the throwing of the church-rates upon the people, instead of causing the churches to be repaired out of the fruit of the

livings; then these are all "*innovations*;" and will our adversaries *abolish these innovations*? If they will, we shall be disposed to negotiate on the subject.

Do our opponents refer to a period more recent? Then are not the appropriation of the property of guilds and fraternities; are not the taking of these from the several cities and towns, and giving them to the aristocracy, an innovation? Is it not an innovation to unite two or three parishes in one, amalgamate the produce of the livings, giving the produce to one man, instead of three, and making the people walk three miles to church instead of one? Coming lower down, and to king at another species of property, is it not an innovation to take from the king his landed estate, to divide that estate amongst the aristocracy, and to make the king a sort of pensioner maintained out of the taxes raised upon his people? Talk of innovations, indeed! is it not notorious that England never knew of parliaments that were not annual till the aristocracy made the revolution of 1688? Were not triennial parliaments an innovation; and when they had been solemnly enacted, was it not a barefaced innovation to make those septennial parliaments, to which we are still subjected? When did the laws of England, or any laws in the world, ever provide, until the reign of George the Fourth, for the transportation of men for being in pursuit of a pheasant, partridge, or hare? Is it no innovation to transport men from Ireland without trial by jury? Is it no innovation to punish a man as a felon for taking an apple off a tree? Is it no innovation to cram a man into prison, or to fine him without trial by jury? aye, and to sentence him to hard labour, too, for the mere pleasure of treading upon a field, while the rich man who comes with horses and hounds, and with license to sport, is protected against the operation of that law? Is it no innovation to take from the small rate-payer the weight of his vote at a vestry by giving a plurality of votes to the rich rate-payers? Was it no innovation to take

from the overseer of the poor the power of relieving the wretched paupers, to take that power almost wholly from the magistrate also, to lodge the power in the rich men of the parish, and to authorize those rich men to take a hireling stranger, even a foreigner, and that foreigner a negro or a Swiss, if they choose, invest that foreigner with the sole power of relieving the poor, and pay him a salary out of the money raised for the relief of these poor! Were not these innovations on the Act of Queen Elizabeth, which act was, in fact, the terms of a compact between the labourers of England and their sovereign, the act being in compensation for what the labourers had lost by the appropriation of the church property by the aristocracy? Is it not all innovation, from the top to the bottom? Are not power-of-imprisonment, laws, gagging laws, laws to put us half to death for laughing at the parliament; are not the standing army in time of peace; are not the barracks; are not the drums' eternal rumble, and the trumpets' eternal squall; are not the military and naval academies; are not the soldiers at the bank and the play-house; is not the coast-blockade, is not the hellish excise; is not Peel's *gendarmerie*, the money to pay which is collected along with the poor-rates; and what is the bank, and what is the debt, and what is the paper-money, and what are the forgery-laws which have shed such rivers of blood; what are these but monstrous innovations on the laws of our righteous and merciful forefathers, whose very religion forbade the existence of these horrible things?

Well, then, shall we be told of innovations? These innovations have all been made by this same Parliament; and cannot it make one little innovation more? Cannot it make one little innovation without fainting away? Faint, or faint not, it will be made. We are, as I said before, in a state of innovation. We have been brought by degrees into a state wholly different from that in which our forefathers lived; and we, without any reference to that state, are to do that which the

present circumstances demand. Talk of voting being confined to *tax-payers*, indeed? Who does not pay a tax? What that goes on the body of any man or goes into his mouth does not pay a tax? Why, then, even if you adopt that principle, is any sane man of credible character to be excluded from the right of voting? There is no argument that any one can offer on the side of such exclusion which is not demolished by reason in a moment. What! shall the young man, he who has a life of study or of labour before him; he whose mind is most free and independent; he who is under the least restraint; he who has no landlord, no customer, to bias his judgment; he who is unbound by those ties which are so apt to make a man palter with his duty; he on whose strength, agility, and courage, the defence of the laws must always depend; shall he have no voice in the choosing of those who are to make the laws which are to affect him during his forty or fifty years of life, while the man who has, comparatively, few years of life remaining, is to have such voice?

But upon what principle, upon what show of reason or of justice, are you to call upon a man to come out and serve in the militia; to come forth in the defence of his country and of the laws; to assume the military garb, to submit to military discipline, to be punished for desertion or disobedience of orders; upon what principle are you to call a man forth, compel him to quit his aged parents, his wife and his children, and to risk his life, when, but the day before, you have refused to let him vote at an election upon the ground that he has no stake in the country? This is monstrous impudence; the hate thought must fill every young man with indignation! He is old enough and wise enough to fight for your stake in the country; but too young and too thoughtless to be deemed to have a stake himself to be fought for. If you will have it to be property, every man has a property in his labour, which is the basis of all property. What! is a house, the rent of which is 50 shillings a year, to give a

man a right to vote, and is the ploughman, for instance, who has seven or eight pounds a year of *wages*, over and above his keep, not to have a vote? In short, every objection to this universal suffrage is so full of absurdities; it is so repulsive to reason, and so offensive the conscious worth of man, that it never can be sustained except by tyranny that can be supported by the sword. One objection that has been stated to universal suffrage is this; that, if labourers and journeymen were left to choose the representatives in parliament, they, being the greatest number, would choose men of their own description; would choose ploughmen and shoe-makers and tinkers and the like. They who urge this objection by no means believe what they say: they know that it is contrary to the very nature of man that this should be the case. They know that when poor men are going to law, they do not employ miserable pettifoggers if they can avoid it, these objectors know, that, when a poor man breaks his leg, he gets the surgeon, and not the horse-doctor, to set it; they also know, from experience in private life, that, whenever the working people have to choose some one to manage the affairs of any considerable number of them, they always choose the man of the most talent and integrity that they can find, and this is so natural, that it would be perfectly monstrous to suppose that the contrary would ever be the case; and, when every man felt that *he was deeply interested in what would be done in Parliament*, would he not choose to represent him the man whom he thought most likely, from his ability as well as from his watch over his interests there?

But, in this case, and as to this particular objection, we have the most complete answer in the experience of the United States of America. There the general government is representative, from the top to the bottom; there, with exceptions too trifling to mention, the suffrage is universal; there the people have, for two and forty years, that is to say ever since the government was established, chosen the most

able men that the country affords; there is a government whose laws are the wisest in the world, or that the world ever saw, that government sends ten ambassadors to the European courts, far surpassing, in point of talent, any ten that all those courts together could pick out; under that government the population of the country has increased, within the forty-two years, from three millions to twelve; under that government, which had scarcely a single gun-boat at starting, a navy has grown up to threaten to be the rival of that of England herself. Under that government a mercantile marine has been created surpassing that of any three nations, England left out; and, under that government, in the whole of the forty-two years there has been *but one single riot*, and that *against excise-laws*, in the passing of which the people thought that their representatives had surpassed their power. Here, then, is an answer to all the objections against universal suffrage; and, indeed, those objections are founded in nothing that is tenable. To tell a man that you will have the service of his body, that his body shall be at your command to defend your house and land; to tell him that it is *his duty* to come out and risk his life in the service of the country, and to refuse him, at the same time, a vote, upon the pretence that he has *no stake in the country*, is something so impudent, so insolently audacious, as to admit of no appropriate answer except by blows.

With regard to the fourth proposition; namely, *that there be no pecuniary qualification required for members*; what argument can be necessary other than the bare observation, that *the people themselves are the best judges of whom they wish to choose*. The residence of three years in the county is not absolutely necessary; the age of twenty-one years would hardly be necessary either; for there would be no fear of a whole people of a county choosing such boys as we now see in both the Houses of Parliament; it being notorious that many of them are returned before they be of age, and do not

take their seats sometimes for two or three years, not having attained the age of twenty-one years! I attach no importance even to either of these two conditions; but, above all things, I object to a *pecuniary* qualification; the bare idea of which is so dishonourable to intellect; it is so grovelling; so Jew-like; that it is impossible that any people truly free will ever permit it to exist. All the qualification required of even the President of the United States of America; even of the chief magistrate of that great nation, is, first, that he be a *native of the country*, and, second, that he be thirty-five years of age; so that, according to the *Bourbon-law*, no one was to be a member of the Chamber of Deputies who was not equal, in point of age, to this requisite in the President of the United States! The President may not be worth one single shilling of money; and two out of the seven that have been Presidents, and two of the greatest men of the seven, too, appear to have been actually in that situation! Let the aristocracy find two such men amongst all their ranks. Look through the royal families and the nobles of Europe, and find, if you can, two men equal to Jefferson and Munro. The people chose them, notwithstanding their well-known poverty. The objection was made to them by the rich merchants of Philadelphia particularly; but the people treated it with scorn; and both were elected with an assent as loud and as general as that which placed Washington himself in the chair. It is curious to observe, too, that amongst all the Presidents, the two Adams were the only men *reputed to be rich*; and that neither of these *was re-elected after his first time*; while all the rest were, re-elected. But, is it not monstrous that a regulation should exist that might deprive the people of the talents and the integrity of a man whom they confided in, merely because that man wanted money; while, on the other hand, there existed no check to prevent a rich knave or fool that they might be compelled to resort to, from abusing their confidence! However, if reason were silent upon the

subject; if all the thousand arguments against a pecuniary qualification in members were wanting, the experience of the American States is an answer to every objection that all the cavillers in the world could discover against the proposition that there ought to be no pecuniary qualification required in the members.

With regard to the fifth proposition; namely, that the mode of choosing the members ought to be by *ballot*; to this, what objection can honesty suggest? It puts an end to the possibility of bribery and corruption; it puts an end to false swearing, and to all swearing, at elections; it puts an end to all canvassing, all treating, all strife of every description. It leaves the neighbourhood as quiet as it was before the election commenced. No man knows what another has been doing: every one has voted according to his judgment and his pleasure, and every man is viewed by his neighbour as he was the day before. What base impostors, then, those must be who object to the ballot; what consummate hypocrites those who pretend to believe it immoral; what defaced rogues those who are so reluctant to give up the means of practising their base arts; their means of terrifying the timid; their means of overawing the selfish; their means, in short, of practising all the arts which the boroughmongers and the agents of boroughmongers have so long been practising, to the ruin and degradation of this wretched people! There may be other parts of this plan of reform to which an honest and unreflecting man might at first object: he might think that a new parliament chosen every year would make the legislature too unstable, and might say that the Lower House of Congress is chosen for two years, and the Senate and President for four years; not reflecting that we have a House of Lords, and a King, *neither of which is chosen by the people at all*; and that we have, too, an Established Church, making an essential part of the government, in the choosing of the members of which the people have *nothing to say*. An honest and thought-

less man might at first object to other parts of the plan; but the man who objects to the *ballot* must be, in his very essence, a *rogue*; for if he were to talk until doomsday he could at last find out no other reason, than that it would prevent bribing, corruption, lying, perjury, enmity between man and man, drunkenness, rioting, and every thing disgraceful to the human character and to the country. That it would put an end to these must be his only real objection; and every man will agree that to object on such ground as this no man could, unless he were a real incorrigible rogue. Therefore, young men of England, watch the language of the hypocritical schemers: watch them during the development of their curious inventions for cheating the people by sounds and names; give them tether upon all points except with regard to the *ballot*; but let the *ballot* be the touchstone; and if they boggle here, set them down as *abominable rogues*; and let them be remembered accordingly.

3. *How is this reform to be carried into effect?* That is to say, how are the elections to take place, and how are the returns to be made? First, we have an account of the population of each county in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Say that Kent, for instance, contains 400,000 people. Let the whole number of members be what it is now. If then 17,000,000, suppose that to be the amount of the whole of the population, give 65, what will 400,000 give? It would be about 15. Major Cartwright had a fanciful notion that the members ought to be apportioned to the *landed property*; and therefore, Middlesex, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, should not have members proportioned in number to their great population; because, then, the towns-people and manufactures would *overpower* the *landed interest*. This was precisely opposed to his own principle, that a man has a right to vote in virtue of *his person*. The Major forgot that there was one house of parliament not chosen by the people at all, who and whose connections were the owners of almost all

the land. Surely, then, the land would be represented pretty well! In America, though the *House of Representatives* consist of members sent from the several states, each in exact proportion to its population, the *Senate* consists of two members sent from each state; so that Rhode-Island, which has not above four representatives, has as many senators as New-York, which has twenty-two representatives. And thus the small states have a complete protection against any undue influence in the great ones. And the counties of small population would, in like manner, have a protection against such influence in the populous counties, because all the land has owners, and because the principal part of those owners would form one of the houses of parliament in their own right, and without any assent on the part of the people. Therefore, the population would be the rule, and as that is, or can, at any time, be exactly known, there would be no difficulty in apportioning the number of members to the several counties.

Let us now, then, come to the actual work of election; let us, as the Yankees say, see how the thing will work. There are, suppose, fifteen members to be returned by the county of Kent. And here again Major Cartwright had a scheme for cutting the country up into election-districts, that the people might each of them know personally their man, and that thus there would have been fifteen districts in Kent; for he had an idea that if every elector were to vote for fifteen men, the people would not know who they were choosing. But how is it in the state of New York, which is as big as the half of England, and where every man votes for twenty members of Congress? The truth is, that, when an election would be approaching, lists of fifteen would fly about the county most swiftly. There would soon be two contending lists, the principles and qualities of every man on the lists would be known long before the day of election, and every elector's mind would be completely made up.

In 1816, I, in a letter addressed to the now apostate and pelted BUNDSER, de-

scribed the method of *taking an election*; and that description I have little more to do than to repeat here, except that I have here to speak of an election by *universal suffrage* instead of by *payors of direct taxes*, which Major Cartwright and I then assented to merely to humour this *real demagogue*, this haughty aristocrat at heart, this bawler against power only because he had none of it himself. The first thing, preparatory to an election, would be for the parish officers (a month before the day of election) to make an alphabetical list of the names of all the men in the parish upwards of 18 years of age, by just the same means as they make out the *militia-list*, except only that there would be no exclusions on account of old age, number of children, size of the person, lameness, or defect of bodily ability. This list, for each parish, to be made out, printed, and put on the church-door, one month previous to the day of election, in order to afford opportunity for corrections, in case the names of any persons should have been omitted. This list would be inserted in a book, to be kept by the parish officers, who would be under a heavy responsibility for the due observance of the provisions of the law in this regard.

The day of election being come, and the church being the place, as the churches now are for the election of Common-Councilmen in London, there are the churchwardens and overseers, sitting with a ballot-box before them to receive the votes. Up comes a voter: "What is your name?" "John Chappstick." They look into the list, find the name there: "Put in your ballot." Away he goes home to his business, and they make a cross, or some mark, against his name; and so on. What so easy as this? What confusion can there be here? Between nine in the morning and five in the afternoon should be the hours of polling; the whole election, for all parts of the kingdom, would take place on one and the same day; in cases of very large parishes, several polling-places would of course be provided, and deputies, to assist the parish officers, appointed, there being, at each polling

place, a copy of part of the list; and it would, of course, be duly signified beforehand, that those whose names began with A would poll at such a place; and so on of the rest. In the greater part of the parishes the elections would be over by noon; and such a thing as a 'let would' not be heard of in the whole kingdom.

On the next day, the churchwardens and overseers would, being all assembled together, open the ballot-box, and make out their return. They would take out the several ballots, write the names of all the persons voted for upon a piece of paper, and ascertain from the ballots how many votes each had got. They would then, on the same day, transmit by the hands of the senior churchwarden, not only the result of their investigation, but also *the whole of the ballots*, to the High-sheriff of the county, who should be ordered to be present, and in constant attendance at the county-town, for the purpose of receiving the parochial returns, and for other purposes, to be mentioned by-and-by. The churchwardens and overseers should make their return in somewhat the following words:

"Bodley, Hants, Oct. 2, 1830. We, the churchwardens and overseers of the parish of Bodley, in the county of Southampton, hereby certify to the High-sheriff of the said county, that, in obedience to the law, we held in the said parish an election for members of parliament, on the first day of this month; that after keeping the poll open during the hours prescribed by the said law, and punctually observing all the provisions thereof relative to the receiving of votes, we have opened the ballot-box, and having, with great care, examined the several ballots, find, that for A. there are 71 votes, for B, 54 votes, for C, 19 votes, &c.; and that we have put all the said ballots into one parcel, which we have sealed with our seal, and have herewith transmitted the same to the High-sheriff, in order that he may verify, or correct thereby the return which we have above stated."

Now, I will venture to pledge my life, that an election like this would take place, not only without *confusion* but without the loss of one single day's work in the parish, except with the parish officers themselves, which could not possibly be a matter of any great moment, especially if they were allowed to charge for their time in their usual annual accounts, and which no human being would grudge.

With what facility, with what celerity, would these returns all find their way to the High-sheriff, a copy of each being recorded in the parish-book, to provide against accidents! Then would come the duty to be performed by the High-sheriff. He, with his deputy, and with a sufficient number of clerks (four would be amply sufficient), would first compare each parochial return with the ballots; when all the parochial returns were verified, or corrected, in the presence of the chairman of the quarter-sessions and the clerk of the peace, the High-sheriff would make out a count return in somewhat the following manner:

Winchester, 10th October, 1830.

"I, A. B., High-sheriff of the county of Southampton, hereby certify, that I have received the returns from all the parishes in the said county, of the votes taken for members of parliament on the first day of this present month; that I have, in the presence of the chairman of the quarter-sessions and of the clerk of the peace, carefully compared all the said returns with the respective parcels of ballots transmitted to me; that, after such comparison and verification, or correction in case of error, I have found, that this county has given for A. so many votes, for B. so many, &c. and that A. R. T. S. M. N. O. P. Q. V. X. H. and K. are the thirteen persons, who have more votes for each of them than any other person has had in this county, at this election, and that I have deposited, under my hand and seal, and also under the hands and seals of the chairman of the quarter-sessions, and of the clerk of the peace, the said parochial re-

"turns and parcels of ballots, together with a copy of this return, in the office of the High-sheriff of this county.

"A. B. High-sheriff.

"Signed in the presence of

"C. D. Chairman of the Quarter Session.

"E. F. Clerk of the Peace."

This return might be sent to the Crown-Office, and there kept till the Parliament should meet. The sheriff on the very day of closing his return, should make proclamation in his county, and which proclamation should contain a copy of the return; so that the people would, at once, be informed on whom the election of the county had fallen.

Now, can you conceive it possible for any *confusion* to arise out of a series of proceedings like this? We should have no rioting, because there would be nothing to irritate; no drunkenness, or bribery, because no fortune could drench, and much less bribe, forty or eighty thousand voters; no *false-swearing*, because we would have *no swearing at all*, from the first to the last; no ill-blood and spite amongst neighbours, because no man (unless he chose it) would let any other man know whom he had voted for. We have a great advantage over our brethren in America as to our *instruments* in this business. They have no churchwardens and overseers, *so well known to the law*, and we, therefore, compelled to choose what they call *judges of election* in their several townships, which they do, very quietly indeed, at previous meetings. The same might be done in Ireland and Scotland, where the parish-officers are not exactly upon the same footing as they are here. But these are mere trifles. A day's thinking amongst any half-dozen of men of sense would produce every regulation that would be of any importance in the conducting of the business.

The churchwardens and overseers are now elected annually by the majority of the tax-payers in the parishes. They are always, and necessarily must be, persons of consideration in the parish; they are entrusted with its real property and its money. There can, therefore,

be little danger of their *wishing* to make a false return, and still less of their *daring* to do it: and, besides the penalty, in case of detection, on *any one*, whether parish-officer, sheriff, chairman of the quarter-sessions, clerk of the peace, or any other person, concerned in making or conniving at a false return, or in obstructing an election, or retarding the transmission of a return, should be so heavy and so disgraceful, as to preclude almost the possibility of the commission of such a crime.

All would, therefore, be regularity, celerity, truth, fairness, instead of the disorder, the tardiness, the falsehood, the foul-play, that now prevail. Rousseau has observed, "that the English are free only 14 days in 7 years; and" "that the use which they then make of" "their *freedom* proves that they ought" "to be *slaves* for the rest of the period." To be sure, the use that is now made of the 14 days is such as to deserve execration; but it is not "*freedom*" that exists during the fourteen days. "There is the mistake of this writer." We are not now free during the fourteen days: these days are only so long a time for the base and corrupt in low life to revel at the expense of the base and corrupt in high life. It is a season, resembling nothing that ever was heard of amongst men, except the Saturnalia in Rome, during which the slave-owners let loose their slaves that they might indulge in all sorts of beastly excesses, in order that their own children might, by the odiousness of vice, be terrified into virtuous and decent habits of life. A reform would effectually rid our country of this stain on its character, this deep disgrace, this infamy of infamies.

The *harpies* who prey on the vitals of the nation have long endeavoured to alarm people of house and land, and goods and property, by telling them, that, if all the people were thus allowed to vote, the country would be *plunged into confusion at every election*. These harpies, what ground for confusion, what possible cause of confusion is there here? They, savage harpies, are, all at once, become lovers of *quietness* and of an absence of all stir and trouble! The

dungeon and gagging Bills could be passed; the people could be slaughtered and trampled on at Manchester; the Habeas Corpus Act could be suspended for seven years at one time; new treasons could be invented; addition upon addition to the severity of the penal code; punishment heaped on punishment for the sake of collecting a revenue; a fiscal system diving into every man's most private concerns; persons empowered to enter our houses, take account of our windows, horses, dogs, carriages, and servants, numerous acts of parliament, *each exceeding the New Testament in bulk*, to impose taxes and penalties upon the people; a system of watching us so close that no man can be said to have anything private; balloting for a militia, for a supplementary militia; a volunteer system; a yeomanry cavalry system; an army of reserve system, a levy-en-mass system; a local militia system. All these, and a hundred other schemes and measures, adopted, undone, re-adopted, abandoned, exchanged, modified; and, at every step, *penalties and forfeitures*. All these have taken place, and no *confusion* seems ever to have been apprehended, though complexity and vexation, and pains and penalties, made the most conspicuous figure throughout the whole series. But, now, alas! when a *reform* is talked of, though nothing be in contemplation but a mere restoration of the undeniable rights of the people, and the putting an end to corruption, profligacy, and waste, *confusion* is affected to be apprehended!

Confusion in what? In the mode of the election? There is now a greater bulk of laws, and cases, and decisions, and expositions, and reports relative to elections; these now amount in bulk to more than any man could read through in seven years, allowing himself time barely sufficient for eating and sleeping! This you know to be a fact. And yet, the "*harpies*" affect to be alarmed at the *confusion* that the putting an end to this shocking system will create! The *confusion*, which exists at elections, as they are now carried on, is notorious. A considerable part of the

people came out of the scandalous strife with black eyes, bloody noses, broken limbs, or disordered minds; and yet, the peace-loving "harpies" fear confusion from the *opposite* of this system! No, what they really apprehend is, that confusion amongst the *people* would cease, and that confusion to *themselves* would begin. This is what they apprehend; and, without saying another word, *they* are answered.

But for the satisfaction of persons, who really mean well, and who have been alarmed by the horrors, hatched by these base and crafty deceivers, I have showed in *what manner* a parliamentary reform would take place, without the smallest chance of creating any confusion other than *confusion to the harpies*, who now prey on the nation's vitals. If a set of magpies, or carrion crows, were engaged in tearing out the eyes, and pecking away the flesh of a poor unfortunate flock of sheep, to fire amongst them with a good charge of shot would certainly "*create confusion*;" but not *confusion to the sheep*, who, on the contrary, would, I imagine, find themselves relieved from confusion. In sultry summers, the maggots, which are engendered in the fleeces of our flocks, proceed by degrees till they eat into the flesh of the animals, who discover their pain by stopping suddenly, then starting, then running their noses against the ground, then looking round at the part affected, then lying down, then jumping up and running away; they sweat all over; the tears run down their faces; fever leads to madness, and madness to death. But, the faithful shepherd comes in time, and by the application of his *shear* and his *wool*, creates confusion amongst the filthy devourers, and restores the flock to ease and to happiness. No question that the magpies and the carrion crows, and that the maggots too, if they could squall, would cry aloud against the reforming shepherds; but, the flock, I take it, would be very grateful to them for their exertions, and would entertain no fear of experiencing *confusion* from the change.

In spite, however, of the wriggling

and twisting and squalling of corruption, this CHANGE we shall have. Whether all persons pocketing public money shall be shut out of the House of Commons, or to what extent, is a question of minor importance, and one that may be left to be settled after the reform have taken place. The *reform* is the thing we want; the reform, as above described, is the thing we shall have; and when we have that, all other things that are good will come in due course. And will the aristocracy now *give way*? Will they, with a good grace, *do us justice*? Or will they refuse to the last possible moment; and are all the warnings to be thrown away upon them? I do not ask you, young men of England, to answer these questions. Let the naughty and insolent race do what they please; be you prepared to demand and insist on your rights, and be you resolved to do your duty. If you do this duty, a nation of happy husbands, fathers, and families, will be the result; if you do it not, racking care, unrequited toil, degradation and squalid misery, are your lot, as they have been that of your lord and parson-ridden fathers.

I am, your faithful friend,

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

THE REGISTER

WILL in future, or at least during the session of Parliament, be of the same size as the present number, that is to say, double the size that it was of before; and the price will be, by retail, 1s. The motives to this change are, first, that it would be impossible to do half justice to my own powers of exertion without additional room, and impossible to satisfy my own wishes to act a becoming part in the great scenes now before us: at the end of nearly forty years of strife against tyranny; after this long voyage against wind and tide, let me put out all my canvass, when, with the wind and stream with me, I begin to see land. A year ago I was puzzled to know whether it was clouds or hills; but now I clearly see the heights; every day makes

the land more visible; and therefore let me neglect nothing calculated to carry me to the long-wished-for shore. FRENCH AFFAIRS demand a degree of attention scarcely surpassed by that which is demanded by our own. Indeed the two countries have within these two months been pushed up nearly close to one another. The two people are of the same mind, the two governments of the same mind, and each government opposed in wishes to the people who live under it! The two funding systems hang upon one another: they are like loving man and wife, afloat on a terrible sea, locked in each other's arms, and destined to sink together, from which destiny they are endeavouring to save themselves by means injurious to the mass of the two nations. It was, therefore, of the greatest importance for me to obtain from France correct and clearly-stated intelligence of the present situation of that country, and the opinions of some able person as to the probable state for the future. My eldest son is in France for this purpose. His first letter to me thence (which will be found to follow this article) will enable the reader to judge, whether it will now be in the power of the jobbers of the press, on either side, or on both sides, of the Channel, to deceive me, or my readers, with regard to the state of the French, and the views and intentions of the loan-jobbing government of that country. To have space for this most interesting and important matter; not anonymous rubbish, but matter with a real name at the bottom, and with the consequent responsibility; to have space for this matter, the enlargement of the Register became absolutely necessary. THE PARLIAMENT, too, must now produce something interesting. There MUST BE A GREAT CHANGE. There is to be decided the question, whether that change is to be a possible one, or not; and in all human probability that question will be decided before the next month of May. It will be of importance to record the parts that shall now be acted by the several members; and therefore I shall need a considerable space weekly for an abridged

report of the proceedings, with a suitable commentary thereon, as often as occasion may require. Besides, the whole kingdom is in a ferment; even the smallest and most reclusive villages begin to bristle up with indignation at their treatment.* Ireland cannot remain as it is; and, without greater space, the far greater part of these matters must pass unnoticed by me. These are the reasons that have induced me to make the above-mentioned alteration in the size and price of the Register. This will enable me, however, by devoting a page or so to a weekly record of Bankrupts, Insolvents, the Markets, &c., to save many of my country readers the expense of a weekly newspaper, seeing that the Register will regularly contain the MARK-LANE ACCOUNT of the Friday in each week, which will reach the country reader on the Sunday. In short, the present number is a specimen of what the Register is to be in future; and those gentlemen whom it may not suit to continue to receive it on the new terms, will of course apprise their several newsmen of their intention to discontinue. The arrangement of the contents will be as follows: 1. My own original articles. 2. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 3. PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. 4. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, miscellaneous. 5. AN ACCOUNT of the Funds, Bankrupts, and of the Markets. I shall not waste time and room by a parcel of tables of figures, making a grand display, and without any use. What my reader at Norwich, for instance, will want to know on the Sunday, will be the price of meat and corn in London the day before; and that he will know by only perusing the contents of the Register, I having the best and speediest intelligence. It is to be had as to these matters.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

LETTERS FROM MR. WM. CORBETT.

LETTER I.

Paris, Monday, 18th Oct., 1830.

MY DEAR FATHER,
I have so much to say, that I do not know where to begin; as to the things you ought to know; or, at least, I

should not, if the affair concerning the ex-ministers were not so all-engrossing in the minds of the people at this moment, as to make it the very first thing. The things of the greatest interest at this moment are certainly grand points, namely, the *Taxes*, the *Press*, and the *RIGHT OF VOING* for deputies, and they are all before the public; and, as if they were not enough to agitate it, the plan for saving POLIGNAC and his crew from justice was brought forward. This plan has totally failed; for, on the same day week, after the poor fellows were brought from the convalescent hospital at St. Cloud, to petition for the abolition of the pain of death in political cases, namely, Wednesday, the Chambers having addressed the King on the intermediate Friday, to propose a law, and the King having promised on the Saturday immediately to do so, on the Wednesday following it was announced, that the project would not be presented till after the trial of the ministers!

The Paris journals are, I must say faithful to their readers, and follow then to a certain distance; though in their "developments" (to use the most favourite cant term going) of the sentiments of the people, they frequently wrap up the sense with a good deal of nonsense, which, I suppose, is deemed necessary on the score of politeness. But it would be a great mistake to suppose, that they lead the people. This you will see clearly, when I inform you, that they were nearly silent upon the project above-mentioned, till after the National Guard had cried out, "*Adieu les ministres*," to the King and General Lafayette, at the review on Sunday the 10th. Since then there is hardly any thing bad which has not been said of the Chamber and of the ministry, to this climax, or grand "development," of their series of inconsistent conduct, that is to say, of their want of unanimity, folly and duplicity.

That part of the plan of throwing the proposal of the King has been very much blame by the journals, as endangering the popularity of the King. By this you may gather what has been thought of

the King's answer. The fact is, that a totally wrong calculation was made upon this same thing, *popularity*. It was curious to see how those who had so much at heart, this new *coup d'état*, put themselves behind LAFAYETTE, pushing him forward, and seeming to follow him, upon the expectation that he could put a veto on the public opinion. But the people consider, that popularity is a thing which they confer, rather for future services than for past. It would be a pretty thing if the people could incur so great a debt to any man, as that he should dictate to their children so far as to endanger their most vital interest. Upon the same principle, therefore, that half-pay officers are bound to be loyal, those who would retain popularity must use the same means by which it was first obtained, namely, pursue the plainest and most obvious course for the good of the people.

The torrent of dissatisfaction, and the distrust occasioned by the plan, by the getting up of the petition from the wounded heroes, and by all the circumstances, have abated since it has been well understood that the plan was given up; but the result has been the implanting of a sort of salutary suspicion in the minds of the people, without which, I think, it is childish to suppose that any people can have a good government; that is to say, which shall bestow protection on the mass of the people. If the people are to be caught by every clap-net, like the fools in the gallery of a playhouse, they cannot expect very good acting. But, I am happy to say, that the indiscriminate applause and the adulation of great men and of royalty, which I was afraid I should find in Paris, does not exist, even to any extent at all. The failure of the new *coup d'état*, which was to ride on the good-nature of the people, was as signal as that which was attended upon a miscalculation of their sense, will teach people that they are not to be humbugged any more than they are to be beaten. They will now be upon the watch at every step; their eyes have been opened by this bold attempt to trifle with them,

and it is necessary that they should look sharp, if they be to profit from their revolution.

While this scheme for "*ameliorating*" the code, so far as to suffer the greatest criminals in the nation to escape, and cogitate under a sentence of banishment, at Edinburgh Castle, was on foot; while the laws were found to be *too severe* for political offences in their case, the laws against the *political press* were not. But I must explain to you, in part, what these laws are. In the first place, by a law of Charles X., of 18th July, 1828, the proprietor of a daily paper in Paris must give a security to guarantee the paying of any fines or damages he may be condemned to pay; but the *amount* and the *mode* of the security are things which will make you stare, and you will not be surprised that the government of Charles X., his peers, his priests, and all who abetted him, are hated, and that he was so easily dislodged from his palace. The amount is *one hundred and twenty thousand francs*, or about *four thousand eight hundred pounds sterling*; and the method is, not the giving of any bonds for the amount, not the placing of the title-deeds of any real property in the hands of the government; but the *actually paying this money into the treasury, and consenting to its being invested in the funds, there to remain so long as the journal lasts, the proprietor receiving his dividends through the same hand into which he had paid his capital.* Now this 6,000 francs of yearly interest, which it is necessary for the proprietor to have at his command, in addition to about as much more to establish his paper, is an *abatement* from 10,000 francs of yearly interest, or 200,000 francs of capital, which the law of Louis, passed in 1819, required.

Another law of Louis (March, 1822) inflicts the fine of 6,000 francs, or less, upon an unfaithful report of the proceedings of either of the Chambers. So that you will perceive there is a scale of fines by no means diminutive in comparison with the revenue of the journalist in the hands of the government;

and he must take great care lest, by a little indiscretion, he does not find his dividends, at least, appropriated by the government, taking one year with another.

Besides the security, the proprietor must make a declaration 1. Of the title of the journal; 2. Of the names of all the proprietors; 3. Of their addresses; 4. An affirmation that these proprietors have omitted nothing required by law; 5. A statement of the printing-office; and he must also send a copy of every number of the journal, signed, to the Attorney-General.

The punishment for *publishing without giving the security*, for not making the declaration, or for omitting to deposit, the copy with the Attorney-General, is imprisonment for one month to six months, and fine from 200 to 1,200 francs.

I have now to give you an account of some *very interesting infractions* of these laws. Since the revolution six journals have started, openly avowing their intention to *comply with none of the laws of the Bourbons.* They do not see why the laws of Charles X. are to remain good against them, when his *nominations to the peerage have been annulled*, and while these laws were partly effected by those nominations. These journals are, the *Revolution*, the *Independant*, the *Patriot*, the *Eagle* (*Aigle*), and *Tocsin National*. The laws, however, good or bad, *do not sleep*, but have been *put in force against each of these journals*, all of which, on Friday last, suffered judgment to go by default. One or two have been sentenced, and always to the utmost. The *Revolution*, which is the principal one of these six, I believe will be disposed of to-day.

The editors have refrained from defending themselves, or even going to the chamber of justice, so great is their contempt of the proceedings. What! say they, after our own victory are we to be reviled and calumniated, imprisoned, and fined, under laws which we have abrogated completely by the revolution! The revolution was to get rid of all these laws. We did not fight for 221

deputies, if they were to do nothing but keep their seats. We fought for men that would make good laws for us, and by the victory which we gained, we have at all events swept off the bad.

You will please to observe, that none of these French journalists are insignificant in point of property, though they do not give the immense pledge required of them. The *Revolution*, which, by-the-by, I see is more frequently quoted by the London papers than any other, from its ability and especially its boldness, is what the honourable house would call respectable. But they say they will not contribute to the *funding system*, and be made a part and parcel of it by taking usury from the nation; if these laws of the old Bourbons (in which I am afraid the Jesuits have had their hand) be confirmed by the Chambers under Louis-Philippe, they will pay the security; but only in order to use all their power to move the revolution a little further.

I will now give you an extract from this journal, though perhaps I do not do it justice by making so small a one, so full do I find it of spirited and honest reasoning. "Every dynasty, the origin of which is in fraud or violence, must show its gratitude to those to whose violent and fraudulent proceedings it owes its elevation; but this gratitude is always at the expense and to the great injury of the national interest. France knows that her new King can have contracted no obligations of this kind. If Philippe, the First forgets the injuries done to the Duke of Orleans, France will applaud him; if he remember the services rendered to the Duke of Orleans, and if he recompense them by means unconnected with the royal prerogative, nobody can complain: but if in the distribution of places, honours, and public functions, Philippe give room to suspect that he thinks he has individual obligations for his elevation to the throne, France, who does not know and will not have in that elevation anything but what is pure, will, for this reason, be deeply wounded; for if

"she was as anxious to raise a new throne as to demolish an old one, it was upon the conviction of the necessity to found that throne on a sound basis, it was neither for any faction nor for any individual, but for the interest of the nation at large, that she offered it to Philippe. Let Frenchmen remember this; it was not those who chose him to be King who elected him; it was those who, sword in hand, stood by and said nothing, and did not prevent him from mounting the throne."

With regard to the police in France, a private individual has been visited, his house searched, and he put in prison at Besançon, upon a suspicion of corresponding with the *Revolution*, as is related by the following article from the *Constitutionnel* of the 12th October. "A citizen of Besançon has been arrested, and is at this moment detained upon a false accusation; the accusation, if it were true even, could not justify the agent of police, who is the author of the arbitrary act, against which M. Meulleste raises the most legitimate complaints. The police had found some fragments of two numbers of the *Revolution* in M. Meulleste's house, and they thereupon accuse him of having corresponded with the editors, and with having furnished an article which appeared in No. 98 of that journal, and with having placarded or caused to be placarded, a copy of it upon the wall in the high street of Besançon. The editors affirm, that they never had any correspondence with M. Meulleste, and that the article itself did not come from him. But if the accusation were as true as it is false in fact, it would be no foundation for the interference of the police, nor for the interrogatory which they put to M. Meulleste, nor for his arrestation and detention in prison. The frequent repetition of such acts but too much justify the complaints which we receive daily from all parts against the agents of Charles X., retained in their posts by the ministers of Louis-Philippe. When will an end be put

"to this, by doing justice to all the 'delegates of the congregation'."

So much for the journals, for the present, though this is but a very crude account of them. But the persecution of the press, that is to say, the execution of the tyrannical laws of the party who were at Lulworth, knocking Mr. Weld's china to pieces, spitting on his carpets, and devouring his hams and all the eggs in the hundred; this persecution does not stop, but every law and ordinance, in short, with the sole exception of that of the 25th July, is now turned to the protection of Louis-Philippe: that is to say, I suppose, with the intention of protecting him! In proof of this, I give you a paragraph I have copied from the papers of yesterday: "A pamphlet, entitled, 'Reclamations of a Frenchman,' ascribed to M. de Nugent, has been seized at the instance of the Attorney-General, who has issued mandates against the author and against M. Dentu, the printer, to appear in justification." Which of the laws, said to be now in existence, this pamphlet infringes upon, I do not know. But it appears that all the bad laws which were ever passed are confirmed by this fine revolution! It is a fine revolution, with a vengeance, if it adopt immediately the most tyrannical laws ever passed in France; for not only did they retain Bonaparte's decrees, but, latterly, under Charles X., they hunted up laws of Louis XIV., aye, a hundred years old, while, I believe, the only good law admitted for the last twenty-five years, being one of the National Convention, is now abrogated. So that, in fact, the press is now less free, in some points, than under Bonaparte, and is held in the same durance to the day before Charles the Tenth and his whole army were beaten by the common people of Paris!

So much, again, for the way in which the people, who oppose the press to Charles X. are treated! But those who openly assail the present government on the part of Charles X. are not persecuted at all! The letter of M. de Kergorlay has only given the peers a question of form to discuss about, for

the letter was written while he remained a peer; no prosecution was commenced till he vacated his peerage; and now they perceive difficulty in proceeding against him for that which he did when he was a peer, otherwise than as a peer; while, he being no longer peer, that would be impossible! Well: the letter of Kergorlay was replied to by M. de Mauroy, an old officer of engineers, who stated, that himself and 1,200 others had entered into an oath to die, before the Duke de Bourdeaux, or any other of that set, should return to France; and this M. de Mauroy, with a strong party of friends, very soon after set off to offer their services to the Belgians. What did I see in the papers of last week, but a statement that Frenchmen were prevented from going into Belgium: it was strange, also, that it appeared, or was said, that the provisional government of Belgium had taken measures to prevent it also!

I am your affectionate son,
WILLIAM.

The following Address was published in English in the last Register. I now publish it in French here, in order to increase the chances of its being read at Paris. It is the solemn protest of the people of England against letting escape from justice those savage tyrants who caused the people of Paris to be slaughtered by the guns and sabres of hired ruffians. I shall, on Monday, republish my show, price 2d, or 10s. a hundred, in that it may be taken to France, or sent thither; and, by those means get to be read by the French people.

AUX

BRAVES-OUVRIERS DE PARIS.

Leves, Suisse, le 19 Octobre, 1830.

Tout bon homme en Angleterre se sent indigné des vils efforts qu'on fait maintenant pour soustraire au glaive de la justice les hommes sauvages et féroces qui ont fait couler dans les rues le sang innocent. Nous avons été surpris de plusieurs choses; nous avons vu avec surprise un autre Bourbon, choisi pour dominer sur

vous, et, qui plus est, sans consulter "le peuple *Souverain*" à ce sujet. Nous avons été étourdis de voir, que les *brocanteurs d'oprimés (loan-jobbeis)* se sont emparés de la conduite de vos affaires; que le BAON LOTIS, qui était un des ministres des Louis XVIII., est un de vos nouveaux ministres; mais l'envoi de *Talleyrand en Angleterre* nous à ouvert les yeux, et nous a convaincus que, si les choses doivent en rester là, votre sang a été répandu *en vain*. En un mot nous avons vu que vous n'avez en effet *gagné rien du tout*; et qu'à moins que tous ne soyez aussi vigilants que vous avez été braves on vous ramènera *tout doucement*, gentiment et sans secousse dans le même état où les Bourbons vous tenaient auparavant.

Nous avons vu tout cela avant qu'il devint patent qu'on avait l'intention de sauver la vie des ministres sanguinaires. Maintenant nous voyons clairement, que tous nos soupçons étaient bien fondés; nous voyons que, dès le commencement, on a eu l'intention de vous trahir. C'est vous, et vous seuls, qui avez défait les tyrans et les Suisses, leurs sicaires; quand vous avez eu gagné la victoire, alors les *banquiers* et les *Pairs* sont venus se joindre à vous; ils se sont bien gardés de se montrer avant que la bataille ne fût finie; ils étaient *affligés de votre victoire*, c'est une chose maintenant évidente pour nous; ils ont prétendu admirer votre conduite; ils vous ont comblés d'applaudissements; leur dessein était de vous *enjoler* et de vous attirer de nouveau dans leurs griffes.

Tout cela est maintenant assez évident. Ils ont corrompu la presse en donnant des places, ce qui est donner les *faux*, qui est donner le *fruit de votre travail* aux rédacteurs des journaux; et ils ont cru qu'ils seraient capables de vous forger vous et vos enfants à travailler comme des esclaves pour acquitter la dette, qui a été contractée dans le but de payer les allies pour vous ramener et pour vous imposer les Bourbons; de payer les émigrés pour vous trahir; de payer les Cosaques pour vous fouler aux pieds durant cinq ans; de payer en un mot pour dépouiller vous mêmes et vos ravir tous les fruits de votre valeur étonnante.

Nous nous attendions que vous voleriez au secours et à l'appui des braves Belges; nous nous attendions à vous voir tirer vengeance de l'incendie de vos villages; nous nous attendions, en un mot, que la cause des peuples l'emporterait sur la cause des tyrans. Nous avons été, quelque temps, saisis de surprise, quand nous avons vu les braves Belges abandonnés à leur destin; quand nous avons vu que la dette, l'infamie dette, devait continuer à vous écraser; quand nous avons vu, qu'il y avait toujours un *procureur du roi* (titre horrible!) pour faire la guerre à la vérité; mais la surprise a fait place à l'indignation, maintenant que nous voyons si clairement qu'on avait l'intention d'arracher à la justice les hommes sanguinaires qui ont égorgé vos pères, vos frères, vos femmes, et vos enfants; et qu'on se proposait visiblement de répandre, s'il était possible, votre sang plutôt que de ne pas accomplir ce projet pervers. Nous avons vu que presque aussitôt que le nouveau Bourbon a été choisi pour dominer sur vous, les Chambres ont commencé à parler d'une loi pour abolir la peine de mort pour les délits politiques. Il nous a paru étrange qu'on ait songé à cette loi précisément à une telle époque. Nous croyions qu'une question, qui exige des recherches laborieuses, et une grande maturité de jugement, n'aurait pas dû être soulevée dans un moment d'une si grande agitation, et, lorsque les Chambres avaient à s'occuper immédiatement de tant de sujets importants de la plus grande urgence. La doctrine en elle-même nous a semblé très mauvaise, très dangereuse; car, où est notre sécurité ainsi que la vôtre, si la mort n'est pas indigne de vous? qui vendra une force ou une flotte à l'ennemi? N'est il pas bien singulier aussi que cet accès d'une humanité excessive se soit emparé de vos gouvernants, précisément dans ce temps-ci? Non! seulement ils ont vu les Bourbons légitimes mettre à mort NEX, LABEDYERE, et beaucoup d'autres; mais la plupart de ces mêmes hommes excessivement humains ont eu une part active à leur mort! Mais maintenant qu'il s'agit de ceux qui ont fait égorger vos pères et vos frères et vos enfants et vos femmes par des bri-

gands, payés, vêtus et nourris du produit des taxes levées sur votre travail, ces bons, ces tendres ames, *frémissent* à l'idée de faire couler le sang de leurs semblables !

Français, nous avons une ferme confiance en votre valeur ; nous craignons seulement que votre *générosité* ne vous égare. Les gens qui maintenant veulent vous attendrir et vous tromper sont des hypocrites raffinés. Quand vous ont-ils épargnés, ou ont-ils proposé qu'on vous épargnât ? La loi de Dit dieu par la bouche de Moïse, "celui qui tue sera tué." Jesus Christ dit, "celui qui vit par l'épée périra par l'épée." Oui, parlez des Jésuites ! Où est le jésuite égal en hypocrisie et en fraude à ceux qui s'efforcent de sauver les tyrans qui jouaient aux cartes, ou tiraient aux oiseaux tandis que les bouchers à leurs gages égorgaient le peuple de Paris. Quoi ! huit mille innocents hommes, femmes, et enfants, massacrés ou mitraillés par ordre de ces tyrans impitoyables ; des pères et des mères réduits à déplorer la mort de leurs enfants ; des orphelins à pleurer leurs parents, des veuves leurs maris ; et des maris leurs femmes ; un carnage qui a surpassé par le nombre des tués le massacre sanglant de la *St. Barthélémy*, un carnage qui n'avait point été provoqué et qui a été commis de gaieté de cœur, et, après avoir laissé échapper le chef-tyran et lui avoir même donné une somme immense de votre argent comme pour le récompenser de ses actions, ces philanthropes humains s'occupent actuellement à sauver la vie même aux valets-tyrans dont les ordres ont fait exécuter le carnage ! Oui, parlez des jésuites ! S'est-il jamais rencontré jésuite d'une hypocrisie, d'une perfidie semblable à la leur.

Braves et généreux Français ! écoutez-moi patiemment tandis que je décris les motifs de ceux qui veulent sauver ces vils et cruels tyrans. Leurs efforts sont d'une injustice si manifeste, il y a tant de perversité dans leur objet, ils sont si directement contraires à la nature, le cœur se soulève si involontairement d'indignation à la seule pensée du complot audacieux, que nous nous laissons entraîner loin des motifs ; cependant, nous devons

bien les examiner ces motifs ; car nous les trouverons d'une grande importance pour vous.

Dès que vous eûtes battu les tyrans, le grand objet des Chambres fut de *conserver les fonds publics* ; c'est-à-dire, de se garantir les moyens de prélever encore sur le fruit de votre travail des taxes pour payer l'intérêt de la dette qui avait été contractée pour vous enchaîner, et qui doit faire de vous des esclaves aussi long-temps que vous continuerez à le payer. Nous avons ri dans ce pays-ci, quand nous avons vu un *banquier* à la tête des députés, et quand nous avons vu ce *banquier offrir la couronne* au nouveau roi ! Pour *conserver les fonds publics* il ne fallait pas qu'ilût question de guerre. Nous sommes ici, dans la même situation. Ce gouvernement-ci et les Bourbons étaient intimement unis ; et les possesseurs des fonds en France désiraient ardemment, ainsi que les nôtres, que votre révolution ne vint pas *dissoudre l'union*. De là votre nouveau gouvernement a fait une prompte alliance avec le nôtre. Charles est venu ici à lieu d'aller en Amérique ; votre gouvernement d'une *humanité si remarquable* lui a donné de votre argent en abondance ; votre nouveau roi nous a envoyé *Talleyrand* pour représenter "le peuple souverain" de France ; vous avez reconquis le drapeau tricolore ; c'était pour vous *amuser* ; et vous deviez payer l'intérêt de la dette et supporter les mêmes charges qu'auparavant ; et l'on devait ainsi paisiblement et doucement vous dépouiller de tout le fruit de votre valeur et de votre sang. L'intérêt que vous payez pour la dette s'élève à 275,000,000 de francs par an ; et la plus grande partie de cet argent est le produit de votre travail. Les gens riches, les banquiers et d'autres personnes de la même espèce sont possesseurs des fonds publics ; ils reçoivent, par conséquent, cet argent ; et ils ont besoin que ce système continue, et ils savent qu'il ne pourrait pas continuer sous un gouvernement républicain ; et ils savent aussi qu'il ne peut continuer si l'on obtient quelque chose qui ressemble à ce gouvernement.

Ces gens, faites y bien attention, qui vivent de votre travail, disent ardem-

ment d'être intimement liés avec notre gouvernement, parce que sans cela ils ne pourraient pas empêcher vos fonds publics de tomber. Maintenant notre gouvernement a de très bonnes raisons pour ne pas vouloir qu'on mette à mort les ministres qui ont massacré le peuple ! Et je n'ai pas le moindre doute que toutes les cours étrangères se soient unies pour faire un marché avec le vôtre afin de sauver la vie aux ministres. Il y a, en outre, le danger de l'exemple ! Et alors qui sait quels secrets les ministres pourraient révéler ! Cependant, le principal motif est que la tranquillité ne soit pas troublée ; et on s'attend que si l'on peut vous induire à laisser échapper ces coupables on pourra vous subjuguier de nouveau, et vous forcer à vous soumettre à tout. Et ces calculs sont très exacts car, si ces individus échappent, il n'y a pas de crime qu'on ne puisse commettre impunément contre vous ; s'ils peuvent ainsi répandre votre sang, et échapper à tout chatiment, quel est le tyran qui hésitera à l'aveuir de vous ravir vos biens et votre liberté ?

Ils n'échapperont pas au chatiment, c'est certain, du moins, nous l'espérons, quoique nous apercevions qu'on a recouru à toutes sortes de moyens pour qu'il en soit autrement. Nous voyons les préparatifs qui se font au LUXEMBOURG ; nous les voyons efforts de la presse de Paris et des coquins Anglais qui écrivent de Paris et qui sont achetés et payés pour vous tromper ainsi que nous. Nous voyons qu'il y a des gens qui seraient bien aises de vous pousser à vous tuer les uns les autres afin de sauver la vie de ces meurtriers atroces. Nous voyons, cependant, avec grand plaisir, que vous êtes décidés à ce que les scélérats meurent ; qu'ils ne vivront pas pour être des farces des veuves et des orphelins de Paris. Nous voyons, et nous le voyons avec un profond chagrin, qu'il y a UN HOMME dont la vertu et le patriotisme éprouvés nous inspiraient à nous tous une entière confiance et qui, assure-t-on, a élevé la voix pour vous engager à ne pas reculer pour obtenir justice. Nous attribuions au grand âge ; nous attribuions à l'influence dont il aurait été victime ; nous attribuions à tout autre cause qu'à la

perfidie, la conduite de CET HOMME, s'il avait le malheur de s'enrôler parmi les champions qui veulent sauver la vie de ces traîtres sanguinaires et abominables. Mais quelque pénible qu'il nous fût de condamner, même tacitement, la conduite de CET HOMME, nous devons la condamner, et celle de mille autres individus semblables, s'ils penchaient du côté de l'indulgence en faveur de ces tyrans féroces. Que cet homme, ou quelque autre que ce soit, pardonne pour lui-même : si on lui a massacré un enfant, une épouse ou un père, qu'il pardonne pour lui même ; mais qu'il ne pardonne pas pour vous ; que sous prétexte de paix et de tranquillité ou de tout autre motif imaginaire, il ne fasse pas dévier la justice éternelle du droit chemin ; qu'il ne ternisse point ses derniers jours en faisant ce qui équivaldrait à déclarer qu'on peut égorger impunément les ouvriers, et que leur sang répandu ne crie pas vengeance ! Oh ! pour l'honneur de la liberté et du patriotisme, pour l'honneur tout à la fois de l'Amérique et de la France, qu'il laisse aux intriguants, aux dévotiers de taxes (*tax-devourers*), aux brocanteurs d'emprunts, et aux juifs la tâche de sauver ces scélérats ; mais que Lafayette dise avec Washington dans un cas où le délit était mille fois moins grave, "le crime a été commis contre le peuple, la justice qu'on lui doit exige que le chatiment s'ensuive ; que la justice ait son cours." Et était-il dépourvu "d'humanité ;" manquait-il de sang froid et de patience, de réflexion et de sagesse ; n'était-il pas d'une nature aussi compatissante que celle de Louis Philippe ; signa-t-il la sentence de mort sans verser des larmes ; ses actes d'une rigide justice ont-ils appris aux habitants de l'Amérique à devenir féroces ? Oh ! pour l'honneur de la cause de la liberté, que le nom de Lafayette ne traverse pas l'Atlantique accouplé à ceux des juifs, des brocanteurs et des aristocrates, ligés pour arracher à la justice les meurtriers du peuple combattant pour ses droits !

W. COBBETT.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS.

On Tuesday, the 26th instant, the two Houses met, and, after the usual

ceremony, the House of Commons (as it is called) chose, with the usual flummery talk, the same man, Mr. MANNERS SUTTON (cousin of the Duke of Rutland), to be their SPEAKER; and then they adjourned to Tuesday, the 2d November, when the King is to go to the House of Lords, and make a SPEECH, which I verily believe, and which I hope, will be the last speech that ever king or regent will make to an *unreformed* parliament. There were no speeches worth notice, upon this occasion. SIR JOSEPH YORKE, who is a brother of Lord Hardwicke, and who has a son a post-captain in the navy at about 26 years of age, put over the heads of many thousands of officers who must have been at sea before he was born; this Sir Joseph Yorke, who is, I believe, a member for the handful of poor souls who live under the chalk-ridge of Surrey, in a little hole called Reigate: this Sir Joseph Yorke is reported to have said, that the SPEAKER they had chosen "was a fit and proper person to fill the chair in *tremendous times* as ever any man was called to fill it in." Why, why, *tremendous*? We are at peace with all the world; we have Talleyrand dining with Peel one day and with Lord Holland the next; we have post-captains 26 years of age, and some younger; we have three generals to every regiment, and two admirals to every ship of the line; we have bishops with 40,000*l.* a-year each, and parsons with three or four livings each; we are *so rich*, that the newspapers tell us that our King has just had a wheeler sent home to him and his family, which holds *seventy-two gallons*, made of solid silver and burnished on the inside with gold! Why, then, call these "*tremendous times*!" Deane has just took occasion to express his hope, that some regulation would be adopted to prevent long speeches! Good! especially considering the quarter *when it comes*.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

TO MR. WM. CORBETT, IN FRANCE.

Bolt-court, New-street, 18th Oct. 1830.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,—That I have had your letter of the 18th, you will see from

the Register, in which Register this letter will reach you. In return for your intelligence from France I will give you *intelligence from England*. I will keep you informed as to our *domestic affairs*; and I shall, in this way better than in any other, give my readers a *summary* on these affairs; because I shall be constantly proceeding upon the supposition, that I am addressing one who can have his information only through this channel; and when we do not write under that impression, we are apt to take it for granted that the reader *knows something of the matter already*; and hence, to render our information imperfect.

So numerous are the topics of importance that I, like you, "hardly know where to begin"; but, all things considered, the *fires that are blazing in the country* demand the first place. In Kent, great bodies of labourers go about destroying the *threshing machines*, openly and without the smallest fear; and others, or the same, burn down ricks and barns, and in some cases farm-houses. These acts, which began in the East of that garden-county, have extended to the West of it, and have just begun in *Sussex and Surrey*. How many, many times have you heard me say, how many pages, nay volumes, have I written to show, that this must be the final effect of the transportation game-laws, of Sturges Bourne's *abrogation* (for such it is) of the humane poor-laws, of Peel's new felony and new trespass-laws, of the dungeon-laws, the gridding-laws, of the tread-mills, of the scores of other new inventions, of the making of men work like cattle, of selling them by auction, of separating them from their wives; what pains have I taken to show, that of these things desperate and vindictive violence must be the final effect! My advice was despised; the violence is come, and those who despised the advice now stand aghast. Some of the machine-breakers have been tried, at the quarter-sessions at Canterbury, Knatchbull Chairman. Do look (in the article below) at his *language*. Do look at his sentence of *three days' imprisonment* for what their laws have awarded *transportation for seven*

years! and this K. KNATCHBULL, too, whose insolence and haughtiness you so well remember. The haughtiest of the haughty, the most insolent of the insolent. He tells the people, that, there are the poor-laws, the overseer, and the magistrate, to *relieve their wants*: no; neither; Sturges Bourne's bills have taken them all away, and given the power to the rich rate-payers and to the hired overseer, who may be a Swiss or a negro, and who is paid a salary out of the money raised for the relief of the poor! Poh! Knatchbull: the working people know very well what has been done to them; aye, and they know, too, how long they have had to pay taxes to support *Herriet's mother and sisters and Hobhouse's wife*, while they, if they happen to have a cot or a cow, are compelled to sell it to keep their parents, children, and even grand-children, from being chargeable to the parish. Poh! Knatchbull! Let the farmers follow my advice now, call the people together, and every parish, farmers and men, *petition for reform*. Without this there is no end to the violence, and *this* the farmers will not do, for fear of their boroughmonger landlords; so here again we come to the root of the evil.

But not to the mere working classes is the discontent confined; the middle class, all over the country, and particularly in London, are in a state of half resistance to the direct tax-gatherer, whose visits have been rendered so frequent and whose demands have been so much augmented by Peel's *grand scheme*, the real object of which establishment is now seen through by every eye, and it excites feelings accordingly. You will see, that it was not without reason that we, at our dinner on the 14th of August, extolled the effect of the hoisting of the glorious tri-coloured flag. At Stamford, at Newark, at Chester, even in many of the rural villages, this symbol of d has been thrust under the noses of the hitherto haughty and insolent gentry. Of this you will find several particular instances in the selection of domestic news which I shall subjoin. The whole

country really seems to be bursting with rage, which might, however, be stifled completely by a single breath from the King (recommending reform) on Tuesday next; but alas! who is to expect this! Who ever saw power relax its grasp, till it was compelled?

The emigration to your native country increases most wonderfully as to the magnitude of the means that it draws away. Young farmers, with fortunes in their pockets, are going by scores. Is not this enough to fill one with rage! What must be my state, when I, so proud of the name of *Englishman* as I used to be, when a youth in that same country; such a *boaster* about England as I used to be when you were born, what must be my state, when I think it fortunate for you to be an *American by birth*? Thousands of farms in England are now thrown up to the landlords; and, if this system of away could possibly continue for three years, the country would be quitted by all who had the means of getting from it, and who did not live on the taxes. Let the world judge of what must pass in the heart of an *English farmer*, before he can have resolved to quit his country! Yet, who can wonder at his resolve, that looks at his perilous state, beset, on one side, by a swarm of tax-gatherers, who take from him the means of adequately paying his labourers, and even the means of giving them the relief necessary to sustain life, and, on the other side, by thieves and incendiaries, made vindictive against him on account of this hard treatment which they receive at his hands. In such a case flight is his only resource.

Not are the *manufacturers* in a bit better humour. You have read (for we all have) of the grand *entertainments* to the Duke of Wellington at Manchester and Birmingham. Never was so *base a piece of courtship* as it deceives even its employers; it makes them not believe their own eyes and ears. You have read of the *death of Huskisson*, and of the machines proceeding afterwards to Manchester, very much against the wish of the Duke, who was finally prevailed on to proceed in consequence of the bu-

roughreeve telling him, that, if he did not go, he *could not answer for the peace of the town*. The machines proceeded, and the following transactions took place. The occurrence was this. For some length of way, at the Manchester end, the rail-road was lined on each side by great crowds of people, and as the train of carriages approached, great numbers of these people (they were, of course, the *lower orders*) received them with hootings, and howlings the most discordant, accompanied with *showers of stones*, all of which were, I understood, intended for the illustrious personages who had kindly come all the way from London to grace the ceremony. And how comes it that the "instructors have not held it up to our reprobation? They were not always thus inclined to hide the faults of the "deluded." But these hootings and howlings, and showering of stones, were not all the marks of attention which the "ignorant and impatient" bestowed on the cavalcade. On the side of the rail-way was planted a poor, squalid, ragged creature, with cheeks pale and sunk, and staring eyes, and matted hair, designed, as I understood, as a REPRESENTATIVE of the condition of the working people; of the condition to which so many thousands of them had been reduced; *reduced!* I mean, *raised*, by the wisdom and statesman-like conduct of the illustrious visitors, and their equally-illustrious predecessors and colleagues. And this "poor forked thing," this apt representative, had his loom planted before him, and greeted the eyes of the persons in the cavalcade by exhibiting to them a specimen of the kind of labour to which he, and the order to which he belonged, had been condemned for about sixteen hours out of the four-and-twenty; his condition and costume displaying the kind of reward which his order had received for their toil. Approaching however yet nearer to the town, his Grace, with his honourable and right honourable friends and colleagues, were received by a crowd standing on a bridge which stretches over the road. At each end of the bridge stood some persons with an em-

blem which must have given great pleasure to the distinguished visitors. These emblems were a couple of *trifles*, which the bearers proudly waved in the air, greeting the Duke, especially, by motions of the favourite standard, of more than usual vivacity and *significance*. And, as if to gratify the ears of the warrior as well as his eyes, one of the standard-bearers, directing his flag towards the Duke, called out with great vigour, "We care not for ye nor yere soldiers! We're ready to feight ye any day." Words and gestures intended, no doubt, to please his Grace and his friends! At Birmingham the scene was not of *exactly* the same description; but very little less flattering, all the difference being, that here mud was used instead of stones. Now, I do not *praise*, I do not know any thing of the grounds of, this conduct on the part of the people; but I know that *such was their conduct*; and I know that it was the *duty of the press* to let us know it. To censure the conduct if they choose; but to let us know it, it being of vast importance that we should all know what are the feelings at this time of those *hives of industrious people*.

Amidst all this, would you believe that the *flogging soldiers* is become a subject of loud and vehement complaint, even with the BLOODY OLD TIMES, aye, and with the STANDARD too! This will send your mind back; it does mine, my dear son, to the day when I, just crammed into the felon's jail, received from you, then at Botley and only ten years old, that long letter, intended to cheer me, and containing these memorable words: "I would rather be in your place, my dear papa, than in that of those who have put you in prison." My dear son, God's great blessing, in the first place, in giving me health; and next to that, my dutiful and sober children, have produced a state of things which has verified your anticipations; for, would I change places with the most fortunate of my savage persecutors, and would you change places with the most fortunate of their sons!

There are many other interesting matters, on which I could wish to say something to you; but I must hasten to a close, not, however, without informing you, that *Daddy Burdett* has, very recently, *been to France*, and has come back again. It is believed, and I believe, that he went *incog.* to Lafayette, to urge him to save *Polignac*. He pretended that Lafayette *sent for him*! You saw, that a little while ago, he, on his oath, said, that he went to Dr. LONG, that the effect of the Doctor's remedy might be *TRIED upon his hand*, in order, that if it succeeded, it might be *applied to the Marquis of Anglesen's face*! Don't you remember how he used to bellow about the pension to *Lady Louisa Paget*, this Marquis's sister! She has now *two pensions*. Don't you remember, how he used to bellow against "the great families," saying that England never could be well, till the "*leaves were torn out of the accursed Red Book*," that is to say, till all the *titles were abolished*! And now his carcass is become the *trier* for their maladies! No question, in my mind, that his errand to Lafayette was to *endeavour to save Polignac and Co.*, and you must know well *who it is* in this country that want to save them, and the reasons that animate them in this case. Then think of his conduct! Think of his conduct, *past and present*. He was sent to Lafayette, that the honest old General might think that he spoke the voice of the *people* of England, that he was *their organ*. That honest man ought to have been apprised of the *pelting at Covent-garden*, and of the tricks and the fall of this political mountebank, who is, as I have often said, *more afraid of reform*, than any boroughmonger in the kingdom. You remember my anger at reading of the French physician who, in order to ascertain the effects of exercise on digestion, if taken immediately after dinner, fed two dogs with a full meal, took one out a hunting directly, left the other to lounge in the kennel, brought the hunted dog home, killed that dog, found that the dog was going on digesting properly in the stomach of the lounging dog, and not in that of the

other; and thereon founded his opinion, that exercise, taken immediately after dinner, was bad for health. You remember that I insisted, that we had *no right* to put dogs to death upon a ground like this. But think of the *generosity* of Burdett, then! The fellow has been *hought selfish*! What! when he makes his very body a sort of *trier* for the "Hero of Waterloo," No. 2. Burdett is the aristocracy's dog: let him take a *lip lower than that*, if he can! His *man Hobhouse* said, in print, that he had sent 100*l.* to "that great and good man, General Lafayette, for the widows and orphans of Paris." He did not tell that great and good man, that his (Hobhouse's) father had been in the receipt of 1,200*l.* a year of the public money for the last thirty years, and that his (young Hobhouse's) OWN WIFE had been on the pension list for *nearly as long a time*! The particulars of which are in Two-Penny Trash, No. 5, just published.

I have no time, or room, for more, at present. The parliament has met; the King opens the thing on Tuesday next. Nobody can guess at what is to be done, because the actors themselves do not know what to do. That the King is not a *proud* man you will be sure, when you know that he is going on the 9th of November to dine with the *lowest set of fellows* in all God's creation. Oh! how soon a reform of the House of Commons would choke these blood-suckers off, and send them to sweeping the kennel! No wonder that they voted against addressing the brave Polesians! The old Lady is very nervous: she is looking at Lafitte, and Lafitte at her: the two systems hang on each other: they will die in each other's arms: the Jews will blaspheme anew, and the ploughman and the manufacturer and the handicraftsman will shout for joy.

Your letter of the 24th has this moment *come on Thursday*) come to hand. It has given me inexpressible pleasure! I have not, then, *laboured in vain*! Here, here, it is that we touch the tyrants, in their tender part. God bless you, my dear son.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Read the following, and let the French Journalist see it.

"As his Grace the Duke of Wellington was returning on Tuesday, after the opening of the new Parliament, to Downing-street, he was followed by a great mob, who kept hooting and hissing him all the way, and it was with the greatest difficulty his Grace was able to alight in safety, as the most violent threats were uttered against him"—*Globe of 27th Oct.*

"The Staffordshire Mercury mentions, among the 'Signs of the Times,' in the hitherto peaceful district of the Potteries, 'the introduction of tri-coloured flags, nobody knowing from whence or by whom; the distribution of inflammatory tracts by strangers, who avoid answering any questions as to their employers; and the appearance in the neighbourhood of persons bearing every characteristic of emissaries of a dangerous society.'"

I will send you a *Two-Penny Trash* for November. Show it to the *French Editor*; and they will see the *real causes* of the fires in Kent, and of all the disorders of the kingdom. I will send you Mr Carpenter's "Weekly Letter," which he publishes for 4d. without a stamp, in order to bring this question of the press to issue. I will send you "CONBART'S LETTER TO THE KING, with a portrait," which is sold at a penny by tens of thousands, which consists partly of some of my writings, which has a portrait of some man taken, apparently, from some pelling-book, which is published by some person whom I know not, but which is communicating and spreading far and wide a mass of most useful trash. It delights me to hear, that the hard-fisted fellows of Paris are reading my address to them. Thank the printers for me.

EAST KENT SESSIONS—FRIDAY.

These Sessions commenced this day at Canterbury, before Sir E. Knatchbull, Bart. Chairman, and a very full bench of magistrates, among whom we noticed the Marquis Camden, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and the

Fair of Winchelsea. There appeared in the calendar eleven prisoners charged with breaking threshing-machines in different parts of this (the eastern) division of the county. Of these two, George Youens and Ingram Swaine, who surrendered themselves to the magistrates, are, it is intended, to be admitted as approvers. There are also for trial two cases of assault, with intent, &c., both from the parish of Suisson, near Dover, and in one of them the parties charged are boys of ten and twelve years of age.

On calling over the Grand Jury, one of them, a Mr. Quanted, from the neighbourhood of Ashle, where several outrages and burnings have taken place, was excused attendance on the ground, that there had been a second fire last night at his place, which occasioned his absence.

Sir E. KNATCHBULL, in addressing the Grand Jury, alluded to the cases of the persons who stood charged with breaking threshing-machines in the county. It was not a little extraordinary that in not one instance were the offending parties identified by those whose property they had destroyed, hence the necessity of having recourse to the testimony of accomplices. He would not undertake to say what the cause of those disturbances was, it it were owing to the want of employment, he need not say that an exertion should be made use of to remove that cause. Those who were unemployed had a reasonable right to have employment procured for them. If necessity were the alleged ground of complaint, they were all aware that no applicant who came to the magistrates was denied redress, but all found ultimately such relief as the law of the country afforded them. But whatever cause had led to these unhappy transactions, the supremacy of the law must be asserted. There were other offences of a still more serious character, by which the county was afflicted. These offenders were undiscovered for the present, but they might depend that they would speedily be detected, and become subject to the awful responsibility and punishment of the law. It was a species of consolation, that the great number, and a great number there were, *Heaven knew*, who had engaged in the breaking of machines, felt the same abhorrence or contempt of the law. He trusted all who heard him would exert themselves to put the people in their neighbourhood into the right course, and endeavour to procure them employment.

Mr. J. FOLLOWS, counsel for the prosecution of the machine-breakers, applied for leave to have the two approvers examined by the Grand Jury on the bills sent up to them, which was allowed, and the jury soon after returned into court, having found the bills.

The trials excited the greatest interest. The acts of the incendiaries have not ceased. The guard of the mail which left London on Thursday night, states, that he saw four sticks of gun on fire at a small hamlet, called Upstreet, about a half a mile from Sittingbourne.

Breaking the Threshing Machines.

The prisoners, against whom true bills had been found for destroying the threshing machines, were William Spicer, aged 35; John Paterson, 26; David Arnold, 23; Edward Reid, 51; Stephen Fife, 25; Henry Reed, 50; Charles Carswell, 28. They are all labouring men. When called on to plead, they all, except David Arnold, admitted they were guilty. They did not confess to having actually destroyed the machines, but they admitted that they were with those who did it, and the Chairman said that they were therefore as guilty as those who actually committed the mischief.

When Arnold was put on his trial, no evidence was offered, and he was therefore acquitted.

The other seven prisoners were then put forward, and

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL addressed them at some length. He observed that the charges preferred against them were of the most serious character, and had a tendency to produce the most awful mischief. They had acted under the influence of *bad advice*; but they ought to recollect that the punishment for the offences they had committed was *imposition for seven years*. He thought he was right in the belief that the plea of guilty had emanated from the prisoners' minds, because in that part of the country from which the prisoners came, great numbers of those misguided and deluded people, who had committed these offences, had voluntarily acknowledged their guilt, and manifested their contrition. What *had caused such a state of things, he could not accurately describe*, some ascribed the whole to a *general state of distress*, and if to such it had been attributed, *he, on the part of the county, had now to complain*. If such had been the case, they should have recollected, indeed it must be within the knowledge of them all, that *if they had made application to the proper source for relief, they would have been relieved, or received redress, if they had had any ground of complaint*. The Chairman then alluded to the *great hardness of the prosecutors*, in not pressing for a heavy punishment on the prisoners, and said he hoped that it would be met by a *corresponding feeling among the people*. He concluded by sentencing the prisoners to their respective imprisonment.

The prisoners seemed evidently affected at the unexpected lightness of the sentence.

PARISH OF MARY-LA-BONNE.

From the Morning Chronicle of Tuesday, Oct. 26th.

A MEETING of the inhabitants of this parish, to petition the King and the House of Commons against the Assessed Taxes, was held yesterday at Allen's Riding-School, in Seymour-place. There were about five or six hundred persons present.

The following is a copy of the petition to the King as agreed to.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty—the Humble Petition of the Inhabitant Householders of the Parish of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex—

"Sheweth,

"That we have a full conviction of the desire your Majesty entertains to see the people of these realms flourishing and happy.

"That in this persuasion we presume to lay before your Majesty some, and yet only a few, of our grievances, regretting, at the same time, that the necessity should exist for thus calling your Majesty's attention to subjects so painful.

"That we reside in a parish making part of the metropolis, and containing upwards of a hundred and twenty thousand persons, and yet none of us, as householders, have any vote for a Member of Parliament, and consequently, no one on whom we can impose the duty of laying our case before the House of Commons.

"That we have but little hope of obtaining any redress by petition to the House of Commons, constituted, as it at present is, of borough proprietors, their nominees, and of persons who, by purchase or bribery, obtain seats therein; of persons, too, in considerable numbers, who by subterfuge are permitted to sit contrary to the Act of Parliament, 12 and 13 of William III., commonly called the Bill of Rights, which enacts that no person who has office of profit under the King, or receiving a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons; and we are the more solicitous and urgent in consequence of this state of the Commons' House, as it has created a most extensive interest in it which more or less pervades not only both Houses of Parliament, but leads all persons in office to obstruct the access of the people to the Throne, and thus prevent your Majesty being informed of the grievances under which the people labour. We are not unmindful that at the period when those laws were made, and which led your august family to be placed on the throne of these realms, it was claimed by the people, and solemnly assented to by the Crown, that it was the right of the subject to petition the Throne; and it is of the utmost importance for the preservation of our liberties, that this right should be preserved and freely exercised.

"That your Majesty's petitioners are heavily burdened and oppressed by many grievous taxes, but by none more than the Assessed House and Window Taxes, as they are unequal and consequently unjust; and further expose your petitioners, in many instances, to the oppressive feelings of the collectors.

"That the burden of taxation is now so enormous as to engender general discontent, which is every day increasing, and which alone can be allayed by a great diminution of such taxation.

"That there exist numerous unnecessary places—places overpaid—pensions which have

been granted where no service has been performed—pensions for services, in many cases, beyond the value of those services—sinicures so numerous and to so large an amount, in many instances, as to appear incredible—many of these pensions and sinicures of such long standing as to have been sold and resold—profusion and waste in so many ways as scarcely to be credited. All conducted and paid on the highest scale out of taxes laid on with great partiality, benefitting the few and oppressing the many, in a manner, and to an extent, never known in any other country, and which, we feel assured, cannot much longer be borne in this. Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recommend your Ministers to promote the abolition of all sinicures whatever—the dismissal from office of all useless persons of every rank and station—the reduction of the standing army, and of all salaries in places of acknowledged use—and such other means of preventing profusion, waste, and extravagance in the expenditure of the public money, as may enable them to repeal a large amount of these taxes, which are so oppressive to the people as to compel them thus to complain to your Majesty of the conduct of the Ministers of your Majesty's predecessors, and which, your petitioners fear, will continue, unless your Majesty will be graciously pleased to interfere on behalf of your suffering people.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

MR. COKE.

(From a Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.)

On the 15th of the present month a public dinner was given at Wisbeach, to "celebrate the return of Mr. Adams and Lord Francis Osborne for the county of Cambridge, in opposition to the aristocratic influence."

At this dinner Mr. Coke is reported to have said, "No man admired more than he did the constitution he had sat long time in the House of Commons, and he became more than ever convinced of the necessity of a reform, a reform which would prevent the introduction of the millions of the aristocracy, which would put an end to proceedings like those which had been witnessed at Newark and at Stamford. He dared not trust his feelings to reprobate the conduct of the aristocracy, who by their influence sent their millions to the House of Commons, and thus found means, at the expense of others, to provide for the younger and dependent branches of their families."

Mr. Coke is a highly-respected gentleman, and when people hear him thus properly reprobating the conduct of the aristocracy, they necessarily conclude that he himself is an honest man, and not in any way contami-

nated, that he is no plunderer of the people, that he has not sought and "found means" at the expense of others to provide for the younger and dependent branches of his own family," and above all, that he has not done so, on any claim to be one of the aristocracy, much less, that he has made this the ground for obtaining a larger sum from the taxes than the salary of the Prime Minister himself.

How surprised will the reader be to see it proved that Mr. Coke, Whig like, has done all these things, and actually has received and is still receiving large lumps of money, extorted by taxation, and that too of the worst kind; taxes levied solely for his use, without even the pretence of their being levied for the state, without any act of Parliament authorising their being levied for him and contrary to the opinion of the law officers of the Crown that they could be legally levied for his use.

It appears by the memorial of Thomas William Coke, Esq. of Holkham, dat. 1st July, 1825 (see Parliamentary Paper, No. 211, p. 17, Session 1825), that King Charles the Second granted to Richard Tufton, Esq., afterwards Earl of Thanet, a lease of the lighthouse at Dunquerque, in the county of Kent, at the annual rent of 6l. 13s. 4d. That Thomas Lord Lovel (afterwards Earl of Leicester) married the daughter of the Earl of Thanet, and obtained a new lease at the annual rent of 6l. 13s. 4d. That this lease expired on the 24th June, 1737, and that King George the Second then granted to the said Earl another lease at the same annual rent.

By these leases a tax of one penny per ton was extorted from every ship every time she passed the lighthouse.

Mr. Coke says, "Your memorialist's ancestor, the said Thomas Earl of Leicester, married the daughter of the said Richard Earl of Thanet; that, under and by virtue of the will of the said Earl, your memorialist is now entitled to the said lighthouse and to the tolls thereof, that the said lighthouse has been under the care and in the possession of your memorialist's ancestors, and family since the time of King Charles the Second to the present time, and he is desirous that he and his family should be allowed to retain the possession and care thereof."

The lease would expire on the 24th June, 1825, and Mr. Coke pays that a new lease may be granted to him.

Mr. Coke "dared not trust himself to speak of the conduct of the aristocracy who found means to provide, at the expense of others, for the younger and dependent part of their families." Yet here he identifies himself with this aristocracy, and shows that his ancestors and himself have had the means, "at the expense of others, of providing for the younger and dependent part of his own family" for a century and a half uninterrupted. The amount of public money thus pocketed by Mr. Coke and his ancestors must have exceeded half a million sterling.

This tax was considered so unjust, that in 1822, when the shipping interest was greatly depressed, a Select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons to inquire respecting the charges on shipping, and among other matters reported (3d Report on Foreign Trade) that, "There is another description of lighthouses, of which the patents have been produced to your Committee, the erection of which have been at different times assigned to individuals by the Crown, with the power to collect dues thereon. The lights of Dungeness, Harwich, Winterton, Orford, Spurn, and Yarmouth are there alluded to."

The Committee further state, that they have reason to believe that great incomes are derived by those who have charge or care of them, and therefore "feel it incumbent on them to suggest (on the expiration of the grants of all these lighthouses) that the patents, instead of being granted to individuals, should be transferred to the Trinity House, and the lights made subject to some conditions and placed in every respect on the same footing as the other lights under their management."

The Privy Council for Trade, in a letter to the Trinity House, dated 30th October, 1822, express their approbation of the Report of the Select Committee, and a hope that the suggestions of the Committee will be attended to.

In January, 1826, the Trinity House remind the Lords of the Treasury that the grant of Dungeness lighthouse will expire in June, and express a hope that it will not be renewed, but will be transferred to that corporation for the public use, but the agent of Mr. Coke addressed the Treasury on the 24 of March, and stated, "that the said lighthouse, and tolls or dues, have been always (from time to time, made the subject of family settlements and arrangements, and treated as a part of the family estate, and settled therewith as a leasehold, renewable under the Crown for a period of nearly 160 years."

On the 16th November, 1828, the Lords of the Treasury renewed to Mr. Coke a grant of the lighthouse for 21 years, with power to collect from all shipping a rate of one halfpenny a ton, and that after deducting the expense of collecting and of maintaining the lighthouse, one half of the clear surplus profit shall be paid to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and the other half shall be retained for his own use.

To determine the actual amount of the tax on commerce, received by Mr. Coke and his ancestors previous to 1822, might occasion some difficulty. But the parliamentary paper before noticed contains Mr. Coke's own account of the sums extorted by this tax in five following years, thus:

	Gross receipt.	Net, deducting expenses.
In 1821	£8,624	£7,555
1821	9,675	7,563
1825	9,100	7,946

1826	8,293	7,769
1827	9,898	7,777

£14,190 £38,620

Showing that 44,190*l.* has been extorted from the trade of the country at this one lighthouse job in five years, by Mr. Coke, of Holkham, he admitting that the whole of the expenses he has paid are only 5,570*l.*, and that he has put into his own pocket a moiety of 38,620*l.* in five years.

Now, what is this but raising money at the expense of others to provide for family dependents? With what face does he complain of the aristocracy and their disreputable and injurious conduct, when he himself claims to be one of them, and practises the same disreputable and injurious conduct himself? Under his own hand he has admitted that his ancestors for 150 years have been plundering the people of monstrous sums of money. And that he was desirous to continue the plundering under cover of a lease, or grant from the King.

The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons contains the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, "That the King cannot authorize light dues, or any other dues, excepting such reasonable dues as may be requisite to keep up the lighthouse, and that it was for this purpose the grant or patent was given, and it contains no proviso, that either Mr. Coke's ancestors or himself should pocket between 7,000*l.* and 8,000*l.* a year of the public money to provide for the younger and dependent branches of the family," or to "be made the subject of family settlement and arrangement as part of the family estate." Yet it was on these grounds that Mr. Coke prayed the grant, and obtained it.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1840.

INSOLVENTS

OCT. 21.—DIXON, W. H. Seymour-street, East n.-square, matter-manner.

OCT. 21.—EASTMAN, H. Jun, Rood lane, Fenchurch-street, and Homicton terrace, Hackney, broker.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

HANDLEY, W. Birmingham, wholesale saddler.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WOODROW, W. West Coker, Somersetshire, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ASH, H. Bulwell, Nottinghamshire, grocer.

ATKIN, G. Clerkenwell-green, victualler.

BORLAND, J. Store-street, Bedford-square, butcher.

LA BIGHNE, A. P. Bristol, wine-merchant.

MORREL, J. Store-street, Bedford-square, builder.

WESTERBY, R. Brotherton, Yorkshire, lime-burner.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

OCT. 26.—FERGUSON, R. of 32, Great Prescott-street, Goodman's fields, carpenter, that he is in insolvent circumstances, and is unable to meet his engagement with his creditors.

OCT. 25.—ROWE, G. of the Globe Public-house, Shoe-lane, victualler, that he is in insolvent circumstances, and is unable to meet his engagements with his creditors.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

POOLE, T. Fore-street, Cripplegate, linen-draper and haberdasher.

BANKRUPTS.

RYERS, J. Little St. Thomas the Apostle, tailor.

FRASER, J. of Limchouse, patent ship-hearth-manufacturer.

KIRKHAM, B. 9, Bentinck-street, Manchester-square, lodging-house-keeper.

KIRWAN, N. Riches-court, Lime-street, merchant.

LEIGH, S. G. Oundle, Northamptonshire, grocer, wine-merchant and stationer.

NOTTAGE, C. Fore-street, butcher.

UGILVY, J. Fleece-yard, Tuthill-street, Westminster, and of Barge-yard, Bucklersbury, cabriolet-proprietor, hackneyman, and trader.

OSBOURNE, C. Sculcoates, Yorkshire, merchant.

PHILLIPS, J. and F. PHILLIPS, jun., late of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, but now of Derby, linen and woollen-draper.

RICHARDSON, J. and T. WANT, late of Barbican (but now prisoners for debt in his Majesty's prison of the Fleet), builders.

ROBSON, E. Leeds, grocer.

ROSE, J. E. Bath, linen-draper.

TOWNSEND, W. Parkinson-lane, Halifax, Yorkshire, merchant.

VINEN, T. Norwich, woollen-draper.

LONDON MARKETS.

GRAIN.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, OCT. 25.—

The show of Wheat was limited this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk; but we had a fair quantity of Barley, Beans, and Peas, from these counties, with a good arrival of Boston Oats, and a few vessels have got up with Scotch and Irish Oats, since last market-day; but scarcely any fresh supplies of foreign grain have been reported.

There was a steady demand for the best English Wheat, at an improvement of 1s. per qr. on the currency of this day se'nlight, and having now an unfavourable change in the weather, there was more disposition evinced to buy all descriptions of foreign, and the sales effected were at fully the rates of last Monday, but to no great extent in quantity.

We had a good demand for Barley, and the

finest malting realized full 1s. per qr. over last Monday's quotations.

Flour was without alteration.

New Malt continues to sell freely, and fully the rates of last week have been obtained, without an improvement in the demand for old.

White boiling Peas met a brisk sale, and were 2s. per qr. higher; but Maples were rather dull, and the turn lower. Old Beans were without variation, but new were in slow request at 1s. decline.

Some of the Lincolnshire Oats up this morning continue to be of very fine quality, and such met with a free sale at an advance of 1s. per qr., whilst we had several lots from this county to-day, the worst of any that have appeared this season, being light and in a very soppy and damp condition, although they have been slightly kiln-dried to bear ever so short a voyage; these were taken off slowly, whilst for all other good corn there was a fair sale at fully the rates of this day se'nlight.

CURRENT PRICES, per Imp. Qt.

BRITISH.			
Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, red	54 s 6d	White	58 s 7d
North & Lincoln, do	54 s 6d	Ditto	51 s 6d
Northumberland and Scotch	62 s 6d	Fine	60 s 6d
Irish	60 s 5d	White	51 s 5d
Rye Old	51 s 3d		
New	36 s 5d	Blank	0 s 0
Barley, Grinding	30 s 3d		
Drilling	34 s 3d	Malt	38 s 12
Malt, Brown	48 s 3d		
Pale O and N	54 s 6d	Ware	62 s 6d
Beans,_ticks	34 s 3d		
Narrow	40 s 4d	Pigeon	42 s 4d
Peas, Grey	36 s 3d		
Maple	38 s 3d	White	46 s 3d
Oats, Lincoln.			
2 Yorks. Feed	22 s 2d	Poland	25 s 3d
Scotch Angus	26 s 2d	Putato	30 s 3d
Irish White	30 s 2d	Black	21 s 2d
Per Sack			
Town-made FLOUR	53 s 6d		
Essex and Kent	49 s 6d		
North & Lincoln	49 s 6d		
West Country	54 s 6d		

QUANTITIES and AVERAGE PRICES OF BRITISH CORN and GRAIN, per Imp. Qt., sold in the London Market, during the week ending OCT. 25.—Wheat 4,348 qrs. 6s. 7d. Barley 2,923 qrs. 37s. 10d. Beans 2,584 qrs. 28s. 10d. Oats 4,923 qrs. 28s. 3d. Peas 1,007 qrs. 44s. 3d. Rye 32 qrs. 31s. 4d.

FLOUR.

Albion, 20—Clay, 35s—Cov. 4, 7s—Essex, 2 612—Essex, 244—Kent, 1 220—Newport, 1 2—Southampton, 50—Weymouth, 311—Woodbridge, 311—Yarmouth, 2 46—Barnick, 35—Walesford, 230.—Total, 7,342 sacks, and 4,118 barrels Foreign.

SMITHFIELD MARKET, OCT. 25.—Beef has gone back for fine meat to 3s. 8d. to 3s. 10d. per stone; Mutton is 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone; Dairy-fed Porks reach 4s. 4d. to 4s. 6d. per stone, and the coarser meat 3s. to 3s. 6d. Beasts, 797; Sheep 7,020; Pigs, 140; Calves, 208; Hay, 21; 12s. to 41. 15s. Clover, 31. to 51. 5s.; Straw, 11. 10s. to 11. 16s.

The consumption of Bacon is very small, owing to the unusually low price of Mutton.

There is not any new Beef or Pork yet in the market, and old scarcely afford quotations. The speculators in Butter having run prices up from 70s. to 90s., begin now to take alarm from the large supplies. The Cheese trade, which has been rather brisk for the last month, is also become heavy, in consequence of the dealers having supplied themselves at the late fairs, which have been numerous.

HOPS

MONDAY, Oct. 25.—Our Hop market remains steady, and all good Hops, both bags and pockets, meet a ready sale. New Kent bags, from 51. to 121. 12s.; choice higher pockets 91. 9s. to 131. 13s.; choice 141. 11s. to 151. Sussex pockets 81. 15s. to 101. 10s. 1829, 147s. to 170s. 1828, 130s. to 160s. 1827, 90s. to 110s. 1826, 80s. to 105s. Duty 90,000l. to 100,000l.

MAIDSTONE, Oct. 21.—Our Hop trade is far from brisk, as was expected; and the few sales we have are confined to those of the best quality and good colour, in pockets, which sell at about from 91. to 121. per cwt. For the middling and ordinary samples, at present, there is no price whatever; but the bag trade is now coming, which we consider will help the market, as there are so few growths that are free from mould and good. The duty is rather higher.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fr	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. Ann. }	84½	84½	84½	84½	84½	84

SMITHFIELD.—Thursday.

This day's supply of both fat and suckling Calves was limited; of Beasts and Yorkers tolerably good; of Sheep and Lambs rather great. The trade with Beef was somewhat brisk, at fully, with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork dull, at barely Monday's prices.—Veal sold readily at an advance of 4d. per stone; Suckling Calves at ditto, of from 4s. to 6s. each. Milch Cows, which were numerous, fully supported their last week's position, a useful short-horns producing, with her small calf, from 19l. to 20l., to calve in this, by the early part of next month, from 12l. to 14l.—Prime Beef, from 3s. to 3s. 8d.; middling Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.; inferior Beef, 2s. to 2s. 2d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 4d. to 4s. 4d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 8d. to 3s. 2d.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Lamb, 2s. to 4s.; Veal, 3s. 2d. to 5s. 3d.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 14lbs., 10 to 12lb. offal.—Suckling Calves, from 12l. to 42s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each.—Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 560; Sheep and Lambs, 5,550; Calves, 180; Pigs, 150.

MARK LANE, Friday, Oct. 25.

The supplies this week being small, there is a free sale for Wheat, Barley, Oats, Beans, and Peas, at Monday's prices.

English arrivals	Foreign.
Flour.....3700	
Wheat.....3250	1400
Barley.....2950	310
Oats.....11,300	2650

Published this day, 30th of October, price 1s.,
A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF GENERAL
LAFAYETTE. Translated from the French
by JAMES P. COBBETT.

Just Published.

MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S ITALIAN GRAMMAR, entitled "*A Grammar of the Italian Language; or, a Plain and Concise Introduction to the Study of Italian*," Price 6s.—Throughout this Grammar the Author has supposed himself to be addressing those who are altogether unacquainted with the subject; he has, therefore, taken the greatest pains, both as to the proper arrangement of the several matters treated of, and that clearness of explanation that they require. At the same time, the work will be found useful to those who are more than mere beginners. It professes to be an "*Introduction*" only, and comes within a moderate compass; but while the Author has set out by noticing points the most simple, he has, in the course of his task, studiously called the reader's attention to the greatest difficulties that occur in the study of Italian. Of the importance of these difficulties the Author may pretend to be a judge, since he has had to encounter them himself; and the want of assistance which he has experienced in books called Grammars, has induced him to think that the results of his own study, as contained in the present work, may be of service to other people.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers, concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, and represent the laying-out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

Published at No. 11, Bolt Court, Fleet Street; and may be had of all Booksellers.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



COBBETT'S LECTURES.

IN consequence of the great number of persons who, not being able to get into the room on Wednesday evening, were promised that I would repeat the Lecture on Saturday evening, *this 6th of November*, I shall attend accordingly, for that purpose, at the ROTUNDA, at eight o'clock precisely. The price of entrance 2d. A copy of *Two-penny Trash*, No. 5, containing matter of deep interest, will be offered, at the door for 2d., to any one who may choose to have it; but no one will be required to pay this 2d., as a condition of entering. A copy of the *Petition to the King* will be added, without any charge.

TO THE PRINCE OF WATERLOO.

On my Prophecies and on the King's Speech.

Bolt-Court, Nov. 3, 1830.

MY LORD PRINCE,

BEFORE I come to the main subject of my letter, give me leave to remind you of that advice which, with great earnestness, I offered to you at the time when you took on the office of head minister; and to remind you also of the predictions which, at the same time, I put upon paper and into print. If I were to quote and republish all my predictions of the last sixteen years only, which predictions are all now verified in the actual state of the country, it would require a large volume to contain them. Those who have read the Register during that period must be, they are, and they say they are, sur-

prised at my foresight. Many of them, though pleased with my writings, their originality, their force, their clearness, did not, could not, believe that my predictions would ever be fulfilled: all around them, in the richer class and even in the middle, wore the appearance of wealth and of durability; the miseries of the poor appeared to them to be things to be submitted to for ever; and therefore no serious thought of those final effects which I foreboded ever entered the minds of the far greater part of them. From stage to stage, however, the fulfilment of the predictions relative to the currency excited their wonder; but still, very few of them believed that that state of things which we now behold would ever arrive.

I will not now fill up my paper by a reference to the numerous passages in the Register, in which it has been predicted that the miseries of the poor would, at last, extend themselves to the middle class, and that both together would make common cause against the weight that oppressed them: I will, on this occasion refer only to the predictions relative to the working people, contained in those THREE LECTURES which I addressed to you at the time mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, and which predictions you must, one would think, have recently called to mind.

The hissings, the hootings, the peltings, the execrations, which you have, at Manchester, at Birmingham, and in London, had to endure, must, one would think, have reminded you of the prediction that I am now about to quote. I am offering neither justification of, nor opinion upon, the acts themselves. It is not the character of the acts that is the point; the point is, whether the prediction be fulfilled; and let us see, then, what it was. After I (in Register of 23rd February, 1828) warned you in detail of the danger to which your fame would be exposed, in consequence

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of your *reflections* for your then new office, I concluded thus: "I again remind you, that your fame cannot now depend upon *THE PAST*; that if your admirers were all of the thinking and sensible class, they would separate the military commander from the Treasury chief; but, that, as it is, no such separation will take place; and that you must now stand or fall, in the eyes of posterity, by your actions in this new line of life. Your situation, as I am sure you have already found it, is very different from what it has heretofore been. You cannot now say to this man, 'go, and he goeth,' and to this man, 'come, and he cometh;' you will find hesitation, and sometimes refusal, even in the apparently unimportant performance of an 'AYE,' or a 'NO!' The difficulties which you will now have to encounter, are not to be overcome by that promptitude in decision which it has now become fashionable to praise: they are of a slow, a tedious, a tormenting character, and such as no courage, personal or moral, can make to bend to the will of the possessor of that quality. Your victories, if you be fortunately destined to gain any here, are followed by little éclat, and elicit but a very moderate portion of gratitude and admiration, even amongst the thinking part of mankind; while they will be completely overlooked, and probably never heard of, by that description of persons who followed shouting at your heels upon your return from Waterloo. Not thus with your DEFEATS, if you should be so unfortunate as to experience any. It is not here, as in war: it is not a mere story dressed up for the Gazette, all the disadvantages mollified; while, as a balance against discomfiture, round assertions of superior force to contend with, and of undaunted valour, are, at pleasure, opposed. You have not here the national pride, the patriotism of the good and sensible, and the vanity of fools, to make the best of the matter. It is not here, a thousand or two of men, more or less, killed or wounded, a score or two of wagons or

pieces of cannon, more or less, accidentally and by unexpected circumstances, captured by the enemy: it is not here a town lost (and a *foreign* town too), by the heedlessness of a bombardier blowing up a bastion unwittingly, or, as at New Orleans, the army finding, when it marched up to storm the lines, the fascines forgotten to be put into the ditch. It is not, here, any of these; but it is millions of people of property, millions of families, made to suffer from one erroneous word or stroke of the pen. Fail in any point of this sort; adopt any measure that shall extensively affect the community, let that effect be deeply mischievous, and at once all the admiration of your generalship is swept away for ever, except amongst those who make *no noise*; away goes your name from the corners of streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts."

One would *naturally* think, that the groanings, hootings, hissings, peltings, and endless indignities, which, as the newspapers inform the world, you have now to endure, would make you, after being reminded of the above, to *listen to me now*: aye, but what is *natural*, generally speaking, does not apply *here*. Power, uncontrolled power, long enjoyed, has no ears for any thing that is hostile to its continuance, and, as Charles X. and the Dutch King received no admonition from all the various clear indications of the approaching destruction of their power, so, I dare say, the admonitions that you are receiving are equally profitless to you; and as they, instead of ascribing the complaints of the people to their sufferings, ascribed them solely to the factious works of the press; so, I dare say, you do; not being able to conceive it *possible* that the people, if left to themselves, would express their displeasure at any acts of *yours*! Astonishing self-delusion! but it is such as has always been witnessed in every similar case.

The topics of the greater part of the KING'S SPEECH I have sufficiently noticed in my report of the PROCLAMATION.

INGS IN PARLIAMENT; but there are some of them that I think it right to notice here; and, first, the part relating to Belgium. If that be a *revolt*; if the King's government were *enlightened*, and his measures *wise and prudent*, then, according to treaties, *why* do you not *interfere*? That his government and measures were *of just the contrary character*, the people of England know well: they all know that Mr. De POTTIER, whom the people have now placed at the *head of affairs*, was first *imprisoned* and then *banished* by him for asserting, by means of the press, that the people were *oppressed*: we know that he *took from the people the trial by jury*; we know that he *loaded them with taxes beyond mortal endurance*; we know that he made them pay the interest of a debt which it could not *even be pretended* had been contracted for their benefit; we know that he *begun by slaughtering the people*, and not by "*submitting their complaints to a meeting of the States-General*;" but, taking you on your *own ground*, if it be a *revolt*, and an *unjustifiable revolt*, why do you not *interfere*, especially as your speech (as reported) asserts, that this king *could not allow of the separation without your assent*, he being bound by treaty along with England and other powers?

And pray what do these words of the Speech mean? "Impressed at all times with the necessity of respecting the *faith of national engagements*, I am persuaded that *my determination to maintain, in conjunction with my allies, those general treaties by which the political system of Europe has been established, will offer the best security for the repose of the world.*" If these words have any meaning, they mean that you are *determined to maintain the right of the Dutch King to the sovereignty of Belgium*. And what does that mean? Why, that you will *go to war* to effect this purpose, if you cannot effect it by other means. Is there a man on earth with any pretensions to sincerity, with any respect for the understandings of his hearers or readers, who will attempt to put any other

construction upon these words? And yet, in both Houses of Parliament, you have, in the most explicit, and, indeed, solemn manner, *disclaimed all intention to interfere by force of arms*! Ah! the reason is plain enough! The same reason that induced you to let Turkey fall before Russia, to let the Americans settle in Mexico, and to suffer all the various encroachments made upon the rights and honour of England. I hope that the French government will NOW be convinced of the truths that I stated and addressed to them in early Numbers of the "*TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE*:" I hope that they are NOW convinced that the French people might have had their republic *at once*, without any danger from the *hostility of this Government*. Ah! they *were* convinced of it; but, alas! they, too, had a *funding system to uphold*; they, too, had the influence of loan-jobbers and Jews at work, against their natural wishes. To the *French debt* the Belgians owe, that they have been abandoned to their fate by France; to that debt they owe the blood that has flowed in their country; to that debt they owe the half-demolition of their finest city, and all the *savage cruelties* committed on them by the cowardly and bloody Dutch; but, on the other hand, to *our debt* they owe that they are free from the sway of the "*enlightened, wise, and prudent*" Dutch King.

That part of the SPEECH, which alludes to the *disturbances in Kent*, I have noticed under the head of PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT; but I cannot help especially reminding you, that of these things you were duly and fully forewarned by me at the time when you took upon you your present office. "Never will you see a whole parish of the people of England quietly yield up their breath under the pangs of hunger. They will have food, by one means or another; and if the bill, which the newspapers ascribed to Mr. SLANRY, and which was described as *taking all relief from persons able to work*; if this bill were passed to-morrow, that which is now, that scanty portion which assistant over-

"seers and select vestries and contractors for the keeping of poor-houses; if this scanty portion of relief, which is now extracted from these were withheld, double the amount of it would be taken the next day, by acts which are denominated thefts."

"And where are the means of suppressing these thefts? We are not here talking of robbers and thieves, who rob and thief for gain, or from idleness: we are not talking of the exception, but of the rule; we are not talking of the few, but of the many: not of the hundreds, but of the millions. It is not here a factious party, or an insurrection to be suppressed; it is the great mass of the people; and, if what the magistrates of Warwickshire, and, indeed, of all the other counties, say be true, we are approaching very fast towards that state of things which is a great deal more perilous than a civil war, though that is perilous enough."

Then again, a little further on (*Register*, 1st March, 1828): "No answer need be given to this question: all that we need to know is, that it may possibly happen, if things go on as they now are going; and the bare possibility is quite sufficient to induce a Prime Minister to set himself seriously about timely measures of prevention. In such a case soldiers are of no use; nothing is of any use that cannot produce the food to pacify the hungry. Therefore, let measures of prevention be adopted in time; and of those measures of prevention I shall now proceed to speak; first, however, reminding you, that there is, at this moment, a sort of quiet commotion existing in every part of the country. That the people of property, in the parishes in the immediate neighbourhood of this overgrown town, should, in order to protect the property of each other (for which, observe, they find the law, with all its increased terrors, insufficient); that they should be everywhere imposing a real tax upon themselves, and pressing their own

persons into actual service for this purpose, is not so very surprising; but, that this should be the case throughout nearly the whole country; that persons of property should everywhere be entering into '*Associations*,' not for the purpose of guarding their country against the inroads of any enemy, but of guarding their houses, their barns, their granaries, their storehouses and warehouses, against those who are actually their own work-people, is a fact not less notorious than it ought to be appalling to a person in your situation. This evil must go on increasing; and it must lead to some dreadful crisis in the affairs of this country, unless timely measures of prevention be adopted."

Well! you have not adopted the measures of prevention," and the "*dreadful crisis*" appears to be come. The measures of prevention were all pointed out to you by me; if they had been adopted, all would now have been *quietness and safety*. If Lords Winchelsea and Camden had read the *Register* that I have been here referring to, they would not have sought for causes in *secret instigators* and in the *events at Paris*. The causes are all at home, and they were fairly and honestly stated by Mr. HOBBAKS, when he related the interesting fact, that the *small farmers* "had refused to be sworn-in as *special constables*, lest they should become *marked men*!" The truth is, that these *small farmers* are great sufferers too; their numbers are daily decreasing; every one of them sees that his turn to be swallowed up must come; and, therefore, they have a *fellow-feeling* with the labourers: they want this state of things to be *changed*, and, as all other men, in all similar cases, they care less about the means than about the end.

As to the part of the speech which relates to *Ire'and*, how, good God! could you advise the King to say, that "*concord happily prevails* in that country"! For forty years, there has not been one single year without *something* happening there which has been denominated *commotion*, or *insurrection*,

or conspiracy, or criminal combination! For twenty-three years there has existed, to be put in force at the discretion of the Lord-Lieutenant, *acts for transporting men for seven years, for being, fifteen minutes at a time out of their houses, between sun-set and sun-rise*, and that, too, *without trial by jury*, and by the sentence of Justices of the Peace, appointed by, and removable at the pleasure of, the ministers of the day; and, when, at this very moment, the Lord-Lieutenant is authorised by law to suppress assemblies of the people, never before deemed unlawful!

And is it "*sedition*" to propose and to urge a repeal of the law of legislative union? Is it sedition to propose the repeal of a law? In short, this is scouted by the people. It is something so *out-of-the-way*, that nobody treats it seriously. I am of Mr. O'Connell's opinion; but whether we be right or wrong, are we seditious in expressing the opinion, and endeavouring to make converts to it? Abundant are the reasons why Ireland and England too should wish for a repeal of the Union; but whether there be reasons or not, is it a crime to entertain the opinion? However, union or no union, there never will be concord in Ireland as long as the Protestant hierarchy shall exist there. And is it sedition to entertain this opinion too? It may be erroneous; it may be foolish; but is it criminal? I am at any time prepared to show, that to repeal and abolish this hierarchy is just, necessary; and that Ireland can never know *real tranquillity* until this repeal take place; but if I cannot show this, am I criminal for endeavouring to do it, as I frequently have done? Oh, no! reason and truth are not to be browbeaten in this way. They must prevail at last; and as to the flippant trash, which the House was so diverted with, about men "*urging*" the people on to desperate deeds in order to *raise themselves to distinction*, and these men *wanting courage to expose their own persons*," it is the old cry of those who live on public spoil. Mr. O'CONNELL would be a pretty patriot indeed, if he were to make himself food for powder; were to set up

his talents and his vast influence in a consolidated mass to be demolished for ever by a pennyworth of lead, that any one out of ten thousand understrapping tax-eaters might fire at it! And because he does not, thus, make himself a target for the whole phalanx to shoot at, one after another, he is to be accused of *want of courage*! The people of England reject this with scorn. I put this case, last night, to two thousand *Englishmen*; and they called for, and gave, *three cheers for O'Connell*; and they spoke, the sentiment of the people of England.

But it is the concluding paragraph of the Speech which has astounded us. What! and have we, indeed, enjoyed a *greater share of internal peace*! But I must take the very words, in order that the reader may believe me. "I am confident that they justly appreciate the full advantage of that happy *form of Government*, under which, through the favour of Divine Providence, this country has enjoyed for a long succession of years a *greater share of internal peace, of commercial prosperity, of true liberty*, of all that constitutes social happiness, than has fallen to the lot of any other country *of the world*." As to the FORM of Government, who says, or has ever said, any thing against it? We find no fault with the FORM; for we know that the form was thus before the funding system, before the septennial Parliaments, before the excise, before the malt and hop taxes, before the power-of-imprisonment laws, before the transportation for poaching, and the transportation without trial by jury, were, any of them ever heard or thought of. It is of the acts under the form that we are desirous of putting an end to. But, as to the "*greater shares*," if we have, for the last forty years, for instance, enjoyed a greater share of INTERNAL PEACE than any other country, what mean the new treason laws; what means the law to put us to death for attempting to seduce a soldier from his duty; what mean the new felony and new trespass laws; what have meant all the sedition bills and

power-of-imprisonment bills and restraints everling on the press; what have meant the laws for disarming the people, for preventing public meetings; and what means the *new police dressed in uniform*, on the Bourbon plan, and crowding our streets in thousands? Are these, and are the innumerable executions for high treason; are scaffolds streaming with blood and new and enlarged jails every-where rising up, and new and severer modes of punishment adopted; are these marks of INTERNAL PEACE! Aye, but the assertion is *comparative*, and not positive: "a *greater share* than any other country in the world." Now, *America* is in the world; and there is a country, which, in forty years has never known a single riot; has never seen a man tried for either treason or sedition; and, though it has sustained a war, has had its territories invaded by great armies carrying fire and sword before them, and has had its capital captured and burnt, has never seen the *Habeas Corpus Act* suspended for a single hour, while, under *that* government, the population has increased from three millions to twelve! These facts are all notorious; and, therefore, it is unnecessary for me to *characterize* the assertions contained in this part of the speech which you thought proper to put into the mouth of the King.

And as to "*commercial prosperity*," we see the United States with a *thousand times* as much navigation and commerce as they had forty years ago; and can we see their beautiful ships covering the seas; can we behold their brilliant commercial cities, surrounded with forests of masts; can we behold their tranquil and happy farmers; can we behold all this without feeling at once pride and shame; pride that that people sprang from us, and shame that we are sinking under *panics* and *loads of taxes*, while they are so happy and so free!

Even at *this very moment*, here, in this immense city, no man seems to guess at what is to be the fate of his property! The people are *running for gold*: something, no man can tell what,

is apprehended by every one. He who is rich to-day, fears that he shall be a beggar to-morrow. And this is called "*commercial prosperity*," while hundreds of thousands of English fortunes depend on the decision of the people who meet in the Palais Royal at Paris!

I have room for no more at present.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

KING OF THE FRENCH.

London, 2nd November, 1830.

SIR,

When Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France in 1814, he was advised by the writers in England, to punish with great severity all those who had acted a conspicuous part against him and his family; to treat the people of France like slaves; to destroy the freedom of the press; and, above all things, to load France with a *national debt*, that being the grand secret for binding fast to the government all the *rich people* and for inducing them to compel the working classes to submit to his government, be it what it might. I also, who now address you, tendered to him *my advice*, which was to act on principles, and in a manner, directly the contrary of those recommended to him by the above-mentioned writers; and, above all things, I counselled him not to entertain the thought of establishing a *national debt*, or system of *public funds*, which had produced so much ruin and slavery in England, and which must finally produce the overthrow of every government that adopted and *adhered* to such a system to any great extent.

He rejected my advice, and followed that of my opponents, which was also the advice given him by the *English Government*. The consequence has been the driving of his brother from the throne; for, whence arose the Ordinances of Polignac? Not from the mere desire on the part of Charles and his Ministers to act the part of tyrants; but, from a conviction in their minds, that, if the press remained free, and if the people were *at all represented* in the Chambers, the taxes, such as they then

existed, could not continue to be collected. This was the real cause of the Ordinances; and the Ordinances drove Charles from the throne; and, as the taxes are, in great part, occasioned by the *national debt*, to that very debt which Louis XVIII. created for the purpose of upholding the throne, Charles owes the loss of that throne. For, Sir, please to observe, that taxes raised to pay the interest of a *public debt*, operate in a manner far more injurious to the people than taxes applied to most other purposes: they create bands of idlers, draw them together in great towns, beggar the country parts; they create *monopolies* by causing wealth to go into *few hands*; they, in fact, subject the whole of the property of a country to the process of *usury*; they give rise to dealings which are, in fact, *gambling*; they create paper-money, bills, discounts, till all becomes false in the pecuniary engagements between man and man; they produce suddenly *apparent prosperity*, and as suddenly *real distress*, accompanied with disappointed hopes and want of employment; till, at last, a half-starving people, without knowing the precise cause of their sufferings, raise, first their voices, and next their arms, and demolish the system, and the whole fabric of the government along with it.

It has been with sincere pain that I have perceived that you, your ministers, and the greater part of the members of the Chambers, have wholly overlooked this *real* and *radical cause* of the recent Revolution. It would be easy to show the *injustice* of national debts, their violent hostility to reason to and all the principles of equity; but, as I intend soon to do this in an address to the *Jesuits of France*, whom I shall ask how they reconcile *national debts* with the doctrines of the *Roman Catholic religion*, and how they can have the face to preach that religion, and to advocate taxes to pay interest on national debts at the same time; as I shall soon do this, I will here leave the *injustice* and *impiety* of the thing out of the question, and treat of it merely on the ground of *political expediency*.

A nation, however great in valour or resources, can do nothing, even for its own safety, with this load about its neck; its resources are all mortgaged; its strength is all anticipated; if it stir, though its honour and even its independence demand it, the *debt is shaken*, the *fundholders are ruined*, and the Government, which becomes embarked with them, and whose resources are *inseparable from the debt*, is overthrown. Can you look at *England now*, and not be satisfied of the truth of this? Would the Duke of Wellington, for any cause short of *this*, have suffered the King of the Netherlands to be stripped of those dominions, to guarantee which, England was bound, not only by treaty, but by motives of interest and of pride, ten thousand times more powerful than all the treaties in the world? Our debt induces us to be still on this occasion; but the strange thing to contemplate is, that the *debt of France* should have had a *similar effect* on her new government! The Duke abstains from making war on the revolted Belgians, because war might eventually *overthrow our own Government*; but the French government was *already overthrown*; and yet France suffers her debt to restrain her from going to the Rhine, whither she was called, and is still called, by the united voice of honour, interest, justice, vengeance, and humanity.

The people of France complain, and they justly complain, that they have *gained nothing* by the Revolution. And what did they expect to gain? Why, a *free press*, a right of voting at elections, and a consequent *great diminution of taxes*. Other things they expected to have, but these at any rate. They have got neither. The latter was the most important; if they had got the two former, they must soon have had the latter; but, alas! a *great diminution of taxes* was incompatible with *full payment of the interest of the debt*; and as this would have been ruin to the *loan-jobbers and Jews*, and to the swarms of gamblers and fundholders, it was not to be adopted, all the taxes were still to be collected, all the monopolies were still to exist; Charles was *gone*. But all

his laws against the press, all his *deposits*, his *juncts*, and his *imprisonments*, were to remain; and the people were, in reality, to gain nothing but the three-coloured flag and the *name* of being the *sovereign*.

Here, Sir, is the *true cause* of all the difficulties, in which you find yourself involved. Every one sees that there must be *another revolution in France*. It is useless, besides its being *unjust*, to accuse the people of caprice. They have showed no caprice. They meant to get rid of the state in which they had been compelled to live; they have not got rid of it; and they still want to get rid of it. They want a free press, they all want to vote at elections, they want to be on the banks of the Rhine; but the loan-jobbers and Jews say, that none of these wants shall be gratified. The people do not, as yet, clearly see the *cause* of this their great disappointment; but they feel the disappointment, and they express their discontent accordingly.

And now, Sir, can you support and carry on this system? Can the people of France still be made to toil and sweat to pay the interest of a debt contracted to pay the allies for forcing back upon them those whom they have a second time, nay, a third time, driven out of France? Can they be persuaded still to work to support in luxury bands of loan-jobbers and Jews, who would, if every one were in his proper place, be sweeping the streets of Paris? Oh, no! LAFITTE and CASIMIR FERRIER may carry on the fiscal work instead of the priest-baron Louis and his colleagues; but he who may the actors, the play will still be the same; and you may change your ministers, and change and change again; and at every change, cause a new disappointment, and new and louder discontents, until, at last, will come another and a real revolution.

Into what inconsistencies (to give them the mildest name), nay, into what *perils*, have not the attempts to prop up your public funds already plunged your government! To this motive, and this motive alone, all men of reflection ascribe that the French are not now on

the Rhine to prevent the murders committed on the brave Belgians by the cowardly and bloody Dutch, to the same cause they ascribe your hostility to the Spanish patriots; to the same cause the retaining of the laws of Charles against the press; to the same cause the not dissolving the Chambers; to the same cause the attempt to save the lives of Polignac and his colleagues by an *expost facto* law, to be passed on the *petition of men whom they had caused to be wounded!* But of all the acts of the new government, that which most strongly marks its character, is, that of having *placed in the public funds* the money awarded to the widows and orphans of the slain; thus making them also *fundholders*; and making *their subsistence* depend upon the durability of a system by which the industrious classes of the nation are pressed down to the earth!

Sir, this system cannot be upheld for any length of time. It must fall before reason, truth, justice, and humanity. And why should *you* wish to support it? You have no interest in its existence: and why should *you* bear the odium of being its supporter? Abandon this system; leave the loan-jobbers, Jews, and fund-holders to their fate; let them get payment from those for whose benefit the debt was contracted; then you may diminish the taxes, free the press, make the right of voting universal; you may, without the least hesitation, *march to the Rhine*; and you may make a *real republic*, of which you would be the lawful and beneficent and admired chief, with more real and solid power than was ever yet possessed by any king on the face of the earth.

In the hope that such will be the conduct that you will pursue, and beholding in you, not an hereditary king, but a chief magistrate, chosen by the sovereign people,

I am,

With great respect,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Chas. Maddox...	Bellingham...	
John Booth....	Hall.....	
John Taylor...	Shaker.....	
Wm. Weston ..	Read.....	
John Pierce....	J. Taylor....	
M. Showell....	Thos. Fitzer..	
Willett.....	Barber.....	
Robt. Harrison	Chatterley ..	
Wm. Parkes...	Court.....	0
J.W.....	Thos. Parsons..	0
W. H. Ashmore 1	Wm. Lea.....	0
John Hobday...	Robt. Hunt ...	0
Thos. Lee.....	Smith.....	0
W. Trow.....	Chambers.....	0
Wade.....	Judge.....	
Plastens.....	Alex. Moore...	
Wm. Oliver, sen. 0	Thos. Bailey..	
Wm. Oliver, jun. 0	James Jones...	
John Stokes ... 0	Fitter.....	
John London ... 0	Jas. Wisdale...	
John Ragg ... 0	Robt. Buckle ..	
Wheeler.....	Anonymous...	
Lilley.....	Benj. Pearson,	
A. Trow.....	aged 91.....	0
Lockley.....		

Letter accompanying the Subscription from Birmingham.

SIR, *Birmingham, 25th Oct., 1830.*
The annexed list of names are a few out of a great number of those good men of this town, who deeply sympathise with the brave Belgians in their late glorious struggle in the sacred cause of liberty. We do think, Sir, they even equal the Parisians in their devotion to the cause of freedom, and that they have an especial claim upon our admiration and gratitude for the knowledge and virtues they have displayed, in declaring they will have a government of their own choosing. With great respect for your superior talent, hoping your life may be spared to a far distant period, to promote our great object, a real reform in the Commons of Parliament, I am, Sir,

Yours sincerely,
JOHN PIERCE.

The following are the addresses accompanying the subscriptions of the people of *Huddersfield* and of *Ashton-under-Lyne*; to which latter is added the letter of Mr. Hibbert, conveying the address and the subscription from *Ashton-under-Lyne*.

Address of the People of Huddersfield and its vicinity, to the People of France, as agreed to at a Meeting convened for the purpose of "celebrating the triumph of freedom in France," and held on Saturday the 4th of September, A.D., 1830; Benjamin Lockwood, Esq., in the Chair.

PEOPLE OF FRANCE! Consummators of Liberty! We are proud of the opportunity your glorious deeds have afforded us to celebrate the triumph you have so promptly

gained for yourselves, for us, and for the world. Frenchmen and Frenchwomen! Brothers! Sisters! Friends! if we dare to style you so in our inferior state of existence, from which your great achievement will be the grand stimulant to raise us. Your noble example will unite us in one sentiment, that *liberty*, without *liberty*, is intolerable and degrading, and that those who crouch to tyrants are only fit to be slaves. We hail this Revolution, effected as by electricity, as of paramount importance to any event in the annals of history, and best calculated to confer the greatest degree of happiness on the whole human race. We hail it as a medium through which the inhabitants of the British empire can convey their sentiments to you, who have proved yourselves the greatest people on the face of the earth; and while with extacy we do this, we beg in candour to state, that through the designs and influence of despots, aided by their emissaries, we have hitherto been so blinded, ignorant, and perverted as to look upon the French nation as our natural enemies. But, proud to state that information, founded on inquiry, has dispelled those pernicious impressions, we now solicit your hearts and hands as sworn brothers and sisters in the same good cause; and we give positive assurance that no discord of our governments shall again disunite the minds of the now-enlightened population of the French and British nations. Friends! You have demonstrated that real sovereignty exists only in the people, and that all aristocrats, their minions and hangers on, are only the spawn of those despots who claim a right divine to govern wrong! and while you have annihilated this extreme perversion of idea of right, you have rivetted our gratitude so as to baffle all description. Brothers! We hail with extacy the downfall of any despotism, whether headed by a perfidious Don Miguel, a traitorous, bloodthirsty, embroidering Don Ferdinand, or by an old dotard Don Charles the Tenth, whom no adversity could change, nor any experience improve. Great Nation! In perfect felicity we give you our thanks, anxiously desirous that the universal sentiment of this Meeting, and of the great mass of the inhabitants of these Islands, may be echoed from Calais to Toulon, from the Alps to the Pyrenees; and that the sound may not only reverberate, but that your principles and actions may extend, over the whole world. Signed, on behalf of the Meeting,

BENJAMIN LOCKWOOD, *Chairman.*

Savuton, near Ashton-under-Lyne, 24th Oct., 1830.
DEAR SIR,

Enclosed is an address of the working classes of this neighbourhood, congratulating the brave people of Paris on their late glorious achievements that they obtained for the whole human race, in the month of July last.

There is also the sum of eight pounds six shillings, for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who fell in the glorious

struggle for liberty, on the above-mentioned days. We think the best mode of conveyance is through your hands, which we desire you to acknowledge in your Political Register, the first opportunity after you receive it. We further desire you to publish the address and answer, which answer you will see is requested to be addressed to you, at Bolt Court, for that purpose. We leave the address unsealed for your perusal and insertion, hoping, that if more important matter does not press particularly upon you, you will comply with this our request.

We feel peculiarly gratified at the cheering prospects of liberty that are at this time presenting themselves to us, and which we conceive to have been much accelerated by the late events in France, together with the unceasing industry you have shown on that occasion. That both you and the people of England will speedily witness a more effectual change than that of France, one in which *loan-mongers, boroughmongers, and paper-money makers*, will have nothing to do, except being made answerable for their conduct, is the sincere wish of the addressers, on behalf of whom I thus address you.

I am, dear Sir,

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL HIBBERT.

Address of the Radical Reformers of Ashton-under-Lyne and neighbourhood, to the brave People of Paris.

FRIENDS,

WE, the Radical Reformers of Ashton-under-Lyne and neighbourhood, congratulate you on the great achievements you obtained, both for yourselves and mankind in general, on the memorable 27th, 28th, and 29th July, 1830.

We feel a difficulty in finding words sufficiently to express the admiration we feel at the glorious example you have set the enslaved people of every nation, by the noble resistance you made to the decrees of combined despots on the ever-to-be-remembered days above-mentioned.

* You have proved to the world a second time, that unity is strength; you, in those three memorable days, have completely undone all that the combined armies of Europe have been able to do in the last thirty-five years of cruel, unjust, and unnecessary war that has been waged against you in order to destroy that liberty that you obtained in your first struggle.

We, who have been contending for the last twenty years for the privilege of choosing the members who sit in the House of Commons, and in the choice of which members we want to have our votes protected by the ballot, as you have in your country; to prevent us carrying our object into effect, all sorts of arbitrary and oppressive laws have been enacted; our right to meet in public has been put a stop to; imprisonments in numerous cases without any cause assigned have taken place, during which time our Government, which

is by themselves arrogantly styled the "*Envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world*," have sent spies and incendiaries amongst the innocent, unsuspecting people, by which means many of our worthy countrymen have suffered an ignominious death. We, who have witnessed all these things, and hundreds of others of an equally atrocious nature, should not now have to recapitulate these perambulations, if we had had the choice of the members of our House of Commons, and had that choice protected by the ballot. You cannot too highly prize the real liberty you have got, and you can never have a better opportunity than the present, of further extending your right of voting for members to sit in your *House of Commons*: without you greatly extend this right, the liberty you have so recently and so heroically acquired, will, as it has done in our country, dwindle into nothing but a name.

It has given us great satisfaction to hear of the heroic manner in which you have again hoisted the national emblem, the tri-coloured flag, that flag which is the emblem of true liberty; that flag under which you have so bravely fought, and more bravely conquered; that flag, to put down which, our Government has wasted *eight hundred millions* of pounds sterling; that flag that all the combined despots of Europe, with all their hireling, mercenary troops, have not been able to prevent being hoisted by the bravest and most courageous people in the cause of liberty in the world. That both you and the people of England may look upon each other as natural brothers, and never again be arrayed against each other in the horrid habitments of murderous war; that you may long live to enjoy the blessings that must result from your victorious efforts in the cause of liberty; and that both the landed and commercial aristocracy may be frustrated in any new attempts that they may hereafter make, to again bind you in the chains of slavery, and that those who so nobly fell in your late struggle, may ever live in the memories of a brave and noble people, is the sincere wish of the working people of our town and neighbourhood, on behalf of whom I thus address you.

SAMUEL HIBBERT.

P. S. We send you the sum of Eight Pounds and Six Shillings, the joint subscription of eleven hundred and forty-eight true friends of liberty, for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who fell on the memorable 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1830. It is their wish that a written answer be conveyed to them, addressed to William Cobbett, Esq., No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, in order that he may publish it in his *Political Register*, by which means a knowledge of the whole business will be conveyed to the addressers, his paper being generally read in this part of the country, and it being the only paper in which the interests of the working classes are justly attended to, their rights and liberties boldly and fearlessly advocated, and where an

usurping aristocracy ever find a formidable and powerful opponent, and the people its zealous and sincere friend.

To Sir Thomas Beevor and Mr. Cobbett.

Oldham, Oct. 26th, 1830.

GENTLEMEN,

WE hereby request you to be so kind as to forward the enclosed Address to Paris, with the accompanying small contribution of 477 persons, being £2, for the use of those who were wounded, or made widows, or orphans, in Paris, on the memorable 27th, 28th, and 29th of July last, in that glorious struggle to prevent the enslaving of the people of France, I am, Gentlemen, for the Committee,

JOHN KNIGHT, Secretary.

The following is the Address of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Oldham, in the county of Lancaster, England, to the Brave Parisians.

Brave Parisians,

Your courage and unanimity have astonished the world; you have experimentally proved, that tyrants and their hired tools, sink into nothing, before an intelligent, an united and determined people. You have given an useful lesson to all existing tyrants, and set a noble example to every oppressed and insulted people. You are become, in deed and in truth, the admiration of surrounding nations. You have conferred an incalculable benefit on all the oppressed people in the civilized world. Your courage, your unanimity, your promptitude, your determination in action, and your subsequent moderation in the moment of an unexampled victory, have covered you with the most exalted and eternal honour, and therefore we, the inhabitants of the small parish of Oldham, in the county of Lancaster, and in the kingdom of England, do herewith send you a small donation, for the benefit of those who were wounded, or made widows, or orphans, on the 27th, 28th, and 29th, of July, in the arduous but successful struggle for liberty, as a token of our approbation of such glorious deeds; and we ardently hope that you will persevere in your patriotic exertions, until you have obtained that without which it is impossible to be really free, a full and adequate representation of all the people. We remain, for the 477 contributors, most respectfully yours,

JOHN KNIGHT,

WILLIAM TITTON.

JOHN HAGAN.

TO THE WHOLE OF THE ABOVE SUBSCRIBERS,

Bolt-Court, 1st Nov., 1830.

FRIENDS,

ABOVE you have a statement of the whole of the money raised by the subscriptions which arose from the proposition at our dinner of the 16th of August. The money, as above stated, is now in the hands of Sir Thomas Beevor; and I have now to speak to you about the DISPOSAL OF IT. For this, is become a matter requiring some consideration and care, and considerable pains. In another part of this Register, you will see a Letter from Mr. WILLIAM COBBETT, at Paris. If you have not time to read the whole of that interesting letter, you ought, at any rate, to read the SEVENTEENTH PARAGRAPH of it. Do that, if you please; and then you will see that the money which has been sent from this country, chiefly from the

WORKING PEOPLE, has been put into the funds in France, instead of being given at once to the suffering parties! Read also the POSTSCRIPT, paragraph 23; and you will see, that the honest and generous working people of England have actually given their pennies to help to prop up the concern of Rothschild and Co! The trick of the Savings-Banks and funding the money of Friendly Societies, in England, are barefaced enough; but the French loan-jobbers beat ours out of the field in point of impudence. When money is collected here for the relief of sufferers, it is given ~~to them~~ at any rate: no fellows are impudent enough to take it, and what they call put it in the funds. However, read my son's letter all through, and also the postscript, and you will be shocked at the conduct of the persons in power in France; you will see that I was perfectly right in my suspicions, expressed in my Address to the brave French people, published in French, in the Register of the 25th of September, and in English, in the Register of the 18th of September; and which address, as you will see, the French people have now read. I was perfectly correct in those suspicions, which were, that it was meant to trick the French people; to let them derive no advantage from the change; to keep up all the taxes; to keep the press enslaved; to uphold, above all things, the accursed funding system; to amuse the people with the tri-coloured flag, and, by-and-by, to get the old Bourbons back again, and, by degrees, re-establish all the old tyranny. It is impossible to read the letter of Mr. William Cobbett of the 24th of October, and the postscript of the 26th of October, without being convinced of the correctness of these my opinions.

BUT this putting of the subscriptions into Lafitte's and Rothschild's funds; this giving, in fact, to loan-jobbers and Jews the money subscribed for the relief of the widows, orphans, and wounded of Paris; this is verily the most barefaced thing that ever was done in this world; and it shows, in fact, that the people are intended to be sacrificed to

this rapacious, this all-devouring funding system.

However, my friends, as far as we and our subscriptions are concerned, these rapacious monsters will be disappointed. The *first of November* was the day appointed for closing the subscription, which has been done as above stated, Sir Thomas Beavor having in his hands 252*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*, to be given to the widows, orphans, and wounded of Paris; but not one single farthing, nor even the picture of a farthing, of this money will he suffer to go into the *French funds*. He is now (2d November) in London, and, at his request, I state his views and determination to be as follows:

1. That the subscribers meant that he should apply the money to the relief of those amongst the brave people of Paris, who had *suffered*, either in their own persons, or in those of their husbands, parents, or sons, in the glorious battles of July, 1830.

2. That it never was the intention of the subscribers, that the money should be put into *any* fund whatever; that they intended it to be *given to the sufferers* at once, for them to do with it whatever they pleased.

3. That, above all things, the subscribers did not intend that their money should go to assist in "propping up a funding system, and, in fact, helping to bind the working people of France to uphold that system which has been the main cause of their oppressions, as it has been of the oppressions which the people of England have so long had to endure.

4. That, therefore, it is his determination to *send the money to a gentleman, at Paris*, on whom he can rely, and who, though a native of this country, has *resided many years in Paris*, and who is, therefore, possessed of the requisite means of information necessary in such a case. To this gentleman he intends to give instructions to distribute the money, either in *ten-franc or twenty-franc silver pieces*, as the gentleman at Paris shall recommend. This gentleman will keep a list of the names of the persons (and of their

places of abode), which list he will cause to be *printed and published in Paris*, and it will be *re-published in the Register*, for the information of the subscribers.

These are the steps which Sir Thomas Beavor will take immediately. He cannot *now* announce the name of the gentleman at Paris, because the thing will demand trouble; and he must *write, and get an answer*, before he can positively name the gentleman. The letter will go off to Paris to-morrow. We may have an answer in eight days; and then, through the *Register*, the subscribers will be informed of the result.

WM. COBBETT.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER II.

Paris, 21th Oct., 1830.

SIR,

1. THE "best of republics" has been in a great tribulation during the last ten days. It appears strange, that the people who could remove a whole government and send their king packing in three days, could not dispose of *six men*, who have violated the law and have been legally secured. But there is a vast deal of complexity in this "republic," and much more than can be easily explained by its best friends. The fact is, I believe, that the government have never known what to do with the unlucky Ministers, though the people know very well what ought to be done to them.

2. Since the *address to the King from the deputies*, the journals have made incessant attacks upon the present Ministry upon the strength of the decided discontent they have caused by the project of the law, which was universally perceived to be nothing but an *ex post facto* law for indemnifying Polignac and his colleagues from the serious consequences to themselves of their bad government. This Ministry has not proceeded one step in *removing any grievance* which existed up to the issuing of the ordi-

nances, with the single exception of the double vote. The laws and ordinances of Louis XVIII. and of Charles X., as to the press, all remain, and these had adopted some of the gagging decrees of Buonaparte. All the judges remain who had already proved their disposition to carry these laws to the utmost severity; and though the Attorney-general has been removed, another has been appointed who gives them the opportunity of doing it. So much for a specimen of the Minister of the Interior, at the same time that the Minister of Finance was in the same office in the reign of Louis XVIII. and has now recently made the eulogium of the existing system and amount of taxation.

3. The press has undergone all the vicissitudes that one can suppose, within the last twenty years, and especially that of newspapers and small pamphlets, and above all, of political writings. After various modifications of Buonaparte's decrees, the Bourbons allowed newspapers to be printed, sometimes with and sometimes without a censorship; but, never without a *large deposit for security for fines*. This deposit was reduced by Charles X., from the amount fixed by Louis XVIII., to one hundred and twenty thousand francs, (about 4,800*l.* sterling) for a daily paper printed in Paris, which amount was to be invested in the funds. Journals printed less frequently, or in different cities, were to be rated for their deposits according to a scale. Minor ceremonies of entering names, furnishing copies to the Attorney-general, and so forth, enough of which are familiar to Englishmen, were required also. But, the main bar, certainly, to the freedom of the press, was this deposit (*cantonnement*); for it *confined the conducting of the press to men of considerable property*; this not being enough, it required that they should absolutely make a sacrifice of lucrative business, or sell or mortgage their estate, in order to employ a large part of it in a comparatively unproductive way; this required the laying out of another large sum of money in order to establish the literary concern, so that it would compensate the pro-

prietor for the absence of the principal he had invested in the funds; finally, the proprietor has become *interested in those funds*, and every newspaper in France, whatever might be its peculiar tone with regard to abstract philosophy or to particular individuals, or any detached points in the nation's affairs, had serious motives for upholding the main concern.

4. Since the Revolution, and the establishing of the "best of republics," all the journals have desired to be loosened from this *compulsory connection with the funds*; but it is a most remarkable thing, that there has been no disposition to allow this, even on the part of the deputies; not even those who voted and carried the address to Charles X., for which he dissolved the Chamber, and who are called the 221. This name they are very fond of keeping; but, the 221 having all been re-elected (which re-election called forth the second dissolution, but which Charles could not carry into effect), they have been requited by the people, and by the journals, for their opposition to Polignac. Since, however, it has been the people who maintained them in their seats after the ordinance for their second dissolution, it has been expected that they, who have so much profited from the press, should now also let the people profit from it, by leaving it absolutely free.

5. It is not a question of *licentiousness* of the press; quite the contrary of giving a license for the propagating of falsehood or mischief, it is the leaving of the crimes of the press to be punished *after they are committed*, which the public require. As it is, there is a sort of *preventive service* established against it. There are not the same means of influencing the press that there are in England, *with its consent*; so that it is, in fact, *bribed against its consent*, and the bribe is not of the nature of positive gain, but of an absence from loss. The *virtue of prudence* is kept alive, instead of the *vice of avarice*; and, as the latter enslaves the press in England, this must be what Polignac meant in his report, in which he said that the press in England was only *nominally free*.

6. I must make one exception or two of the 221, for one of them (M. Bavaux) has proposed the deposit to be reduced *one-half*; and M. de Tracey (another of them) has proposed for it to be early removed altogether, but, I believe, with as little chance of success, if the majority of the Chamber remain in the same mind, as he has of carrying his scheme for resolving that society has no right to take away the life of a murderer.

7. So that, viewing these journalists as *fundholders*, they have been great losers by the Revolution. Each proprietor must remain content while the value of his funded property is falling. Supposing the Chamber, when it is finally assembled, and contains all the purest patriots that the nation can at present elect to make laws; supposing also that it immediately repeals the law for the deposit, every one of those proprietors who may sell out his stock *will lose about twelve thousand francs*, if the funds do not fall lower than they are now, and it seems by no means probable that they will not.

8. Though this has not been done yet, but in the confident anticipation that it must be done, a whole band of journals has risen up, in open defiance of the present laws, which they say *were repealed by the Revolution*. These journals have given no deposit, and have observed no one part of the law, except as to the stamped paper on which they print; but the stamp is only of *one sou*, or one halfpenny. No less than six have been already prosecuted, and have been sentenced to fines of twelve hundred francs each and imprisonment for six months, which, you will observe, *is the utmost punishment* awarded by the Bourbon laws. But the sentences can be appealed against, first to the *cour royale*, and, finally, to the court of *cession*, which will defer the judgment for several months; and the editors know that *a little time* is all they want. So little fear have they of the law, that they suffered judgment to go by default, not even going to the door of the court in which they have been *pulled up* and which is that of the *police-correctionnelle*.

The Procureur du Roi (whom I have sometimes called the Attorney-general, as the office is in this matter the same as it is in England), was the prosecutor, and he pronounced bitter *philippics* against the editors.

9. As the mode of vending newspapers is by subscription, all these papers require a considerable capital in the proprietor, independent of the deposit required by the law. They are, like county newspapers in England, not begun at a hazard, but on a certainty. It is not likely that the proprietors would expose themselves to ruinous fines and such heavy imprisonment. In fact, they seem to look upon the proceedings of the *police-correctionnelle* as perfectly ridiculous, though at the instigation of the Procureur of Louis-Philippe, and they boldly laugh at those who pretend to think seriously that Louis-Philippe can maintain the laws of the Bourbons. If it be intended by fate that Louis-Philippe is only "*to keep the place warm*" for his relations, he must surrender his place very soon if he be to surrender it *in statu quo*.

10. Your expression of "*keeping the place warm*," I have read in one of the papers I have just spoken of, namely, the "*Revolution*." This paper has extracted the greater part of your letter "*to the brave people of Paris*," being No. 7. of the "*Tableau*"; but it has left out the two first circumstances which you enumerate, to prove that the people have been deceived, namely, *that the Duke of Orleans knew of the ordinances beforehand, and that the nomination of him as Lieutenant-general, and the abdication, were preconcerted with him*. This would be certainly too much to offer to these polite people about their citizen-king, if he be to be even tolerated. The passage in the 7th paragraph, where is your observation about *keeping the place warm*, goes to the same effect, except that it does not include the King in the scheme for the final return of the Bourbons; this passage is left; and I have read it in this journal, placarded on the walls. The Letter I. to Talleyrand, also, I have read in the same journal, copied literally. It

was introduced in the following words : " We think it our duty to lay before our readers the following letter of W. Cobbett ; and as that vigorous author thinks proper to occupy himself with the affairs of our country, we shall make it a practice to extract from his enlightened writings, which the English aristocracy seek in vain to discredit." About a hundred of this journal are placarded every day, each number remaining exposed in this way in the great thoroughfares, about twenty-four hours ; and I have never gone by a newspaper posted, without seeing nearly as many people reading it as could see over one another's heads. The *Tableau*, No. 7, was posted in this way on Tuesday, when the walls were covered also with placards issued by the different authorities, imploring the people to keep the peace, and pacifying them on the subject of the ex-ministers. I was surprised to see that a placard, signed by the prefect of police, and *forbidding all posting of newspapers*, should be so totally disregarded ; for on the same day, your first attack on Talleyrand, or, rather, on the " best republic " altogether, was, as I have said, posted on the same walls, and the day following, Letter I. to Talleyrand.

11. I am surprised to see so many people of the lowest or poorest order read. They stop as they are going along, saddled with loads of all sorts, and in the worst sort of clothing, read a bit, and move on again. I dare say twenty thousand of the common people have read *something*, at least, of what you wanted them to know, by your address to them. On Thursday, I was looking at the " *Revolution* " on the Pont-Neuf, containing the letter of the " vigorous author," and two or three men appeared to me to be reading that part of it ; presently one of them said to the other, " *Les anglais sont des malins* "! (The English are deep fellows !)

12. Thinking it necessary that you should first know the foregoing facts with regard to the *press*, as this is such a literary nation, and the newspapers having so great a hand in its affairs, I will now continue that which I intended

to be the main subject of my letter, namely, an account of the *ferment* which has existed here. All sorts of accusations are made, by the *legitimate* party and by the party who are contented with the " *republique*," against each other. The present government accuse the Royalists, or the *Jesuits*, or whoever they are, who still represent Charles X.; these the government accuses of *fermenting the people to assassinate the ex-ministers*. This party are extremely hard upon the other under this head. Not a day passes without some story about the intrigues of the *Carlists*, as they call them. On Monday night, about 500 men went, clothed in the uniform of the National Guard, and most of them armed, to Vincennes, and demanded the prisoners to be delivered up to them ; and this affair the friends of the government *ascribe to the Carlists*. The Governor of Vincennes spoke to his besiegers, sent them about their business, and, as they returned, about 100 of them were quietly taken by the National Guard, and put in prison. The next day the placards were issued, and a great fuss was made to keep the people quiet, and to caution them against the designs of their enemies. Amongst the various functionaries who issued such placards was *General Lafayette*. The General had also spoken to the National Guard and to the people assembled at the Palais Royal, together with the King, on the Tuesday morning, both descending to the entrance of the state apartments on purpose.

13. I cannot help observing, that it is very odd if the *priests* be so generally abettors of the " *Carlists*," and be so active, as it is said they are, that they are *never seen* ! They are certainly very unpopular, and to this must be ascribed, I suppose, their *keeping totally out of sight* ! The priests are distinguished by their dress ; but if they were to move out much in disguise, some of them would certainly be recognised, and yet I have not heard of one who has been discovered in any act of fomenting the people. It is said that some of the *gardes-du-corps* were taken amongst the band who went to Vincennes, but

if they had, it would have been easy to give *their names* !

14. In short, the journals who speak the *plainest* language, do not scruple to lay this little plot to the account of the *government itself* ! It is very manifest that some *money* was required to buy up the uniforms and arms for the expedition to Vincennes; and if the government cannot prove it upon *somebody or other*, or some invisible party, they will have to *own it themselves*, or, at any rate, all the world will give them the credit of it. However, if it were a plot of the government's own hatching, it would, indeed, give a miserable opinion of the policy of the government, if they imagine that they can produce a fear amongst the mass of the people, such as may tend to countenance them in exonerating Polignac and his crew from the effects of the due course of law.

15. The spilling of blood proves *sincerity* in more ways than one. To spill one's own blood is the most effectual way of proving our faith; likewise there is not so incontrovertible a test of our distrust of others, as the taking of their blood. To this test the people are now more than ever convinced that it is necessary to bring the governors of their "republic," as far as concerns certain men. So far from the main thing being to convince the world that this revolution is "free from vengeance," the main thing necessary is, to convince the people of this nation that the foundation of the present dynasty had nothing in it but a sincere determination to *put an end for ever to the government by legitimacy*, at any rate. It is not very grateful to the French nation to endeavour to induce them to believe that they must propitiate other nations, and not only other nations, but other old governments such as that which they have just demolished. They have been persuaded already to permit what they did not intend; when they were effacing every sign of royalty and the word *king* whenever it was seen; but it seems to have been upon a firm and generous reliance, that the professions at least of those who persuaded them and undertook to vouch in favour

of this species of "republic," were sincere and would be adhered to literally.

16. But what sincerity could be perceived in those who joined in the sudden burst of philosophy which they said forbid the punishment of death? Some few maintained the principle to the full extent, but the greater part could see only that it applied to political offences. The men who had the greatest and most deserved popularity joining in it, made the matter only worse, and greatly disposed the people to "*try back*." It is not necessary to say that the people would be sadly misrepresented if they were described as desiring vengeance. The agonies of a few miserable creatures are not desired by them, and will give them no pleasure; it is the steady execution of the law, and nothing but seeing this in the instance of these men will or can satisfy them, or give them a test of the sincerity of the government. It would be a pretty thing, indeed, to accuse them of bloody-mindedness, when they had it in their power, and also in the heat of the moment, to execute their vengeance on king ministers, and all the whole race! A pretty thing to suppose, that being disposed for blood, they would, while bleeding themselves, defer the time for taking vengeance until they became cool!

17. The mistake of the Government seems to have been, the imagining that because the people were really magnanimous, they would dispense with the due course of justice. Upon this they built the scheme, and, having gained over some poor fellows who were nursing at St. Cloud, brought them to play off a scene with a petition in favour of their own murderers; for, some of the petitioners were still almost without hope of recovery. By a curious coincidence, the provision made for the cripples, widows and orphans and other relations, was made the very day after the address (founded on these petitions) was voted; and, also, a meeting of the *commissioners who have charge of the subscriptions* took place on the very day of this address (which was the day after the petitioners came upon the scene) for regulating the shares; and

they resolved that the amount of the subscriptions should be forthwith *invested in the funds, to the account of trustees* for paying the dividends upon those shares! Thus, having acted a great part in a real tragedy, the heroes are brought to act a farce for their benefit; and are linked in perpetuity to the interests of "the best of republics," by being created *fund-holders*!

18. The people have only joked upon this farce. They say that the widows (who have 500 francs a year) and orphans are to give a *banquet to the ex-ministers*.

19. There has been great *inconsistency* in the government having professed to be afraid of the clubs, and then, not two weeks after, suppressing the clubs, to show such an opinion of the mildness and good-nature of the people. It was supposed that the fear of clubs would have caused a feeling throughout France for returning men of great caution and prudence at the elections, so that, in fact, the majority of moderate men would be increased. But the late affair about the ministers (Polignac and the others) has had a contrary effect. The negative conduct of the Chamber in salutary acts, and their curious activity in this act of doubtful tendency, has quite spoiled the character of the men who, under Charles X., were *excellent patriots*. They had been joining the people against the government, till, by an accident which they did not foresee, they obtained all that they had professed to desire. When they arrived at this point, they found that they had wanted nothing more than they had, like the sham-reformers, who want a *want of reform*.

20. It had been stated that the king had remitted the fines and imprisonment of Messieurs Hubert and Thierry, the president and vice-president of the club called the *amis du peuple*; but this was immediately contradicted, by authority. If he had remitted them, however, he would not have done it with a more ill grace than that with which he, as citizen-king, remains sometimes in his state apartments,

surrounded only by guards, while the people are not permitted to approach within hearing, to sing the Marseilloise Hymn; to cry, "*Mort aux ministres!*" On Sunday evening last, this singing made a concert in the court of the Palais-Royal, which was not discontinued till the King and Queen came on to the balcony. When they appeared, universal respect was shown; but, as they withdrew, the people very generally called out, "*À mort les ministres!*" In the singing, the National Guard, immediately in front of the windows, took the greatest part; and after the King retired, some of these guards stated their opinions very distinctly, in my hearing: one of them concluded by saying (clenching his fists), "If justice is not done to these ministers, I shall be amongst the people." Another guard, and a grey-headed one too, said, "Yes, that is the sentiment of all Frenchmen." On Monday and Tuesday nights, the people were shut out from the garden and courts, and also from the arcade and piazzas in this Palais-Royal; and the streets adjoining were patrolled by very strong bodies of both National Guard and of the line, and also by cavalry of both. At present, in consequence of the official announcement that the trials will proceed, there is no kind of disturbance.

21. The Palais-Royal being a sort of focus for politics as well as pleasure, I will give you a more particular description of it in another letter. It is said that "Paris is France;" in which case *the Palais-Royal is Paris*, as it is the scene of all the principal incidents; evincing, in a striking manner, how "*improvements*" and luxury have increased in France within the last four years, and especially under the Bourbons.

22. Paris is, if possible, still more a *wen* than London, for it is scarcely anything but a parasite upon the country. It has no river to cause commerce. Nothing is brought to it to be disposed of, but it is essentially a *gathering*. The Seine serves it, but in a sense the most opposed to its own original purity; yet it has gone on increasing at different times, never losing ground,

but always extending itself, and refining in wickedness with the increase of monarchical power. The Emperor will be remembered in his improvements; and, to do them justice, the Bourbons have followed up the "improving" designs of the Emperor. To say that they had *learnt nothing* when they were restored, is extremely unfair; at any rate, by those who like large cities, and think that their increase and embellishments are proofs of national wealth: for such "improvements" have been quite immense, even within the last seven years, from my own observation. With regard to the share which the country at large can be supposed to possess of national wealth, I think it fair to judge from the appearance of the common people, and I think it impossible not to allow that their state must have been, beyond comparison, better in the fifteenth century than it is now. If the mass of the people, or only one-fourth part, be to remain deformed by labour, unmatured for want of food, disfigured by unfair clothing, and the women degraded by the occupations of horses, little, indeed, did the labourers of Paris fight for! If this be the best of republics, I should say, *give me the worst*; for I happen to know one where the people do not work to pay interest on a national debt. I congratulate myself that I know it by the title of *birth*; and I cannot conclude without adding, that, besides the gratitude which I owe to the tenderest author of my being, for her assiduous cares, I feel that I am especially indebted to her on account of the soil upon which those cares were first bestowed.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

POSTSCRIPT. WM. COBBETT, JUN.

23. I am told that that honest man, *General Lafayette*, can never be got to listen to any-thing about the funds; and that, at the same time, the greatest speculators contrive to be constantly at his elbow. The consequence of this is, that wherever it is practicable, bankers' clerks are in the best posts of the *National Guard*. A clerk of *Rothschild's* belongs to the mounted guard, and it is said that *Rothschild finds him his horse*!

24. I was told that the King said, when he came down to ask the people *what they wanted*, either on Monday or Tuesday, and getting into a sort of altercation with them for a moment, when somebody answered, "Napoleon!" He said, "*Eh!tes venir Napoleon et je lui rendrai sa place!*" This he must do in favour of somebody else, unless he will sit quiet in it while justice is executed upon the ministers.

25. No sooner is the prospectus for the new ministry under discussion, than all those who have opposed the present one cry out against the new one, as good-for-nothing, especially as *Lafitte is now to have the porte-feuille, and was to be the financier*. At the same time, that those who have supported the present ministry, now equally wish for the one which *Lafitte is likely to form*!

26. A great many of the articles in the newspapers are very ingenious. "*Le Temps*," which was one of the first which protested against the ordinances, the other day, had this observation:—"It seems that, now-a-days, nations are not governed by *princes*, but by *fiscality*; no matter whether the prince be good or bad, the principle of *fiscality* is always the same, namely, *inexorable*." And it remarks, that the risings of the people which have taken place in Germany have been all against *the custom-houses*.

27. Of the Deputies now in the Chamber, independent of those now electing, only 21 are reckoned on the side of the people. These are the *minority who voted against the address for saving Polignac*, and they are as follows:—Barons de Podenas and de Bujorde; Comtes de Lobau and de La Borde; General La Marque; Messieurs Maugin, Eusèbe Salverte, Chardel, De Marcay, Bavoux, De Corcelles, Audry de Puyravault, Benjamin—Constant, Daunou, Eudenne, Gallot, Hernoux, Labbey de Pompières, Louis (Basile), Martelli, and Devaux.

28. Nov. 1. Every thing that I see and hear convinces me, that this "*best of republics*" will never stop till it is a better one.

The following is from a Morning Paper of Thursday.

We have just received the Paris papers (morning and evening) of Tuesday last, and letters from our correspondents of the same date; likewise a printed slip from Brussels of M. de Potter's *Republican Declaration*, written by him last Sunday, and to be published on the following day in *l'Amie Belge*; and private letters of that date from different parts of Belgium. From the latter we learn that the irritation excited by the conflagration of Antwerp is very great; that the inhabitants of Tongres were setting out to attack Maestricht, where a similar explosion from the citadel may possibly inflict the same deplorable catastrophe; that the Prussians were hastening to strengthen their line of fortresses; and, in fact, that nothing but wide-spreading desolation was likely to befall the country.

Brussels, Oct. 31.

DECLARATION.

"My colleagues of the central committee, eligible like myself to the Congress, have decided to accept the mission which the nation, without doubt, will confide to them; and in declaring it, they seize the occasion which so naturally offers itself to them, to make their profession of political faith.

"I do not partake (they will pardon me) of their manner of acting in this respect.

"I feel myself obliged not to accept any office, and to live to the end, in the situation in which circumstances have placed me, and I will confine myself to this single mission.

"Deprived thus as I am of the power of explaining myself upon the greatest and most vital interests of any country, either as a candidate for the Congress, or as a member of that Assembly, I owe it to my fellow-citizens, as well as to myself, to disclose my whole thoughts, without qualification or restriction; frankly and entirely.

"I owe it so much the more, as the project of the Constitution, such as it has emanated from the Commission, has been published, and will be submitted for discussion; and that so will also the other project of the central committee, if it shall be judged convenient to present a second to the Congress, and when I shall not have the power in any other manner to deliver my opinion upon an act on which depends the future liberty and prosperity of my country.

"It is there that I have heard by the opposition to which I alluded in my letter of the 19th instant, when I repudiated all possibility of contact between me and the Prince of Orange, even before the burning of Antwerp removed the little chance which he thought to preserve of proclaiming himself chief of the Belgian,—it is there that I have heard of a power to be exercised by the Government, which displeases me, or, in other words, would be shameful and disastrous for Belgium.

"The Nassau, whom I have before repulsed, as a citizen, with all my wishes, I engage myself now to repulse with all my strength.

Equally will I resist any foreign prince, or stranger, who may wish to place himself at the head of the state.

I am firmly convinced that Belgians can remain Belgians; and if they can, they ought.

"A republic of some kind—that of the Belgic union for example—is, in my eyes, that form of government which is best adapted for us.

"Belgians, simple, laborious, economical, pass willingly from the pomp of courts; and their infinitely subdivided properties have for a long time rendered national among them the democratic principle.

"I have said that a revolution effected by the people ought to be made to the entire profit of the people. This will take place, and it can only take place, when they are restored to the power of naming their own magistrates, when they have fixed a truly popular scale of imposts, and when their *real* diminution shall have become a direct consequence of the reduction of their public expenses.

"Is economy practicable under royalty?

"If it be not, then no royalty for us. That is to say, no hereditary rule.

"The chief of the state, if we wish one, to be absolute ought to be named for life. But for that, I say, it will be necessary we should wish an absolute one; if otherwise, we ought to have a president for a limited time,—say for three or for five years.

"To those who are frightened at this form of government, and who already begin to see in Belgium the arrival of the armies of the ancient members of the Holy Alliance, to establish a constitutional monarchy, I answer, without hesitation, 'You have already done enough—nay, too much, to draw upon you their full wrath, and all their vengeance. To have chased away the King of Holland, whom they had imposed upon you—to have separated Holland and Belgium, which they had united,—these are crimes which they will never pardon; and if they punish them not, it is because their own political and internal situation forbids them from doing so. If you add now the crime of founding a Republic, strong in liberty, prosperity, and the national will, it will be only one crime more, which cannot make you more guilty in the eyes of kings, but must place you at the head of the people.'

"Will you, then, erect yourselves into a Republic, or will you, through fear of kings, consign yourselves to an inviolable and hereditary chief; and then re-establish, through the same fear, the Dutch rule, and that blood-stained dynasty which you can and which you ought to declare dissolved, even to its remotest posterity?

"And will you submit to new exploits for the profit of a single family—which can never be powerful, but by your weakness—rich, but by your misery,—proud, but by your servility?

"But no; we can, and consequently we ought, to set a sublime example to Europe,—that of the triumph of civil liberty, sage and

durable, founded upon the basis of equality and economy.

“A cheap government is the lot that happy circumstances have prepared for us: let us not repudiate it. This alone can permanently give liberty to our country. This alone can for ever deliver us from the baseness and villeness of courts,—from the prodigality of kings, and the corruption of people,—that is to say, from every vice and every evil.

“Belgians, the eyes of our neighbours are fixed upon us. France and England already hail the republic which is about to be raised under their auspices. Let us not render ourselves the laughing-stock of Europe and of posterity, in answering this noble opportunity by exhibiting a cold and colourless copy of these modern charters,—these illusory constitutions,—by means of which, in our own times, the generous revolutions of people have been temporized, and the necessity created for new and severer struggles.

“People, be watchful! The attitude which you will take yourselves, when your representatives are about to determine upon the fact of your future rule, will determine the nature of it. Show yourselves calm and strong. Let not the saloon intriguers have the power of arguing, from your indifference, that it will be easy to reduce you; or from your violence, that it is necessary to enchain you. By only wishing what is right, you will be sure to obtain it, for the just will of the people is always the supreme law. Under kings, it is only revolutions which execute it; under a republic, it fills up the abyss of revolutions.

“Union, constancy, nationality, ought to be your motto:—liberty, economy, equality, your end:—justice, strength, public order, your means of attaining it.

“DE POTTER.”

“Brussels Oct. 31.”

The Prussian post-office have strict orders not to receive any Belgian journals.—*Brussels Paper.*

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

KING'S SPEECH.—NOVEMBER 2.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

It is with great satisfaction that I meet you in Parliament, and that I am enabled, in the present conjuncture, to recur to your advice. Since the dissolution of the late Parliament, events of deep interest and importance have occurred on the continent of Europe. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon no longer reigns in France, and the Duke of Orleans has been called to the Throne by the title of King of the French. Having received from the new Sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and to maintain inviolate all the engagements subsisting with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the

French Court. I have witnessed, with deep regret, the state of affairs in the Low Countries. I lament that the enlightened administration of the King should not have preserved his dominions from revolt; and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the desires and the complaints of his people to the deliberations of an extraordinary meeting of the States General should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavouring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other states. Appearances of tumult and disorder have produced uneasiness in different parts of Europe; but the assurances of a friendly disposition, which I continue to receive from all foreign powers, justify the expectation that I shall be enabled to preserve for my people the blessings of peace. Impressed at all times with the necessity of respecting the faith of national engagements, I am persuaded that my determination to maintain, in conjunction with my allies, those general treaties by which the political system of Europe has been established, will offer the best security for the repose of the world. I have not yet accredited my ambassador to the Court of Lisbon; but the Portuguese Government having determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity, by the grant of a general amnesty, I think that the time may shortly arrive when the interests of my subjects will demand a renewal of those relations

which had so long existed between the two countries. I am impelled, by the deep solicitude which I feel for the welfare of my people, to recommend to your immediate consideration the provisions which it may be advisable to make for the exercise of the Royal authority, in case that it should please Almighty God to terminate my life before my successor shall have arrived at years of maturity. I shall be prepared to concur with you in the adoption of those measures which may appear best calculated to maintain unimpaired the stability and dignity of the crown, and thereby to strengthen the securities by which the civil and religious liberties of my people are guarded.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for those services of the present year for which the last Parliament did not fully provide to be forthwith laid before you. The estimates for the ensuing year will be prepared with that strict regard to economy which I am determined to enforce in every branch of the public expenditure. By the demise of my lamented father, the late King, the civil list revenue has expired. I place without reserve at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues, and in those funds which may be derived from any droits of the crown or admiralty, from the West India Duties, or from any casual revenues, either in my foreign possessions or in the United Kingdom. In surrendering to you my interest in revenues

which have in former settlements of the civil list been reserved to the crown, I rejoice in the opportunity of evincing my entire reliance on your dutiful attachment, and my confidence that you will cheerfully provide all that may be necessary for the support of the Civil Government, and the honour and dignity of my crown.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I deeply lament that in some districts of the country the property of my subjects has been endangered by combinations for the destruction of machinery; and that serious losses have been sustained through the acts of wicked incendiaries. I cannot view without grief and indignation the efforts which are industriously made to excite among my people a spirit of discontent and disaffection, and to disturb the concord which happily prevails between those parts of my dominions, the union of which is essential to their common strength and common happiness. I am determined to exert to the utmost of my power all the means which the law and the constitution have placed at my disposal, for the punishment of sedition, and for the prompt suppression of outrage and disorder. Amidst all the difficulties of the present conjuncture, I reflect with the highest satisfaction on the loyalty and affectionate attachment of the great body of my people. I am confident that they justly appreciate the full advantage of that happy form of government, under which, through the favour of Divine Providence, this country has enjoyed for a long succession of years a greater share of internal peace, of commercial prosperity, of true liberty, of all that constitutes social happiness, than has fallen to the lot of any other country of the world. It is the great object of my life to preserve these blessings to my people, and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity; and I am animated in the discharge of the sacred duty which is committed to me, by the firmest reliance on the wisdom of Parliament, and on the cordial support of my faithful and loyal subjects.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Address was moved by the Marquis of Bute, and seconded by Lord Monson. It was, as usual, a mere echo to the Speech, and neither of the speakers said any thing worthy of particular attention. The Address was agreed to without a division. In the debate that took place, observations and statements were made by Lords Winchelsea, Camden, the Duke of Richmond, Lords Farnham and Grey, and the Duke of Wellington, on the following matters; namely, the Disturbances in Kent, the Intercourse with Belgium, the Means of Making

War, the State of Ireland, and Parliamentary Reform. I shall here insert the parts of the speeches relating to these matters, under these several heads; not garbling, not giving my own meaning to any of the words, but placing them before the reader as they stand in the report.

DISTURBANCES IN KENT.

LORD WINCHELSEA. Many parts of the country, he maintained, were labouring under distress to a considerable extent from the pressure of those taxes which were imposed on the necessities of life; and Parliament would ill discharge its duty if it did not institute an immediate inquiry into the state of the agricultural population (Hear hear), to see what relief could be given, to see what taxes pressed most heavily upon them, lightening them either by imposing more judicious ones in their place, or by doing away with them altogether. He must now say a few words as to the county of Kent, in which, he regretted to say, disturbances of no ordinary character had taken place. He did not, however, believe that the origin of these disturbances was rightly understood. If any said that they were brought about by the peasantry of that county, he threw back the imputation on that person. In his opinion, whoever were the doers of these evil deeds were edged on by some who had, with great skill, hitherto concealed themselves; but when their detection took place, he would venture to pledge himself the honest peasantry of the county would be found not to be concerned. He firmly believed that that spirit of insubordination which had been so excited in other parts was at work in our own country, knowing that the peasantry were in a state of disquietude. He was convinced that in many districts the value of property was so much diminished, that in many instances it was not in the power of the occupiers to find employment for the agricultural labourers, or to do them justice by giving them fair and adequate wages. He knew that in many parts of Kent a considerable portion of the population was unemployed, and those wages which the employed ought to receive in money (such was the distress of the occupants) were generally paid at the village shop, by which the labourer sustained a serious loss. If a fair inquiry through England was made, he was persuaded it would be found that capital had experienced a considerable diminution, and that many had been reduced from a state of affluence to great misery and want. In Kent he knew (as he had stated last year) that a great part of the small yeomanry, of 20*l*, 50*l*, 30*l*, and 100*l*, a year, had disappeared. He hoped, with respect to the commotions which had taken place in Kent, that the Government would lose no time in calling on the energies of those who were interested in preserving the institutions of the country. That imminent

danger prevailed, could not, he thought, be denied. He said that there was a spirit abroad, and at work, of which many were ignorant; and he could answer, that out of many to whom he had spoken last week on the subject, every one had expressed himself willing to come forward and give his assistance to such measures as might be contemplated by Government to put a stop to these outrages. (Hear, hear!) He, therefore, not only hoped that the strictest economy would prevail, but that that would also be followed up by an inquiry into the state of the agricultural population; for he was sure that it was the want of employment alone that had disturbed the peace of the country. It was a question of importance, and worthy of consideration, whether any measure could be brought forward to compel the landowners to give employment to the labourers in the winter months. He believed such a measure to be most necessary; for at present, while there were perhaps eight or ten ready in a parish to do justice to the labourer, there were four or five others, in consequence of whose opposition and obstinacy every plan fell to the ground.

The Marquess of CAMDEN would venture to assert, that the distress in Kent at present was not to be compared to what it had been last year. Surely they must have suffered more in a severe winter than in a genial autumn. The fact was, that *what the other side of the Channel had sent forth had done much to disturb the people throughout the country* (hear, hear!). From his heart he pitied the deluded men who had engaged in the system of breaking threshing machines, and other acts of outrage; but he still contended, that if this arose from hardship and misery, the case was still more pressing last year, during the severe winter.

The Duke of RICHMOND hoped that there would be no delay in instituting an inquiry into the causes of the prevalent distress amidst the labouring classes in this country; it was absolutely necessary that there should be a free, fair, and full inquiry instituted in a sincere and earnest manner, and pure from any spirit of faction. He knew not that it originated in distress; but this he would say, that last year, previous to his bringing forward a motion on the subject, the table of their Lordships' House was loaded with petitions from the suffering agricultural labourers; and he had no difficulty in saying, that up to that time, and even to the present moment, they had been induced to consider the superior classes, not as their friends, but rather as their foes. He knew that that was a most erroneous impression; he knew that the upper classes, and that House in particular, did sympathise with the sufferings of the people at all times; and if they refused inquiry last year, they did so from ignorance, and not from any indifference to that which their humbler neighbours and fellow-countrymen were enduring; but now to put off further inquiry would be criminal indeed. The people had spoken out,

and in the county of Kent they had spoken in a voice which was at once alarming to the country and disgraceful to themselves. He should be the last man in the world to admit that any distress could have justified the excesses which had been committed in Kent; and if they (the House of Lords) desired to preserve their property, or maintain the peace of the country, they would lose not a moment in taking measures to repress violence and to relieve distress. He felt no alarm respecting the ultimate safety; that he considered as placed beyond all danger.

How Lord WINCHELSEA makes it out, that the outrages "*do not originate with the labourers of Kent*," and that these are "*edged on by some who have the skill to conceal themselves*," and yet, "*that it is want of employment ALONE that has disturbed the peace of the country*"; how he makes BOTH these out, I should be glad to ask him, if it were not impertinent to put such a question to one of his order. One or the other of the two he might, perhaps, make out; but to make out BOTH, a man must be nothing short of a lord. No doubt that the events in France have had some effect; but Lord CAMDEN may remember, that the violences began in Kent, *before the glorious battle of Paris*; and he may be assured, that his sinecure (2,800*l.* a year of which still remains) has had more to do in causing the disturbances than all the tri-coloured ribbons in the world. I like the Duke of Richmond's language, and shall be glad to see it correspond with the acts of the parties, who might long ago have prevented the labourers from being sold by auction, and worked like horses and oxen. The Duke does not know, perhaps, that at this very time, men are compelled to draw cart-loads of stone, harnessed like horses, at Bagnor, only a few miles from his own house!

INTERFERENCE WITH THE BELGIANS.

LORD GREY. The allusions of his Majesty's Speech to the affairs of the Netherlands occasion some exception to the satisfaction which I have received from other passages. The principle of our benevolence to those States should be that of non-interference. I confess that I cannot understand that we are bound to interfere in any arrangements of a local nature between Holland and the Low Countries. If I have not misunderstood the noble Marquis in the speech which he made, with, I

suppose, a knowledge of the intentions of his Majesty's Ministers, he has said that we are interested in maintaining the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the situation in which it has been settled by treaties to which this country is a party; I cannot understand that we are so bound. As for those treaties themselves, I do not think that they have contributed to the happiness or tranquillity of Europe; nor that acting on them now would contribute to its tranquillity. Instead of acting on the principle of the balance of Europe, which would protect the weak against the strong, we have departed from that principle, and formed alliances upon principles of confiscation and division, in accordance with which we have transferred one Kingdom to another, without regard to the sentiments or to the interests of those who were transferred. From the first moment those transfers have never allowed to Europe an hour's security. My Lords, I object to the manner in which the allusion to Belgium is introduced in the Address. If it went no further than to lament the unhappy occurrence in this country, I should not offer any objection to its adoption in our answer to his Majesty's Speech. But it makes us go further. We are made to decide between the two parties, and to pronounce a direct censure on the conduct of the people of the Low Countries towards this enlightened Government. This is an interference directly opposed to the principle of non-interference. We speak of the Belgians as "revolted subjects." But as revolted subjects they would be considered to deserve punishment. Is the noble Duke, then, prepared to bring matters to this issue? If he be so, I trust this House will not sanction such interference. What, then, should he do, were he compelled to leave them as they are? If, after this judgment upon the conduct of the two parties, he should become a mediator, can he expect to be considered impartial? Would he not naturally be looked upon as the enemy of one of the parties to whom he should offer himself an impartial judge? But should the transactions in Belgium come to the issue, which I think not only the most likely, but also the most desirable, at present, for the interest of this country; should Belgium, I say, be formed into an independent State, in what relation shall we stand to that country, to which we, this night, in the language of the Address, *express our hostility*? Against that expression I feel bound, my Lords, to protest, as impolitic and unjust; and I believe that if the Duke apply to France for her co-operation in interference on the principles implied in that part of the Address, he will find France soon falling off from the negotiation, and his measure leading to the result which it is his wish to avoid.

The Duke of WELLINGTON. Then the noble Earl finds fault with the expressions used in the Speech with reference to the conduct of the people of Belgium towards the King of the Netherlands, and contends that the term revolt has been applied to their proceedings

against the mild and benignant government of their sovereign. But the noble Earl has not stated a single ground or subject of complaint which the people of the Netherlands had urged against their sovereign, and they do not appear to have had any ground of complaint whatever, except such as those which the noble Earl has read from a pamphlet published three years ago, and which are more like a joke than anything else. Is not his Majesty an ally—a close ally of this country? and was not this country a party to the arrangement by which the Netherlands were placed under the government of the head of the House of Orange? And what could the King of this country call their conduct to *their Sovereign but a revolt*? The noble Earl has of course read the history of the proceedings in the Netherlands, as they have been published in the ordinary sources of intelligence, and he cannot be ignorant that the revolt of the people against their sovereign began in a riot. They made no complaints of him and his government generally. They only complained of their union with Holland, of a certain obnoxious Minister called Maanen, and of some local taxes which were repealed by the municipality even before the complaint reached the sovereign's ears. There was no complaint against the government, none whatever. Then what did the King do? He most wisely and properly convoked the States General, and laid the grievances complained of before them; and what was the reply? That a dissolution might be agreed to, as far as the administration was concerned, only preserving the fundamental laws. Under these circumstances would his Majesty have done justice to the King of the Netherlands if he had not said that he had *acted like a just and good sovereign*, and that the measures which he adopted were wise and proper, and that his Majesty deeply regretted that they had not produced a more satisfactory result? Then the Earl says, that we, by the language which we have held, have put it out of our power to hold ourselves forward as just and impartial mediators between the contending parties. How is it that we have done so? His Majesty has said that *this is a revolt*, and so it is. The Belgians themselves cannot deny the facts. They did, in point of fact, revolt; and his Majesty justly says, in his Speech, that they did so. I now come to that part of the noble Earl's speech, in which he spoke of the treaties by which this country and other powers are bound to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The first treaty is that of 1814, between the four powers, by which Belgium was formally ceded to, or put under the jurisdiction of, the King of the Netherlands, with a view to the security both of Belgium and Holland. In pursuance of the objects of that treaty, an arrangement was made for the proper government of the two countries in union, and this arrangement for the government of the whole of the kingdom was duly recorded in the treaty between the four powers, called the Treaty of the Eight

Articles, and the four powers were bound by the engagements which they contracted by these treaties. They made over Belgium to the King of Holland, to be governed according to these treaties, and he had governed according to the treaties. Then the Treaty of the Eight Articles was recorded in the Act of Congress at Vienna, and France was a party to that act, and therefore became as much a party to the Treaty of the Eight Articles as the four powers had been before. All this is as clear as any matter of fact can be. And then comes the question—could the King of the Netherlands dissolve the union between Belgium and Holland *without the consent* of the five powers who were parties to the treaty? He could not with any degree of justice or propriety. He was bound to communicate with his allies on the subject before he took such a step. He could not, in justice or prudence, adopt measures for pacifying his revolted subjects, and putting an end to the disturbances, by himself alone; but was bound to act in concert with the five powers; and this he has done. And I hope we shall be enabled to effect the pacification by means of impartial mediation, and prudent conciliation, without any necessity for an appeal to arms. The noble Earl may be assured, therefore, that there is no intention on our part to interfere by force, or by an appeal to arms. We hope, by means of negotiation, and by moderate, conciliatory, and pacific intervention, to carry into effect an arrangement that ought to be satisfactory to all parties, conducive to the peace and good government of the Netherlands, and to the welfare and tranquillity of all Europe. (Cheering.)

MEANS OF PREPARING FOR WAR.

LORD FARNHAM. Parliament never met in a season of greater danger than this, whether it were considered with reference to our foreign or domestic relations. (Hear, hear.) The first thing to be done was *boldly to face the danger*. They were told in the speech from the throne that the powers of Europe professed their inclination to preserve peace and amity with us. Let them, however, mark the words "Powers of Europe;" and who were they? (Hear, hear.) He had no doubt that the illustrious person on the throne of France wished to preserve the present friendly relations; but such was the state of events and of opinions, that he might, in a short time, be obliged to take another direction. In Belgium, what were we to expect? There, perhaps, from the tenor of the speech, we might be compelled to resort to force, and he confessed, whatever might be the treaties that bound us, he thought it at least extraordinary that *England alone should take no precaution*. The only question was, *were we able to make preparation?* We could do so; but then our resources must be well directed. (Hear, hear.) One of the greatest difficulties we had to contend with was our *financial situation*. Every species of taxation was now pushed to the utmost point, but still it was not

so much the weight as the *unequal pressure* of the taxes that inflicted the injury. It was, and must be, observable, that the agricultural and landed interest could bear no further pressure—neither could the commercial or manufacturing interests. What then would? He should say *the moneyed interest ought*. (Hear, hear.) The landed interest paid for the protection of the moneyed interest, and such a system should be adopted as would make all pay their fair and equal proportion. He did not mean, by this, *simply the funds*, but *mortgages*, and other *money securities*. One of their Lordships might, for instance, have an estate worth 10,000*l* a year, one-half of which might be mortgaged, and the mortgagee would receive his 5,000*l* a year, while the owner, from the pressure of other charges, might not, perhaps, touch more than 2,000*l*. (Hear, hear.) Economy, however rigid, could not do all. It ought no doubt to be pushed farther than it now was, but still that would not be enough to contend against the spirit now alive in Europe, and which was directed to upset every thing dear to the friends of peace and order.

No one made any remark upon this! This, then, is the sort of "*property-tax*," about which there has been so many rumours! The Duke of Wellington answered another part of Lord Farnham's speech; but said nothing upon this part of it; though here is a proposition for a reduction of the interest due to the fundholders, and of what is due to mortgagees! A pretty mess is it all in! *In order to prepare for war*, the fundholder and the mortgagee must have part of their interest taken from them! "The figure of eight and eight noughts say to the King of England, 'you shall never go to war again, while we exist.'" COBBETT'S *Letter to the Men of Kent*, July, 1822. "Paper-money is strength in the beginning, and weakness in the end." PAINE'S *Decline and Fall*. Poh! you fools! *Get gold and keep it*.

STATE OF IRELAND.

The Duke of LEINSTER said that he had just come from one portion of the empire alluded to in his Majesty's Speech, and he was happy to say that the question of repeal the Union attempted to be agitated there, had not gained ground, and that a private meeting of most respectable individuals convened by him, unanimously agreed with him as to the ruin which such a measure would entail on that country. But unless his Majesty's Government were prepared, he would not say with strong measures, but with measures for the relief of the poor, and improvements of the grand jury laws, he was afraid

that the *question would take heart*, and that the feelings of the people would become so strong that it would be difficult to prevent its agitation, and would be injurious to the best interests of the country.

The Duke of WELLINGTON. The noble Lord will forgive me for saying, that if, notwithstanding all that has been done, much irritation still prevails in Ireland, the evil is not to be ascribed to the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, for we have done everything in our power to allay and to heal. I have no disposition to throw imputations on any man; but this I will say, that if the Ministers had been zealously supported, instead of being looked coolly upon, not to say thwarted in some quarters, that country would now have been in a very different situation. The noble Viscount and the noble Duke opposite spoke of the poverty of that country. No man is more sensible of the poverty of that country, and the danger to be apprehended from the condition of the lower orders in that respect, than he who now has the honour to address your Lordships. But to talk in that manner is not the way to tranquillize the country. If they mean to set about seriously exerting themselves to tranquillize the country, they must change their plan. Let the nobility and higher gentry connected with Ireland *reside more in that country and spend their incomes there*, and then the people of Ireland will have less reason to complain of poverty, for I will venture to tell them, that their residence in Ireland, and the spending of their incomes derived from their fortunes there, will be one of the most effective remedies for the evil. (Cheering.)

Why, this is precisely what Mr. O'CONNELL says! And he says further, that they never will reside until the Union be dissolved. This is the very point; and this point the Duke cedes, though he does not appear to be aware of it.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Earl GREY. I agree with the noble Lord on the Cross-bench (Lord Farnham) as to the necessity of preparations; but I do not agree with him in supposing that there is any necessity for Parliament to consider preparations for taking up arms. My Lords, you see the danger around you; the storm is yet but in the horizon. Begin then at once to strengthen your houses, to secure your windows, and to make fast your doors. But the mode in which this must be done, is by securing the affections of your fellow-subjects, and by redressing their grievances, and, my Lords, I will pronounce the word, by reforming Parliament! (Cheers.) Through my whole life I have advocated reform, and I have thought that, if it were not attended to in time, the people would lose all confidence in Parliament. I trust that it will not be put off as the Catholic question

was put off, but so considered as that measures may be formed by which reform can be effected without danger to the institutions of the country. Whether it can be expected that Ministers will bring forward such measures, I cannot say; but of this I am sure, that if they do not bring them forward and carry them into effect, they will in time be pressed by this question as they have been pressed by the question of Catholic emancipation, and compelled to yield to expediency what they refuse to concede upon principle. Perhaps, in the early part of my life, I have urged this question with the rashness of youth; but I have never thought that reform should be insisted on as a matter of popular right, nor have I ever advocated the principle of universal suffrage, which, on the contrary, has always seemed to me to be inconsistent with our institutions. We are now told that every man who pays taxes has a right to participate in the choice of members of the Legislature; we are told more than that, we are told that every man who contributes to the wealth of the country by his labour has a right to vote. But, my Lords, the right of the people is to good Government; and that is, in my judgment, inconsistent with universal suffrage under our present institutions. If suffrage be the right of all who pay a certain tax, then I say, that it is in the limit, and not in the extension, of that privilege, that such right consists. I say, my Lords, that preparation ought to be made to revise the constitution, to extend its blessings, and to secure the affection of the people, to ensure their tranquillity, and to confirm their confidence in the Legislature.

Duke of WELLINGTON. But then the noble Earl had recommended the expedient of Parliamentary Reform, and remarked that he did not think that the Government was as yet prepared with any plan on the subject. The noble Earl was right, for certainly the Government was not prepared with any plan for Parliamentary Reform. I will go further, and say that I never heard that any country ever had a more improved or more satisfactory representation than this country enjoys at this moment. I do not mean to enter upon that subject now, as it is probable we shall have abundant opportunities to consider it afterwards; but I do say that this country has now a Legislature more calculated to answer all the purposes of a good Legislature than any other that can well be devised—that it possesses, and deservedly possesses, the confidence of the country, and that its discussions have a powerful influence in the country. And I will say further, that if I had to form a Legislature, I would create one—not equal in excellence to the present, for that I could not expect to be able to do, but something as nearly of the same description as possible. I should form it of men possessed of a very large proportion of the property of the country, in which the landholders should have a great preponderance. I, therefore, am not prepared with any measure of Parliamen-

tar; Reform, nor shall any measure of the kind be proposed BY THE GOVERNMENT AS LONG AS I HOLD MY PRESENT POSITION.

That's plump! There is no deceit in that; and the good of it is that it cuts off short all dispute about the matter. He tells us flat and plain, "*You shall never have parliamentary reform as long as I am in power*; so now you know what to depend on as far as I am concerned."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Before the King's Speech came under discussion, Mr. Brougham made the following declaration as to *parliamentary reform*.

MR. BROUGHAM said he could not allow the opportunity which that question presented, to pass over without giving notice of his intention, on that day fortnight, to bring the great question of a Reform of the Commons House of Parliament fully under consideration. He thought it right to take the opportunity which that notice gave him, to disavow, in the most solemn and deliberative manner, certain plans of Parliamentary Reform which had lately and sedulously, without any good motive that he could ascertain, been ascribed to him. Those plans, and all the plans of a limited and bounded nature of reform, of which only he was said to be disposed to be the advocate, he begged now fully to say, were not his but quite the contrary. At the time he formerly alluded to the subject, he had distinctly stated when they were said to be in contemplation, that they had his assent, but he qualified that assent by declaring that he looked to them merely as part and parcel of that larger and more satisfactory change in the Representation, which had become so imperatively necessary. In the next place, he begged to deny a report put forth from a quarter very opposite to that of the other, namely, that he was disposed to favour that radical sweeping kind of reformation which he conscientiously believed must ultimately end in something little short of revolution. On the contrary, he had distinctly stated that he intended to bottom his reform on the ancient days of the constitution of this country, as exhibited in the plan of its representative system. Without entering into details which he felt would be at that time both irregular and inconvenient, he would merely state, that the whole of his plan would be found to be one of conciliation, so as to combine all interests and all opinions in favour of a restoration of the Constitution to its state of original purity. He would be found desirous of obtaining the consent of all classes and of all interests, and of all opinions—and of all who were disposed to go even the shortest way with him in the course which he proposed, and to repulse none who might be willing to admit that

there were good reasons to believe the representative system was in want of some reformation; for it was reform, not change, that he had in contemplation. He had only to add, without detaining the House any longer, that he intended to employ the interval between that time and the day of his bringing forward his motion in communicating diligently with all those who held opinions of different degrees on the subject, in order that he might, as far as in him lay, secure the co-operation and support of all who were interested in the great questions which it embraced. One word, however, he thought it necessary to add, with respect to the principle of his measure, and that was, to repeat his declaration, that his object was not revolution, but restoration—to restore the state of representation to that state in which it ought to be, not to change it from what it had been—to repair, not to pull down.

Thus, then, the Whigs mean to have a brush at the Duke! We shall have fine sport, if we can have patience to observe the workidgs of factions.

KING'S SPEECH.

AFTER what we have seen in the Lords, nothing of any particular interest took place on this subject in the Commons; except that a DUNDAS (who was dressed in military uniform) who seconded the Address, let out that which the Speech had concealed; namely, the REGRET of the Government that the Revolution had taken place in France. He said, "Although it was not for him (Mr. Dundas) to offer an opinion on the cause of the Revolution in France, or to say whether it proceeded from the sovereign or the people, or whether it was produced by the acts of the King or his advisers, yet he was convinced there was ~~not~~ a member of that House, whatever might be his political creed, who did not regret that event." (Hear, hear! from the Opposition benches.) He repeated, he should feel surprised if there was any Member who did not join with the majority in regretting the events which arose from that Revolution, and the circumstances which attended it; circumstances which were calculated to awaken those feelings respecting civil distinctions which it was fondly hoped had been allayed for ever, and which were calculated to produce others so dangerous to the tranquillity of

"*Europe*. (Hear, hear!) While he deplored these events, it was, however, a subject of congratulation that the *illustrious person* now called to the throne of France, and who was said to be distinguished by almost every grace which adorns humanity, had declared his determination to preserve most faithfully the relations of amity with this country."

Notwithstanding the cry from the Opposition, this Dundas was right! Not more than four men, if four of the whole, do not regret the revolution in France, whatever may be their professions to the contrary! Yes, yes, Dundas, they all "*fondly hoped*" that the "*feelings respecting civil distinctions*"; that is to say, the feelings of liberty and equal rights, had "*been allayed for ever*" by the battle of Waterloo; and they, and you along with them, are now mortified to the very soul, to find that *nothing has been done after all*; and that the boroughs are in just as great danger as ever. Whether Louis Philippe will feel himself complimented by being represented as an angel by those who REGRET the Revolution that made him King of the French, I know not; but, the people of France ought to put the circumstances together; and the conclusion will, at once, stare them in the face. Those who hate and abhor them, praise Louis-Philippe to the skies! Ah! Dundas, it will not do! It is useless to coax Louis-Philippe; it is useless for you to praise him; he will not have the power to prevent a demolition of the debt, and the establishing of a republic in France. But, Dundas, what a blow does this praise give to hereditary right! If a man, who puts himself on the throne of the legitimate king, or takes it at the request of the people; if such a man, so sent, be "distinguished by almost every grace that adorns humanity," it can be no such very wicked thing to get upon the throne of a legitimate king! I will take care that the people of Paris be informed of your praises of Louis-Philippe, and of your regret at their victory. I take the doing of this upon myself.

Mr. Hume laid well on upon the speech, and promised it a renewed attack the next day. Mr. O'CONNELL defended, very ably, his conduct in the affair of the Union. Mr. HODGES (member for Kent) said, that *reform of Parliament* was the remedy. But no facts transpired, and there were no statements made, of any interest, beyond those made in the other House; but I cannot refrain from inserting a passage in Mr. O'Connell's speech, which was heard throughout with the greatest attention.

It would lead me too far a-field to debate now the question of the Union; but let me ask any man what good did it ever do to my unfortunate country? I have put this question a thousand times. You answer,—It has accelerated Catholic Emancipation. I deny it: it postponed it. Five acts of emancipation were passed in Ireland in twelve years, and then came the Union in seven years afterwards, lest the measure should be ultimately carried. It was indeed tardily conceded by Great Britain, when those who long opposed it suddenly turned round, deserted their ancient adherents, and claimed the merit of liberality for what was extorted from their fear. Does any man who hears me know how the Union was brought about?—that it was avowed in the Irish Parliament that a rebellion had been fostered for the purpose, and that it cost the government £400,000. to buy over the Opposition. In short, it may be safely said that all other corruptions were pure and honest compared with the gross, bare-faced corruption which accomplished the Irish Union. Cavalry and infantry were employed to prevent public meetings; and if a design of the kind at Clonmel had been persevered in for one moment longer, the streets would have flowed with the blood of the Protestant gentry. What advantage has Ireland derived from the Union? Nothing but disadvantage. The rental of Ireland ought to be twelve millions, and no less than five millions of that sum were remitted to absentees. The productive taxation of Ireland has been diminished since the Union to the extent of three millions; although the population has more than doubled, the consumption of tea, wine, and sugar, has decreased. In short, there is not a single piece of evidence derived from the state of the revenue which does not prove that Ireland has been grievously injured by the Union.

Upon this subject I agree perfectly with Mr. O'Connell, and always have. His opponents forget, that the Union is one of the causes of the fires in Kent. The Union drives the poor Irish hither; and, how many stacks and barns have

been consumed, because the owners had employed *Irish labourers*! The Union, by drawing away the resources of Ireland, has greatly assisted to impoverish that country. It has left it without proprietors who feel an interest in the fate of the people; and, in a thousand ways, it has done harm to England at the same time.

PETITIONING THE KING.

TO THE

Industrious Classes of London and its Vicinity.

Bolt-Court, 4th Nov., 1830.

FRIENDS,

The following letter will speak for itself; and when you have read it, and the answer I got to it, you will be so good as to bestow a moment on the few remarks that I shall have to offer on the subject.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Many thousands of your Majesty's loyal and suffering subjects, being of the industrious classes of London and its vicinity, having signed a humble petition to your Majesty, praying that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take our great and manifold grievances into your royal consideration, and I having, with others, been reputed to be the bearer of the said petition to your Majesty, I beg leave humbly to pray that I may be informed of the time when, and of the place where, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to admit us into your royal presence, in order that we may, with every sentiment of duty towards your Majesty, perform a duty which we deem of the greatest importance, not only to ourselves, but to the whole of this now deeply-distressed and afflicted nation.

I am your Majesty's most dutiful, most humble, and most obedient subject,

WM. COBBETT.

*Bolt-Court, Fleet-Street,
Oct. 30th, 1830.*

ANSWER.

*St. James's Palace,
Nov. 1, 1830.*

SIR,—I have been honoured with the King's commands to reply to your letter of the 30th ult., that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the official channel of petitions to his Majesty.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

H. TAYLOR.

To Mr. Wm. Cobbett.

"Short and sweet"; but, short as it is, there is a grammatical error in it. I really have a mind to send to the writer

a copy of my English grammar. But who, or, rather, *what* is he? We have, indeed, heard of him, for many years. He seems to descend from king to king like an appendage of the crown; but, we know nothing of any ostensible, and particularly of any responsible, office that the laws and usages of this kingdom assign him. For my part, I could not think of having any correspondence with him; and, as I wished to refrain from doing any thing that might by any powers of stretching, be construed into disrespect towards the King, I here dropped the matter in this way, and made my report to the meeting at the ROTUNDA, on Wednesday (yesterday) evening.

I had in my possession a similar petition from HUGH WYCOMBE and its vicinity, signed by 535 men, mostly in the middle class of life, which petition the petitioners, through Mr. JOHN LEADBEATER, had done me the very great honour of delegating me to present to the King, an honour far greater, in my estimation, than any which this, or any other, king is, or ever will be able, to bestow. These petitioners had taken the pains to write this long petition on parchment, and in a most beautiful manner. I shall keep it with care, till sent for by Mr. Leadbeater; and I would advise him to keep it till the King will be pleased to condescend to receive petitions, as every king and queen of England did, until the middle of the reign of George III., and until the commencement of the war against the republicans of France.

A "right to petition the King" never meant, and does not now mean, a right to send or carry a petition to the Secretary of State's Office. It means putting a petition into the King's hand; as always has been, and yet is, the custom in all the kingly governments of Europe. Even Charles X. received, without any objection or obstacle, petitions from the hands of the poorest of the people. The moment this King came to the throne, I earnestly besought him to revive the practice in England, and thus to come close to his people. He has rejected the advice:

he said, that his father and brother were *the best of kings*, and, apparently, he is desirous of being, and of being thought to be, *as good as they*.

WM. COBBETT.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

DISTURBANCES IN KENT.

MEETING OF THE MAGISTRATES IN CANTERBURY.—On Saturday afternoon last, at four o'clock, a numerous meeting of landowners, occupiers, and others interested in agriculture, took place in a large room of the Corn and Hop Exchange, opposite the Rose Inn, to consider means to secure tranquillity amongst the labouring classes, and prevent the destruction of agricultural property by nightly incendiaries.

At the hour above stated, at least 500 persons had assembled, and many others were prevented entering the room, from the densely crowded state of it.

The High Sheriff of the County of Kent (EDWARD RICE, Esq., of Dace Court) took the Chair, and, after briefly recapitulating the proceedings at the Sessions House, and reading the resolutions founded upon them, called upon those gentlemen who had any observations to offer, to deliver themselves of them to the meeting.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA said there was no one individual who regretted more deeply than himself the aggression of those who, in defiance of all law and moral feeling, had destroyed the property of their neighbours and their employers, under an impression that it was the very source of all the evil and calamity that afflicted them; he alluded to the destruction of threshing-machines; a circumstance, however, so much to be deplored, was by no means equal in magnitude and blackness of character to the nightly conflagrations which most of them had been witness to. Those conflagrations were of a nature to create alarm in the breasts of every one; and, unless some speedy measure was adopted to stop the turpitude of the incendiaries, those sources from which, in a great measure, the subsistence of the agricultural population was derived would be destroyed; instead, therefore, of things assuming a better aspect, sufferings of more than ordinary magnitude might be culminated upon. There was one subject to which he would call the attention of the meeting: he alluded to a statement, invented by the very genius of hyperbole, it was this: that he had met a body of labourers, and, through motives of fear, had given them three sovereigns in money to get quit of their importunities. He had, he could assure the meeting, none of those apprehensions which the author of that paragraph imagined from the labouring population. He did think any man ought to entertain timidity, where property and every thing that was dear to him was at stake. Himself, he would risk

is life to serve his country; indeed, his prior conduct testified that he was not to be alarmed, unless, perhaps, upon occasions of more than ordinary emergency. The fact was, that he met a body of labourers, who applied to him to supply them with a few shillings. He felt at the moment, that, being a magistrate, if he gave them money, it might be taken as a seeming encouragement to their proceedings; but, upon a little consideration, and the appearance of the men, whose feelings which he entertained at first yielded, he hoped, to a more generous spirit, and he handed what they required; but not before he had elicited from them a pledge that they would return peaceably to their homes, and promise not to offend the laws, and also an assurance from a respectable individual (Mr. Harrison) that their case was a very hard one, and deserved commiseration. The peasantry had long been visited with distress; they had borne that distress with exemplary patience and fortitude. They had remained silent while their sufferings bore down upon them with an onerous pressure; and although they had now shown a disposition to endeavour to mitigate their own condition, as they fallaciously hoped, by the breaking of machinery, he had no doubt that if they were *equitably remunerated* for their daily toil, they would throw off the garb of animosity, and return to that state of quietude they had with much credit so long and so manfully sustained. For his own part he was ready, even to the putting down of his establishment, to meet his tenantry in such a way as would enable them to requite the workmen in a suitable manner. Every able-bodied man, willing to work, *ought to be amply paid for his labour*, and no other mode, in his opinion, was so well calculated to conciliate good order. In the mean time the Magistrates had very properly devised a project that would probably allay public irritation. Now, if the meeting would sanction him in what he was about to request it would do, he had no doubt of its good effect. He would shortly take his seat in the Legislature, where he would have an opportunity of detailing the excesses that had been committed, and of asking permission to *pull out the yeomanry force of the county to assist in quelling the disturbance*. He considered it the most constitutional one that could be employed, at the same time that it was the most efficient to be called into action for such a purpose.

Mr. John CRAMP eulogized the conduct of the Earl of Winchilsea, and assured him that, if he succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Government, there would not be a yeoman found that would not willingly rally round his Lordship's banners.

The High Sheriff then informed the meeting that he had had a conversation with the Secretary of State, who promised he would furnish every assistance in his power to restore public tranquillity.

The resolutions passed at the Sessions'

House, and another, embracing the Earl of All who came behaved themselves with great propriety.

Winchilsea's proposition, being put to the meeting, was carried *unanimously*.

The Earl of Winchilsea was immensely applauded during the delivery of his speech.

Most of the farmers in Canterbury, on Saturday, determined to advance the price of their labourers' wages.

On Monday another meeting of the Magistrates of the county was held at the Sessions House in Maidstone, pursuant to notices issued from the Marquess of Camden, as Lord-Lieutenant of the county. The meeting was one of the largest assembled for years past, there being not less than fifty-five present, amongst whom were the Earl of Winchilsea, the Earl of Amherst, Lord Clifton, the Hon. James W. King, the Hon. J. R. Townshend, the Hon. J. Wingfield Stratford, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir Thomas Maryan Wilson, Sir Brook Bridges, Sir Charles Farquhar, and Sir Henry Hawley, Barons; J. L. Hodges, Esq., M.P., F. H. Lushington, Esq., &c. &c. The Marquess of Camden took the Chair; but, as the proceedings were not public, all that can be known was the result of their deliberations, which was the following resolutions, passed unanimously.

That the Justices of this county, in consequence of the daring outrages lately committed, feel themselves called upon to declare their firm determination to suppress all illegal assemblies, and to preserve the peace of the county, by calling into active execution the powers vested in them by law.

"That, with this view, constant communications be established between the Justices acting in the different divisions.

"That the Justices will, in their respective districts, consult and advise with the parishioners as to the best mode of employing the labourers at proper and sufficient wages."

These Resolutions are signed by the noble Chairman, and it is intended to print and distribute them in the different divisions of the county.

There was also a meeting of the labouring classes about the same time on Penenden-heath. The number, at the utmost, did not amount to a thousand; but it was supposed that they would be much more numerous, and that perhaps the Magistrates or military would interfere; such, however, was not the case. There was a large placard mounted on a pole, in the middle of the Heath, round which the crowd assembled; it was inscribed as follows:—"Reform of the Commons House—Right of Vote for all men of 21 years of age; Vote by Ballot—Annual or two years' Parliaments. These rights and privileges, or nothing. Respect the soldiers, for they are our friends." Between twelve and one o'clock, a great number of labourers from Thurnham and its neighbourhood arrived on the Heath. Their appearance was in the extreme of wretchedness; some had neither shoes nor stockings, and the garments of others (indeed of the most) betokened great distress and poverty.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1830.

• INSOLVENTS.

OCT. 29.—BRUOKE, J., Twig-Folly, Bethnal-green, bookseller.

OCT. 27.—GONTEITH, R., Sloane-street, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

CLARKE, C., Old Gravel-lane, St. George-in-the-East, corn-dealer.

EASTMAN, H. jun., Rood-lane, Fenchurch-street, and Homerton-terrace, Hackney, broker.

GARRATT, G., High-street, St. Marylebone, victualler.

KNAPP, F., Camhorne, Cornwall, victualler.

KIRKPATRICK, J., Clitheroe, Lancashire, wine-merchant.

LARGE, J., Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, coach-maker.

LONGDEN, S., Finch-lane, Cornhill, wine-merchant.

MONCRIEF, J., Peckham, master-mariner.

ROACH, R. S., Cateaton-street, cap-manufacturer.

RUDD, H. and T. Rye, Star-and-Garter-yard, Ratcliff-highway, colour-makers.

WALKER, T., Bugbrooke, Northamptonshire, victualler.

WHEELER, F. S., Linkfield-lane, Islington, plumber.

WILDY, J., Oxford-street, hatter.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1830.

BANKRUPTS.

BREMNER, A., Coleman street, merchant.

BURNE, T., J. Smith, and P. Woodgate, jun., Watling-street, warehousemen.

CANSON, B., Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, victualler.

CATTLE, W., Sheriff Hutton, Yorkshire, cattle-dealer.

CHAPMAN, J., Liverpool, Lancashire, merchant.

CHAPMAN, R., York, innkeeper.

DIX, J. E., Lamb's-Conduit-street, tea-dealer and grocer.

EVANS, T., Welchpool, Montgomeryshire, grocer.

GREY, G. L. V., Hanover-place, Regent's-park, oilman.

HIRST, W., Leeds, merchant and woollen-cloth-manufacturer.

HOLDITCH, S., Totness, Devonshire, merchant.

MACHIN, W., Nelson-street, Greenwich, grocer.

RICKARBY, W., Oxford-street, linen-draper.

TAPLIN, W., Basingstoke, Southampton, ironmonger.

THORINGTON, H. J., Battle-bridge-wharf, builder.

WHITLEY, R., Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, NOV. 2.—The supplies of Wheat to-day are very small in proportion to the demand, and fine samples have readily obtained 2s. advance. Higher prices have been asked. The prices named for Barley have been considerably higher; but though the demand is great, and the supply extremely small, the Maltsters have refused to give more than 2s. advance, not being able to obtain a proportionate price for Malt. Oats are in full supply, and remain steady at our last quotation. Of White Peas there are but very few in the market, and 6s. advance has been asked, and in some instances given. Flour remains steady.

Wheat	54s. to 72s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	34s. to 36s.
— fine	40s. to 44s.
Peas, White	48s. to 52s.
— Boilers	54s. to 56s.
— Grey	38s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	34s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoe	28s. to 30s.
— Poland	24s. to 28s.
— Feed	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last	26s. to 28s.

SMITHFIELD.—The very prime Beef has obtained an advance of 2d. per stone; Mutton, Veal, and Pork, remain at our last quotation. The supply has been nearly the same as on this day se'nnight, with a moderately brisk market for the best sorts, but dull and heavy for the inferior kinds.

Beef	3s. 6d. to 4s. 0d.
Mutton	3s. 10d. to 4s. 6d.
Veal	4s. 6d. to 5s. 0d.
Pork	4s. 4d. to 5s. 0d.
Beasts at market	3,160
Sheep	25,400
Pigs	230
Calves	157

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

Borough, Nov. 13.—Our market remains much the same; all good bags and pockets meet a ready sale at high prices, the low and middling very little demand for. Currency: New Sussex Pockets, 84 9s. to 10l.; Kent, 9l. 9s. to 14l. 11s.; choice higher bags, 5l. to 12l. 12s. 1829, 140s. to 160s. 1828, 130s. to 150s. 1827, 90s. to 110s. 1826, 20s. to 105s. Duty, 98,000l. to 100,000l.

SMITHFIELD—Thursday.

This day's supply was, throughout, moderately good. Beef, Mutton, and Pork met with a very sluggish sale, at barely Monday's quotations; Veal at a depression of full 4d. per stone. Lamb seems to have gone out of season. Milch Cows, which were again numerous, looked, in the whole, a little downwards; they barely supporting their last week's currency, which was for a useful short-horns, with her small calf, from 19l. to 20l.; to calve by the middle of this month, 18l. to 19l. Prime Beef, from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 8d.;

middling Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 4d. to 4s. 4d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 2d.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 14lbs., to sink the offal. Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 42s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each. Supply as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 722; Sheep and Lambs, 6960; Calves, 240; Pigs, 190.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 5.

There is a Fair demand for wheat and barley, at Monday's prices. The supply of oats from Ireland being very large, the price has given way 1s. per quarter.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	4,300	
Wheat	2,150	6,050
Barley	5,400	700
Oats	5,100	250 20,020

IMPORTATIONS LAST WEEK.—English: Wheat, 3321; Barley, 5888; Oats, 12,975; Malt, 1218; Beans, 1608; Peas, 762; Flour, 6601. Irish: Oats, 2750; Flour, 270. Foreign: Wheat, 2429; Barley, 340; Oats, 2670; Flour, 750.

The following are the AVERAGES OF CORN made up to Saturday last:—
Imperial Weekly Average.—Wheat, 61s 3d. Barley, 34s. 11d. Oats, 32s. 10d. Rye, 34s. 1d. Beans, 38s. 5d. Peas, 42s. 9d.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.
Cons. Ann.	84½	83½	83½	82½	81½	80½

Just published, containing 16 pages in 8vo., price 2d.,

COBBETT'S PLAN of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, addressed to the YOUNG MEN of ENGLAND. This publication, which formed one half of the last Register, and which should be read by every man in the kingdom at this eventful crisis, has been reprinted in this cheap form, by Mr. Cobbett's permission, for universal distribution.

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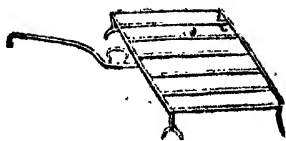
THE OBSERVER of Sunday, November 7th, price only Seven-pence.—**CIVIC BANQUET TO THE KING and QUEEN.**—The order of Procession and all other particulars connected with the Preparations for the Reception of their Majesties will be given in **THE OBSERVER** of Sunday, November 7th, illustrated by an accurate Engraving of the splendid Interior of Guildhall, according to the form it will assume at the Festival to be given to the King and Queen on Lord Mayor's Day. This will be followed by another Engraving in **The Observer** of the ensuing week (Sunday, Nov. 14), illustrative of the Ceremonies to be observed on the same important occasion. A Monday Edition of **The Observer** is regularly published at No. 169, Strand, every Monday Afternoon, at Four o'clock.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 70.—No. 20.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13TH, 1830.

[Price 1s.



READERS OF THE REGISTER.

On the Lord Mayor's Day affair, and on the present state of things.

Bolt-Court, November 9th, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

You, who have been readers of the Register for three or four-and-twenty years, must remember, that I never was one of those who applauded the Duke of Wellington, even as a military commander; that I particularly disapproved of many of his acts in that capacity, and especially of those at *Paris*, relative to MARSHAL NEV, and to the MUSEUMS; and that I condemned, in terms as severe as I thought prudent, the heaping upon him such immense sums of the public money, so far, in my opinion, beyond any possible merit of any human being, to all which I was, as I frequently stated, urged, too, by a conviction in my mind, that, at no distant day, the nation would discover, that all the "victories," as they were called, which he had gained, were events to be lamented instead of being subjects of joy.

You remember, my friends, the affair of the *Serpentine River*; you remember the roasting of the oxen and sheep in 1814; you remember the visit of the kings and of "Old Blucher;" you remember the *White Cockade* and that of the "*Orange Bovan*;" you remember the exultations at the news from Waterloo; you remember that, when every other throat of the press was stretched wide with clamorous joy, from my voice was heard no sounds but those of anticipated embarrassment to the government and calamity to the nation. For several years the Duke made no conspicuous figure in public affairs; but, the

moment he did, I foretold his fate. Every calamity had arisen from the heavy burdens that the people had to bear. I was quite sure, that, *without a radical reform in parliament*, he had no power to lighten this burden to any considerable extent; and I had no idea that he would make such reform. Therefore, I distinctly bade him look forward to a total loss of his fame. I did, in fact, expect that he would experience much greater mortification than I ventured to describe; I expected, and confidently expected, to see him come down very low, and I said, in the month of June last, that if he did not resort to the people, he must quit his post, and that, in that case, he never would be heard of more; but, that which has now befallen him I really never anticipated; yet, now that it has happened, it appears to have been no more than the natural result of the progress of public opinion; so true it is, that, when the event comes, we see causes that we never saw before.

The fate of the Duke has in it every circumstance to make it mortifying to him. Not only have the loud huzzas that used to burst forth at his appearance been turned into hisses, groans and execrations; but, the grand occasion, which has decided his fate has this singularity in it, that, whereas the late King was said to take the Duke close by his side to the Guildhall, in order that the former might share in the marks of popularity bestowed on the latter, the present King has been actually prevented from going to that same Guildhall lest his going thither, accompanied by the Duke, should, in consequence of popular violence committed on the Duke, lead to tumult, and even to bloodshed! And, as if these facts were not sufficient to mark the depth of the fall, comes this further circumstance, that, such has been the character of the whole proceeding, that a vast proportion of the public impute motives of personal fear, to him who has, for twenty years, been denominated "a hero," and who has,

X

for sixteen years been, in both Houses of Parliament, called "the greatest Captain of the age, the conqueror of Buonaparte, and the twice conqueror of France." And now for the history of the last, the signal, proof of this surprising fall.

Though it is well known to most of my English readers, it may be known but very imperfectly, if at all, to many readers in other countries into which the Register finds its way, that the chief magistrate of London, who is called the LORD MAYOR, and who fills his office for a year and then retires, enters on his office on the ninth of November; that this, which is called the LORD MAYOR'S DAY, is a day which, for many ages, has been a day of festivity and display of grandeur in London, the Lord Mayor regaling the members of the Corporation, the twelve Judges, the Ministers of State, the foreign Ambassadors, and other distinguished persons, at a dinner, which is served in the most magnificent style, in an immense hall, called the Guildhall; that, this year, the Corporation solicited of the King and Queen that they would be graciously pleased to honour the feast with their presence, a solicitation to which their Majesties readily yielded; that accordingly preparations of the grandest and most sumptuous description were made for their reception and entertainment; that the public expectation had, by a full detail of these splendid preparations, been greatly excited for about three weeks; that the Guildhall of the City is situated at about two miles from Saint James's Palace, from which the King and Queen were to go in grand state, accompanied by the Ministers, Judges, Ambassadors, and all that was calculated to attract the curiosity of the idle and the admiration of the foolish and thoughtless; that, to accommodate persons of this description, who could afford the expense, benches had been prepared for sitting at the windows of all the houses on both sides of the streets, from the palace to the Guildhall, and erections for the same purpose had been made round the greater part of St. Paul's Church-Yard, while the lamps, devices, transparencies and other preparations for illuminations, were quite enormous, exceeding, in expense, perhaps, ten thousand pounds.

This was the state of the affair on Sunday, the 7th, and so little did the city authorities think, on that day, of any change in the arrangements, that even on Sunday the workmen, were employed in constructing gas-works for a grand illumination over the ancient city gateway, called Temple Bar. What, then, was the surprise, what the disappointment, what the consternation, of this immense mass of people, when they saw the announcement contained in the letter of the Secretary of State to the Lord Mayor, which letter will be found under the head of "DOMESTIC AFFAIRS"! It is true, however, that from the first talk of the intended feast, a pretty general murmur was heard against it. Men asked whence the cost was to come, and they pretty quickly traced it to the pockets of the industrious part of the community; and besides this, it was thought not only indecent, but cruel and inhuman, that such a waste of food and such extravagant expenditure should take place, while so many millions of the people were notoriously pinched with hunger, and while some of the finest parts, not only of England, but of this whole world, were actually convulsed and bordering on a state of open rebellion on account of that hunger. Supposing the cost to be 20,000*l.*, which, probably, would have been far short of the mark, here was a sum equal to the wages (when employed) of all the agricultural labourers in the county of Kent for nearly a fortnight. There are 30,000 of such labourers' families in Kent; supposing 2,000 of these to be farmers, here is about 15*s.* to each of these families! The means thus wasted would have been equal to the wages of ALL agricultural labourers in Bedfordshire for nearly a month!

Such thoughts would naturally come into men's minds, and they would naturally produce a good deal of disapprobation of the feast. But, in the meanwhile, the Parliament met; on the 2d of November the King made to it the

Speech inserted in the last Register, which greatly disappointed the people in general, who expected him to recommend something for *their relief*, but who saw in the Speech nothing of that sort, but something of a menace. To this omission was added the speech of the Duke of Wellington, *declaring against Parliamentary reform*, and in such terms as to give offence to at least ninety-nine hundredths of the people! From this moment the general observation was, "The Duke will *get it on Tuesday!*" And though no serious thing was expected by sensible men, every one thought that the Duke would experience every mark of opprobrium that the people could bestow upon him. Besides these natural anticipations, he had already been hissed, hooted, and *even pelted*, by the people in Westminster.

But now let us hear his own story; in his own words, as reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of Tuesday, the 9th. He began by reading the letter of the LORD MAYOR ELDER, which will be seen as above-mentioned, and which *apprised him of danger to his person*. "Hence," said he, "although I felt myself personally to be placed under the same protection of the laws as any other subject in the kingdom, I did not think I was justified in making confusion and tumult in the procession which was to attend his Majesty, by adopting the advice of the writer of this letter, and seeking protection from the civil and military power in such a way as would be likely to produce that very disturbance which all men were so anxious to avoid. Under these circumstances, when I received the letter I have referred to, I felt it my duty to refrain from attending at the City feast. My Lords, I communicated this determination to my colleagues, and we found on that occasion, from the letter, from other letters which I had received, and from letters received by my Right Hon. Friend, the Secretary of State, on the same subject, that it was very possible that a tumult would occur in the City on the occasion of his Majesty's visit; and we thought it our duty to recom-

mend his Majesty to postpone his visit. And we were induced to come to this determination in consequence of all the information we received of various descriptions. We have no doubt whatever, from the information conveyed to us from a variety of quarters, information on which we could rely, that an attack would be made on the Police, that there was a plan laid to extinguish the lights, and a variety of attempts to be made to excite riot and disorder. My Lords, we had no doubt that we should know how to suppress those tumults; but I must say that I considered it far preferable not to hazard the risk of riot and confusion occurring in the presence of the Sovereign, and we therefore recommended the Sovereign not to put himself in a situation to be the witness of such tumults. My Lords, it was solely on this view that we recommended to His Majesty to postpone his visit, as I conceive it impossible that such confusion and tumult should exist without ending in bloodshed. The people, my Lords, would be collected together to witness a pageant, the pageant of His Majesty going in state to visit the Corporation of the City of London, and confer on the Lord Mayor the honour of dining with him. His Majesty and his Ministers, and the great officers of State, and the foreign Ambassadors, could not go to the City of London without causing a great collection of people, and making it very probable that riot and confusion would take place. I say, my Lords, that there was a great chance and a very great chance, that there would be serious consequences to his Majesty's subjects, and therefore we recommended his Majesty not to go. The noble Duke (Richmond) has asked if the news of disorder and tumult was confined to the City of London, and if there were apprehensions of riot in other places? There were not. It was sufficient to me there were such apprehensions in the City. With some parts of the country other noble Lords must be

"better acquainted than I am. The noble Duke himself must know more than I do, as to the disposition of the people in Sussex. In Surrey and one or two other counties, as is known to your Lordships, there have been some disorders; there has been some stoppage of work in Lancashire, but I know nothing beyond these to disturb the national tranquillity at this moment. At the same time I cannot doubt the truth of the information communicated by the Lord Mayor Elect, namely, that there would have been confusion and tumult in the city had the pageant taken place. After having said so much, I shall only add that I have no objection whatever to produce the document asked for; and I can assure your Lordships that there is no inclination in the Government of the country, or in any other Government that I am acquainted with, to do any thing which is likely to disturb the peace of Europe."

This is quite wonderful! Is this, can this be, "*the greatest Captain of the age*"! Are these the words of the man, who called county-meetings "*a farce*"! But, does the Duke tell the whole of the story? Oh, no! for Mr. KEY, the Lord Mayor elect, has let it out, that he had a communication with Peel BEFORE he wrote this letter to the Duke! Who is to believe, then, that Peel did not advise him to write this letter? Look (under the head of Domestic Affairs) at the report of proceedings in the Common Council, and you will perceive that Mr. KEY says, in excuse for his writing the letter, that he had PREVIOUSLY been with Peel, and that, in the course of the conversation, Peel said, "*What shall we do with the Duke of Wellington*"! Good God! Just such, I dare say, were the questions put to each other by the affrighted mariners before they resolved to throw poor JONAN overboard! "*What shall we do with the Duke of Wellington*"! Just as if the Duke had got the small-pox or the plague; or, just as if he had been a barrel of gunpowder, while the lightning was dart-

ing about from the clouds! There only wanted a little change in the appellation to make the thing complete. "*What shall we do with the hero of Waterloo, the twice conqueror of France, the greatest captain of the age*?" There only wanted these appellations, coming from the lips of the son of the cotton-weaver, to make the thing complete. "*What shall we do with the man on whom the kings of England have bestowed every honour that they have had the power to bestow, the man with more than forty titles and decorations, the man who is a Duke, a Grandee and a Prince; what shall we do with him*?" If the question had thus been lengthened, it could, however, not have added force to the idea; for these circumstances have all occurred to the whole of the public.

But, how came this question to be put by Peel to Mr. KEY? Will any one believe, that Mr. KEY had not been representing to Peel, that, if the Duke were out of the way, all would be safe enough? To be sure; and then the question of Peel was natural enough. "*What shall we do with the Duke*?" That is, how shall we get him out of the way, so that we may get quietly along? Now, will any man pretend to believe, that Mr. KEY's letter was not the result of this interview with Peel? Will any man pretend to believe, that Peel did not know that the letter was about to be written? And, if he did know it, will any one believe, that he kept the Lord Mayor's intention a secret from the Duke? And, will any man pretend to believe, that this was not the true reason why Mr. KEY wrote the letter without consulting the court of Aldermen? If he had consulted them before he wrote the letter, there would have been some, at least, to protest against it, and that would have been enough to mar the project; for, nothing short of a document-like letter could have been sufficient to form even a pretext for the measure that was adopted. The plain truth, then, appears to be this: that the Duke found that his unpopularity was so great, that he could not go in the procession without the danger of producing

riot and confusion; that he had, therefore, to choose, between causing this danger to the peace of the metropolis and disgrace to himself, and the disgrace of *keeping out of the way*, while the King and the rest met with no insult at all. He chose neither; but chose to *prevent the procession altogether!* The King, particularly with the Queen, might have passed *quietly along, he being absent*; but, certainly not, *he being present*. Whether his presence were *absolutely necessary*; whether to avoid the disgrace, very deep I allow, of keeping away upon such an occasion, it was right, in a prime minister to render it *necessary* for the Corporation to *issue a declaration, that the King was popular and would have been well received*; these are questions, my friends, which I leave you and the world to answer, having myself no desire to press upon a man, who, though from his own acts and language, has experienced a fall greater than any man that I ever heard of, Cardinal Wolsey not excepted. Wolsey and others have fallen by the caprice of tyrants, or by public convulsions; but here is a whole people, gradually changing their admiration and gratitude into contempt and resentment. He said lately, at a dinner at Manchester, that he did not desire to retain his office any longer than he had the support and approbation of men like those by whom he was then surrounded. He has them not now; no, nor one particle of them; and, therefore, according to his own professions, he now ought to *resign*.

But (and this brings me to my second topic) *who is to fill his place*; and of what use would the change be? It is a very ugly feature in the state of the aristocracy, that, while every one cries, "*Down with Wellington*," not a single voice cries "*up*" with *any body else!* The poor Duke, verifying the old remark, that misfortunes never come by *ones*, has, to comfort him in his loss of the London feast, the delectable news that the Belgians are about to pull down the *mound and the lion*, raised, on "*the Field of Waterloo*," to perpetuate his renown. I said, in August, that they would not stand *a year from that*

time. Others, who might fill his place, have not these mortifications to endure; they may, without *immediate difficulty* and inconsistency, allow Belgium to become a *Republic*, or to become a *part of France*; but they cannot avoid the *consequences* of such events; and those consequences *must* be great to England. Lord Londonderry was quite right when he said that the revolution in France was *only commencing*. That fact, which is pleasing to us, the people, is a fearful fact for the *aristocracy*; for who is to believe that the present system, or any thing like the present system, can stand, when there shall be *no hereditary right*, and *no paid clergy*, existing in France; and when the communication between Hertfordshire and the Department of the Seine shall be as close as that between England and Scotland? It is against these things, and particularly against the inevitable effects of the *establishment of a republic in France*, that the English Government will have to provide. There can, I think, be hardly a man so foolish as to hope that the present poor thing of a government can continue in France for any length of time. The recent *change in the ministry* is no change of *things*, but merely of *names*. It is the *nature of the government* that demands a change. It is a *cheap government* that is wanted; and that the people cannot have with their present form. What is the use of M. LAFFITTE calling himself a *republican*: it is not the *name*, but the *thing*, that the people want; and that thing they will have. So that our Duke's resigning would be of no use, as regards France. The Whigs could do nothing to prevent a republic in France; and yet, if they could not, how would they be able to uphold the present state of things in England!

But how, without a *very great change*, are they to *uphold the present state of things* in England, independent of all effects from foreign causes? I am not supposing danger to the Government and aristocracy from "*mobs*," nor even from sudden attacks, like that of Paris; but from the *general discontent*, growing daily greater and greater, and arising

solely from the *weight of the taxes*. How is this discontent to be allayed? By nothing under heaven but a *relief from the burdens that produce it*. And how is that burden to be taken off without blowing up the Debt? And how is the Debt to be blown up, and the aristocracy stand? Before, therefore, Lord Winchelsea calls for *Lord Grey*, let him tell Lord Grey how *he* is to do that which the Duke cannot do.

If it be not absolute madness, it is infatuation little short of it, to believe, or it is matchless insincerity to affect to believe, that the violences in Kent are not only *not the work of the labourers of Kent*, but that the labourers are *singularly well affected towards the owners and occupiers of the land*! PEARL and KNATCHBULL assert this boldly, and yet their hearers *do not laugh*! There are others who are basely impudent enough to assert, that the labouring people are *as well off as they ever were*; and that, too, in defiance of hundreds of facts stated to committees of the House of Commons itself! However, the *state of the country and the fate of the aristocracy*, are topics which I must reserve for my next, when I mean to publish what I shall call "*LAST WORDS TO LORDS*;" for, after that, never will I address them, or any of them, again. I will, next week, *tell their fortunes* for them; and will then leave them to strut and hector about as long as they like, or, rather, as long as they can.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since the above was written, it was published that LORD KEY and HIS LADY WERE TO DINE WITH THE KING AND QUEEN AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE! That would have been enough for any man who can put two ideas together. But even now there can be no doubt as to the *real origin* of Lord Key's letter.

TO THE OLD LADY.

Bolt-Court, November 11th, 1830.

MY DEAR MAMMA,

Who, amongst all your sons, has been so constant in affection and attention to you as I have! But, if you were the

subject of my lofty eulogiums in 1816, when I said, that, *with you at our back*, we cared for nothing; if this was my language *then*, whence are to come the words to express my love and admiration of you NOW, when you are not only embarrassing, puzzling, bothering, teasing, tormenting, tying the hands and restraining the jaws, of our own corrupt and rapacious and insolent and bloody-minded boroughmongers; but are, at the same time, throwing your *ample under-garment* over the *infant Republics of Belgium and of France*! Kind, generous old matron! I was always for *petticoat-government*; and who will rebel against it *now*! Great, indeed, is your danger at present; one of Dr. BARING's "*cold fits*" is, it seems, upon you, and also (from sympathy) upon your daughter at Paris; but, there is in you, my dear mother, this rare excellence, that, whether *in living or in dying*, you serve us; as long as you have breath in your body, you keep in check, you benumb the limbs of, *the most hellish foes of justice and freedom*; and, whenever you die, those *hellish foes die too*! Wonderful woman! You render them powerless as long as you live; and, whenever you turn up your toes, they are found dead at your heels! They would cause you to be murdered; aye, that they would, and, like Charles X. and Polignac, would play at cards, or be out sporting, while the murder was committing; but your life, bad as it is for them, is still not so bad as would be your death. The republicans of France and of Belgium, aye, and even the Americans, are the most ungrateful wretches that ever lived, if they do not, in expressions and in feelings of admiration and gratitude, cordially join your ever affectionate son,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER II.

TO

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH.

London, 8th November, 1830.

SIR,

In my former letter I endeavoured to convince you, that it was the system of

public debts and funds, that had been one great cause of the ruin of England, and that would now be the ruin of your government, if you did not *speedily resolve to abandon this fatal system*. I endeavoured to convince you, that taxes, raised to pay the interest of a *public debt*, operated most mischievously; that they created bands of idlers to live in luxury on the fruit of the labour of the industrious; that they caused *monopolies* by drawing the property of the country into few hands; that they caused seasons of *false prosperity* and of *real distress*; that they produced want of employment and all its attendant miseries, and, in the end, a violent overthrow of the government. I observed to you, that it was the *desire to uphold* this system in France that was the *real cause of all your present difficulties*; that to this cause was to be ascribed the strange adherence to laws of Charles X. for enchainning the press; that to this motive, and this motive alone, was to be ascribed your abandonment of the brave Belgians; and to this cause was to be ascribed the non-dissolution of the Chambers, the upholding of an hereditary peerage, and also that strange, that indescribable act, *the attempt to save the lives of Polignac and his colleagues in tyranny and blood*, and that, too, by an *ex post facto law*, founded on pretexts so manifestly insincere as not to admit of adequate reprobation. I endeavoured to convince you, that a nation, however great in valour and resources, can never assert its rights, maintain its honour, or even provide for its independence, if loaded with a public debt; for this *war* destroys the fund-holders, and that, in time the government becomes so firmly linked to them, that it cannot go to war without being destroyed too. I showed you, that this was the *state of England now*; and that, therefore, it might be, and was prudent in our government *not to go to war to fulfil the treaties relative to Belgium*, because, by going to war it would, perhaps, *have overthrown itself*; but that this was not your case; for that the government of France was *already overthrown*; and, that, therefore, it appeared very strange

to us, that France should see the Belgians slaughtered by the cowardly and bloody Dutch, without *marching to their protection*.

After these observations, I expressed my wonder, that the *new government* of France should have kept in *full force* all the *laws* of the old government, especially that odious law, which *compels a man to deposit 150,000 francs in the funds before he be allowed to print a newspaper*; a law which, in fact, says to him, "You shall become a fundholder; your fortune shall depend on the maintenance of the funds, as long as you be allowed to convey your thoughts to the people." I expressed my wonder also, that the money awarded to the widows and orphans of July, and even the *subscriptions* for their relief, should have been deposited in the *public funds*, thereby making them *fundholders too*. I expressed my wonder at this great, this extraordinary, this apparently unnatural desire, on the part of the *new government* to uphold the public funds, and to compel the people of France still to toil and sweat to pay the interest of a debt, which the *old government* had contracted, and contracted, too, to pay the allies, the emigrants and others, for enslaving France. I expressed my wonder that YOU, at any rate, should have seemed to wish to uphold this fatal and oppressive system of debts and funds, asking: "Why should YOU wish to support it? YOU can have no interest in its existence; and why should YOU bear the odium of being its supporter?" Alas! Sir, these words had not been in print three hours, when I learned a fact which explained all the mystery; namely, that YOU had, before the Revolution of July, and I HAVE NOW, about eight thousand pounds sterling, or TWO MILLIONS OF FRANCS, in the PUBLIC FUNDS OF ENGLAND!

Like a man, who, when shut up in a room, with doors and window-shutters closed, catching here and there a gleam of light through the key-holes, joints and cracks, and groping about in search of something hidden, finds a friendly hand to come and pull back the window.

shutters; like such a man was I, Sir, when informed of this fact! Away went all my wonder at what I had beheld! The crown being offered to you by a banker; a banker being chosen *president of the Chamber of Deputies*; the law of the new government *acknowledging the public debt*; the putting of Baron Louis and M. Guizot in the ministry; the sending of Talleyrand to England; the abandonment of the Belgians; the non-dissolution of the Chambers; the not extending of the right of voting to all men; the maintenance of the laws of Charles X., and especially that law which *compelled the journalists to be fundholders*; the putting of the money granted to the widows and orphans, and even the subscriptions for them, in the *public funds*; the great, the apparently unnatural, desire to *conciliate the friendship of England*; the obstacles that were thrown in the way to *prevent a deputation of the National Guard from coming to shake hands with their brothers, the working people of England*: all these, and every other thing, that had appeared so strange to me, were now explained; were now clear to my view, and appeared to be just as *natural* as they had appeared *unnatural* before! It was easy to see, that the endeavour to save the lives of the murdering Polignac and his colleagues was in compliance with the anxious wishes of the English government; but, it was not so easy to see the reason for your being so ready to comply with these wishes, even at so great a risk to yourself. Now, however, the reason is plain; the mystery is removed, and we see all as clear as day-light. It was manifest, that the English government saw its own safety involved in the proceedings in France and Belgium; that it saw, that if the French made a real republican change, and that this extended to Belgium, it must itself be compelled to make a great change in England. This was a very good reason for the English government to wish to see the French revolution stopped in its progress; but, it was no reason for YOU to wish it. But, when we find that you had, and have, two million francs depending upon the conti-

nuance of the present system in England, we see that you had and have a reason, and a powerful reason, for wishing to support this system in England; that you have, in short, a powerful motive for wishing that rotten boroughs and that all the taxes may continue in England; and, that you, therefore, have a powerful motive for preventing France from giving us an example of the contrary.

HE who could not err has told us, that "Where the treasure is, there will the heart be also;" and, therefore, he bids his disciples, to lay up treasures in HEAVEN. Not being able to act literally upon this precept, you have laid up your treasure in England, regarding it, doubtless (having such a fine government) as the terrestrial heaven. But, how will the French people, the sovereign people, look upon this matter? Will not they ask how their "citizen-king" came to regard the English funds safer than those of France? Will they not see in this fact a pretty good reason for the English Aristocracy praising you, while they call the brave people of Paris "a blood-thirsty mob"? That you might prefer the English to the French funds, while Charles X. reigned, would be only equivocal; but, that you should confide your treasure to the hands of the English government, rather than to the government of which you yourself are the chief, is a fact that speaks with so loud and clear a voice that no man can misunderstand it; and the question, that every sensible Frenchman will put to himself is this: whether it be possible, that he, who has placed his treasure under the protection of the English Government, can be proper person to be the Chief Magistrate of France. And every sensible Frenchman will exclaim, what a strange state of things; our chief is praised by the English aristocracy, and we abused by them; we have driven away the family with the white flag and have raised up the family with the tri-coloured flag, and yet both of them have their treasure (treasure derived from France) in the keeping of that Government which openly declares its hatred of our revolution!

Sir, I can have no motive for personal dislike to you ; I can know nothing of your character but as this is depicted in your acts ; I have no desire to excite disrespect towards you ; but, I feel uncommonly anxious that the people of France should, at last, enjoy that *real liberty* which is no more than the just reward of their innumerable sacrifices and of their wondrous valour ; and this I am convinced that they never will enjoy till they shake from them the accursed trammels drawn round them by loan-jobbers, fundholders, discounters, and Jews. The maxim of Voltaire, that,

"Bon ou mauvais, le Français veut un maître,"

does not apply to the French of the present day. They will, I am convinced, never have *a master again*. They have now had ample experience ; they have tasted the bitter fruit of that *costly* government which is inseparable from *hereditary right* ; the events of every day tend to confirm them in their dislike of it ; and, until France be a *real republic*, whether her chief magistrate be a *king* or not, she will never know tranquillity, and her government will never be cheerfully obeyed. You may, as I said before, change your *ministry*, and change and change again ; but, as long as your ministry shall endeavour to burden thirty-two millions of people *for the purpose of enriching those who, by means of public funds, live in luxury on the fruit of the labour of the people*, beautiful France will never know peace ; and you will never know happiness.

I am, Sir, your most obedient

and most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TRANSLATION.

LETTRE II.

A

LOUIS-PHILIPPE, ROI DES FRANÇAIS.

Londres, 8th Novembre, 1830.

SIRE,

DANS ma première lettre j'ai tâché de vous convaincre que c'était le système de dettes et de fonds publics, qui avait

été une des grandes causes de la ruine de l'Angleterre, et qu'il serait maintenant la ruine de votre gouvernement, si vous ne vous *décidiez pas promptement à abandonner ce fatal système*. Je me suis efforcé de vous convaincre que les taxes, levées pour payer l'intérêt d'une *dette publique*, produisaient les effets les plus désastreux ; qu'elles donnaient naissance à cette foule de fainéants qui vivent dans le luxe du fruit du travail de la classe industrielle ; qu'elles engendraient le *monopole* en concentrant la propriété dans les mains d'un petit nombre d'individus ; qu'elles créaient des saisons de *fausse prospérité* et de *détresse réelle* ; qu'elles produisaient le manque d'emploi et toutes les misères qui en sont inséparables, et, à la fin, le renversement violent du gouvernement. Je vous ai fait observer que c'était le *désir de maintenir ce système* en France, qui était la *cause réelle de tous les embarras dans lesquels vous vous trouvez* ; que c'était à cette cause qu'on devait attribuer l'étrange adhérence aux lois de Charles X. pour enchaîner la presse ; que c'était ce motif, et ce motif seul, qui vous avait fait abandonner les braves Belges ; et que telle était la cause de la non-dissolution des chambres, du maintien d'une pairie héréditaire, et aussi de cet acte étrange, incroyable, par lequel il *s'agissait de sauver la vie de Polignac et de ses collègues, tyrans sanguinaires comme lui*, et de les sauver, qui plus est, par une *loi faite exprès* et fondée sur des *prétences mensongères* qu'on ne saurait jamais assez exprimer son indignation à cet égard. Je n'ai rien négligé pour vous convaincre qu'une nation quelque grande qu'elle soit par sa valeur et par ses ressources, ne peut jamais défendre ses droits, conserver son honneur, ni même garantir son indépendance, si elle est chargée d'une dette publique ; parce que la *guerre* ruine les possesseurs de fonds, et que le gouvernement s'unissant étroitement avec eux ne peut faire la guerre sans être aussi anéanti. Je vous ai montré que telle était la *situation présente de l'Angleterre* ; et que, par conséquent, la prudence exigeait que *notre gouvernement ne fît pas la guerre pour l'exécution des*

traités relatifs à la Belgique, parce qu'en allant à la guerre il s'exposerait à se *renverser lui-même*; mais que ce n'était pas la *votre cas*; par cela même que le gouvernement de France était *déjà renversé*; et qu'en conséquence, il nous a paru fort étrange que la France ait laissé égorger les Belges par les lâches et féroces Hollandais sans courir à leur secours.

Après avoir fait ces observations, j'ai exprimé mon étonnement de ce que le *nouveau* gouvernement de France conservait dans toute *leur vigueur*; toutes les lois du vieux gouvernement, surtout cette loi odieuse, qui force *un individu* à déposer 150,000 francs dans les fonds avant qu'il lui soit permis de faire *imprimer un journal*; loi qui, en effet, lui dit; "vous deviendrez possesseur de fonds; *votre fortune dépendra du maintien des fonds aussi long-tems qu'il vous sera permis de communiquer vos pensées au peuple*." J'ai témoigné aussi mon étonnement de ce que l'argent accordé aux veuves et aux orphelins de Juillet, et même les *souscriptions* destinées à leur soulagement avaient été déposés dans les *fonds publics*, et de ce que par ce moyen-là on avait fait aussi de ces personnes des possesseurs de fonds. J'ai dit combien me paraissait extraordinaire et invraisemblable cet ardent désir du *nouveau* gouvernement de maintenir les fonds publics, et de forcer le peuple de France à continuer à travailler péniblement pour payer l'intérêt d'une dette que l'ancien gouvernement avait contractée, et contractée, qui plus est, pour payer les alliés, les émigrés et d'autres dans le but de rendre la France esclave. J'ai laissé voir toute ma surprise que vous, dans tous les cas vous ayez paru vouloir maintenir ce système fatal et oppresseur de dettes et de fonds, demandant: "Pourquoi désireriez-vous le protéger? Vous ne pouvez avoir *aucun intérêt* à ce qu'il soit maintenu; et pourquoi vous chargeriez vous du rôle odieux d'en être le soutien?" Hélas! Sire, il n'y avait pas trois heures que j'avais fait imprimer ces mots, lorsque j'appris un fait qui m'a dévoilé tout le mystère; et ce fait est que vous aviez, avant la révolution de

Juillet, que vous avez *présentement*, environ *quatre-vingt mille livres sterling*, ou DEUX MILLIONS DE FRANCS, dans les FONDs PUBLICS D'ANGLETERRE!

Figurez-vous un homme dans une chambre dont la porte et les contrevents sont fermés, qui, à la faveur de quelques lueurs qui pénétrèrent jusqu'à lui, par le trou de la serrure ou au travers des crevasses, va en tâtonnant à la recherche de quelque chose de caché, lorsqu'une main amie lui ouvre les contrevents; j'étais dans la situation de cet homme, Sire, quand j'ai été informé de ce fait! L'étonnement que me causait tout ce que j'avais vu s'est évanoui! la couronne qui vous a été offerte par un banquier; un *banquier* qui a été élu *président de la chambre des députés*; la loi du nouveau gouvernement, qui a *reconnu la dette publique*; le baron Louis et M. Guizot nommés ministres; l'envoi de Talleyrand en Angleterre; des secours refusés aux Belges; la non-dissolution des chambres; le droit électoral n'ayant point été accordé à tous les citoyens; le maintien des lois de Charles X., et surtout de cette loi qui *forçait les journalistes à devenir possesseurs de fonds*; l'argent accordé aux veuves et aux orphelins, et même les *souscriptions* en leur faveur mises dans les *fonds publics*; le désir ardent et inexplicable de *gagner l'amitié de l'Angleterre*; les obstacles qu'on a fait naître pour empêcher une *députation de la Garde Nationale de venir fraterniser avec les ouvriers de Londres*; toutes ces choses ainsi que d'autres qui m'avaient paru étranges se trouvèrent alors expliquées, et me semblèrent aussi *simples* que je les avais d'abord crues *invraisemblables*! Il était facile de voir que c'était pour complaire au gouvernement anglais qu'on s'efforçait de sauver l'assassin Polignac et ses collègues; mais il n'était pas si facile de voir la *raison* pour laquelle vous vous montriez si *empressé de lui complaire* même en vous exposant à un grand danger personnel. *Maintenant*, cependant, la raison en est évidente; le mystère est dévoilé, et tout nous paraît aussi clair qu'en plein midi. Il est évident que le

gouvernement anglais voyait son salut dépendre de la marche des affaires en France et en Belgique; qu'il voyait que si la France adoptait la forme républicaine et que si la Belgique suivait cet exemple, l'Angleterre serait forcée à quelque grand changement. C'était une excellente raison pour que le gouvernement anglais désirât de voir la révolution Française arrêtée dans ses progrès; mais ce n'était pas une raison pour que vous le désirassiez. Mais quand nous pensons que vous aviez et que vous avez deux millions de francs dont le sort dépend du maintien du présent système en Angleterre, nous voyons que vous aviez et que vous avez une raison, et une puissante raison, pour désirer soutenir ce système en Angleterre; que vous avez, en un mot, un puissant motif pour désirer que les bours pourris et que toutes les taxes continuent en Angleterre; et que, par conséquent, vous avez un puissant motif pour empêcher la France de nous donner l'exemple du contraire.

Celui qui ne pouvait pas se tromper nous a dit que "là où est le trésor, là aussi se trouve le cœur;" et par conséquent il ordonne à ses disciples d'accumuler des trésors dans le Ciel. Ne pouvant agir littéralement d'après ce précepte vous avez accumulé votre trésor en Angleterre, la regardant sans doute (en regard à son beau gouvernement) comme le paradis terrestre. Mais de quel œil le peuple français, le "peuple souverain," verra-t-il tout cela? Ne se demanderont-ils pas comment il se fait que leur "citoyen-roi" regarde les fonds anglais comme *en sûreté* que ceux de France? Ce fait-là leur apprendra-t-il pas la raison pour laquelle l'aristocratie anglaise vous loue, tandis qu'elle appelle le brave peuple de Paris, "*canaille altérée de sang*"? Que vous ayez préféré les fonds anglais aux français tandis que Charles X. régnait, il n'y aurait là que de l'équivoque, mais que vous confiez votre trésor au gouvernement anglais plutôt qu'au gouvernement dont vous êtes vous-même le chef, c'est un fait qui parle si hautement, si clairement, qu'il est impossible de ne pas le comprendre; et voici ce que tout Français sensé se

demandera: Est-il possible que celui qui a placé son trésor sous la protection du gouvernement anglais, puisse convenir pour être le Magistrat Suprême de la France? Et tout Français sensé s'écriera: Comme c'est étrange; notre chef est loué par l'aristocratie anglaise, et elle nous dit des injures à nous; nous avons chassé la famille au drapeau blanc, et nous avons mis sur le trône la famille au drapeau tricolore, et cependant toutes les deux ont leur trésor (trésor tiré de la France) sous la sauvegarde de ce même gouvernement qui déclare hautement sa haine pour notre révolution!

Sire, je n'ai aucun motif de prévention contre vous; je ne puis connaître de votre caractère que ce que vos actes m'en ont appris; je n'ai pas le moindre désir qu'on vous manque de respect, mais je suis dans la plus vive inquiétude que le peuple de France ne jouisse pas, à la fin, de cette liberté réelle, qui n'est que la juste récompense de ses sacrifices innombrables et de sa valeur sans égale; et je suis convaincu, qu'il n'en jouira que, lorsqu'il aura secoué les chaînes avec lesquelles le garottent les brocanteurs d'emprunt, les possesseurs de fonds, les escompteurs, et les Juifs. La maxime de Voltaire, que,

"Bon ou mauvais, le Français veut un maître,"

ne saurait s'appliquer aux Français de nos jours. Je suis convaincu qu'ils ne se laisseront plus imposer de maître. Ils ont à présent l'expérience pour eux; ils ont goûté le fruit amer de ce gouvernement coûteux qui est inséparable du droit héréditaire; tout tend à les confirmer dans la haine qu'il leur inspire; et la France n'aura de tranquillité, et n'obéira avec plaisir à son gouvernement, que lorsqu'elle sera constituée en république réelle, quo son premier magistrat soit roi ou non. Vous pouvez, comme je l'ai déjà dit, changer votre ministère, le changer et le changer encore; mais aussi longtemps que votre ministère s'efforcera d'accabler trente-deux millions d'individus, dans le dessein d'enrichir ceux qui, par le moyen des fonds publics, vivent dans le luxe, du fruit du travail du peuple, la belle

France ne connaîtra ni la paix, et ni vous ne connaîtrez le bonheur.

Je suis, Sire,

Votre très obéissant et humble serviteur,

GME. COBBETT.

FIRES.

READER, look at "*Domestic Affairs*," particularly the transactions at *Hastings*, and remember how long I have been *praying the Parliament to repeal Sturges Bourne's Bills*, which enabled the parishes to *hire strangers* to be "*assistant overseers*." Look also at the declarations of the men sent to prison at "*Canterbury*," that they "*cared not*" thing about it, for that *they could not* "*be worse off*." Pray, my readers, attend to these things; and then (if you be Catholics) *cross yourselves* when you hear Peel and Knatchbull say, that the fires *do not proceed from the "peasantry,"* a new name given to the country labourers by the insolent boroughmongering and loan-mongering tribes. But, if it be not the "*peasantry*," *who is it?* Nonsense! Go, go; GET GOLD; and *make haste about it!* How I shall laugh at those who despise this warning! The *bloody old Times* newspaper, that constant tool of the Boroughmongers, which well knows that its very existence depends on theirs, has said, in form of a letter from Sussex, *that Cobbett's going into that county had added to the mischief. If the advice which I there gave had been followed, not another fire would have been heard of!* And now, even now, if the landowners and farmers of Kent and Sussex will pay my travelling expenses, and compensate me for the use of my time, *I will engage to put an end to the violences in a month.* "Sailor, will pump?" "No: *sink first!*" This old satire, which the soldiers play off on the sailors, is brought to my mind by the disposition of these people. "Will you be saved by Cobbett?" I verily believe, that the answer of the aristocracy, without a dissenting voice, would be: "No: be d—d first."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER III.

Paris, 5th Nov., 1830.

SIR,

1. THE new appointments to the ministry did not appear in the *Moniteur* till Wednesday the 3rd inst., a few hours before the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies; so that the final formation, or reformation, of the councils of the King of the French was procrastinated till the last moment. The council had been sitting frequently for seven hours together, and all day and all night, as the time grew nigh, so great was the difficulty of settling this reformation, which, however, was become absolutely necessary. The ministry is now composed as follows:

M. LAFITTE, President of the Council, and Minister of *Finance*.

M. DUPONT (de l'Eure), Minister of *Justice*.

Marshal GÉRARD, Minister of *War*.

*COUNT SÉBASTIANI, Minister of *Marine*.

Marshal MAISON, Minister of *Foreign Affairs*.

COUNT de MONTALIVET, Minister of the *Interior*.

M. MÉRILHON, Minister of *Public Instruction and of Worship*.

Of these, Messieurs Lafitte, Maison, Montalivet and Mérilhon take the places of Messieurs Louis, Molé, Guizot and Broglie, and the three last are *new Ministers*.

2. This is considered, upon the whole, as a sweeping off of the men whose principles are obnoxious to the interest of the people at large, and who thought that they could arrest the progress of the Revolution at merely a change of dynasty, without enlarging the right of election, making the press free, or reducing the taxes. However, that you may be more able to judge for yourself, I will now relate some circumstances which have taken place within the last fortnight, such as will, I think, give some idea of what has been going on correspondent with these proceedings of state.

3. I told you in my last letter, that the project for excepting the Ministers of Charles X. from justice, had rendered it necessary to change the ministry. One incident shows clearly how the project has caused the change. On Tuesday the 19th of October, when there had been no formal disavowal of the project, because, probably, the projectors were ashamed of openly retracting their steps, it was found necessary to stop the exasperation of the people, and no less than half-a-dozen proclamations, addresses and appeals, were placarded by the different authorities; one of these was a speech of the King made on the Monday to the National Guard and people assembled at the Palais Royal, which was to the effect that the prosecution would continue, and the law for abolishing the pain of death be deferred till after the trial; but nothing was entirely satisfactory to the people except an address from the *Prefect of the Seine to his fellow-citizens*. The Prefect not only pledged himself that justice would take its course, but he *disapproved of the step which had been taken by the government*; so that his sincerity was beyond doubt, and his address had the effect of immediately quieting the people. I observed groups of people reading it in hundreds of places; and, indeed, they continue to read it, as it remains on the walls, to this moment; and, I have taken notice that comparatively few persons read any of the other placards which I have spoken of. I should think that there is not now one inhabitant of Paris, nor, indeed, of any town in France, that does not know its contents. Without further describing it, I think I had better translate it here, though it is rather long; and, it is to the following effect:

The Prefect of the Seine to his Fellow-Citizens.

4. Your Magistrates are profoundly afflicted by the disorders which are again disturbing public tranquillity, at the moment when commerce and manufactures, which stand so much in need of security, were just surmounting the crisis of difficulty which has already been too much prolonged. It is not

vengeance which is wanted by the people of Paris, who are still the people of the three great days, the bravest and most generous upon the earth, but, justice: justice is, in fact, a necessary to men of intellect and courage: vengeance is a pleasure for weak-minded and cowardly men. An INOPPORTUNE STEP (*démarche inopportune*) has led to the supposition that there existed a design to interrupt the course of justice in favour of the former Ministers; some delays, which are nothing but the complying with forms which add to the solemnity of justice, have tended to confirm this supposition, and which our untractable enemies, who are always on the watch to disunite us, are eager to urge on the public: hence this popular commotion, which, as far as good men and good citizens are concerned, has no other foundation than a miscomprehension. I declare to you, my fellow-citizens, with the greatest confidence, that the course of justice has not been, and will not be, suspended; the proceedings upon the accusation against the former Ministers continue: those Ministers belong to the law, which alone will decide their fate. Good citizens can desire nothing more; and the cries for death which are uttered in the streets, in the public places, and the placards, are violences done to justice. We wish for others that which we wish for ourselves, namely, upright and impartial judges; but, some men who are either led astray or are ill-disposed, menace the judges before the trial is begun! People of Paris, you do not avow these violences; you hold the accused sacred; they are placed under the safe-guard of the law. To insult them, to hinder their defence, to anticipate the decisions of justice, is to violate the laws of all civilized society: it is to fail in the first duty which belongs to liberty: it is more than criminal, it is infamous. There is not one citizen in this noble and glorious population, who does not feel that it makes part of his honour and duty to prevent an outrage which would disgrace our Revolution. Justice ought to be done, but violence is not justice! Such is the voice of all

good men; such will be the principle of the conduct of your Magistrates. In this grave matter, they rely on the good will and assistance of all true patriots to enforce the measures taken for guaranteeing public order.

(Signed) *Councillor of State, Prefect of the Seine.*

ODILLON BARROT.

5. This address quieted the people, but disturbed the government. For, Monsieur Guizot could not bear this act of *insubordination* on the part of Monsieur O. Barrot, and the discontent and confusion, exasperation and mortification, were immediately changed from without to within, and a fair trial of strength was begun. The odium of the measure which had been intended was bad enough, some thought, without its being proclaimed by a person holding a very important office of the government. Monsieur Guizot, being Minister for the whole of the interior of France, to its outermost limits, advises a measure; and Monsieur O. Barrot, whose control is confined to one department, says it is an inopportune measure; but, this department contains Paris, Paris is immediately under his care, and the measure of M. Guizot was disturbing the government of M. O. Barrot. M. Barrot was not to wait for the issue of the extended plans and deep philosophy of M. Guizot, if the prosecution of them were incompatible with maintaining the already settled and determined laws of policy and the regular course of business in the capital. He, of course, felt himself responsible in his own department, and, unless he were to show himself unfit for his station, he was to take whatever means were necessary to ensure his object; and, he was too good a judge of the state of things to believe that he could effect the peace of the city by vague words, knowing that there was no power to keep down the people, and finding that it depended on words, he was obliged to use those which would have effect, and was reduced to prove in the plainest possible manner his own sincerity, to gain belief.

G. General Lafayette said, in voting

for the address, that it was necessary to *have breathed the air of the barricades*, to view the matter in its proper light. M. Barrot took, then, his view with this advantage, for he had fought in the bravest manner with the people during the three days, being one of the few exceptions amongst his class who condescended to venture their blood for the new dynasty, which they have since said they so much wanted. M. Barrot was, in consequence, with general approbation, one of the commissioners for the conducting off of the Bourbons; and the appointment of him to his very important office of Prefect of the Seine was one of the most popular and judicious appointments made by the King. This gentleman was a deputy, has long been much admired, has great talents and an excellent character; and he seems to have been determined not to lose it for want of a *little word*, however that little word might annoy those above him, when it was necessary for keeping the peace of a million of people. This act of "*insubordination*" is something like the act of the mate of our captain of the good ship *Importer*, which took us to New York in 1817, and who, in spite of the log-book and reckoning of his master, which taught that we were going straight to our port, perceived that we were going aground in Rhode Island Bay, and tacked the ship about. In this case, the eyes of the mate were better for us than the nautical science of the master, or you would possibly have escaped from Sidmouth's dungeons only to drink his health in the salt water of the Atlantic; and, whatever the false professors of philanthropy and the *perfectionnement* of the human species may think of M. Barrot, the good citizens of Paris like him *er* well.

7. A trial of strength began at the elections, as, in consequence of having accepted an office, M. Barrot had to submit himself again to his electors. He was Deputy for Orleans (curious enough!) and his constituents *rejected him*. This gave nuts for M. Guizot and his party, who are not small in the

Chamber, nor amongst the 80,000 select electors of this "republic" of nearly thirty-two millions of people. However, he has been elected for Evreux; this election was, on the contrary, very triumphant, but, you should observe, that it was by the means of great influence in the department of Eure, which is possessed by Monsieur Dupont, who is Minister of Justice, and is the close friend, in consequence of unity of principles, of M. Barrot.

8. M. Dupont is about the age of General Lafayette; he has possessed popularity ever since the commencement of the first Revolution; he has undivided influence in the department of Eure, in which he was born, and he was included in the ministry at its first appointment. But, by the preponderance of men of a different sort, he has had no influence up to the moment of the reformation of it of which I wish to give you an account. One little anecdote will convince you of this. Messrs. HUBERT and THIERRY, president and vice-president of the society of the *Friends of the People*, were, on Friday week last, the 22d of October, to be put in prison to undergo their sentence of three months' confinement. On the Sunday previous, M. Dupont, this affair being under his cognizance, amongst other ordinances which he had deposited on the table of the King for his signature, had put one *for the remission of these sentences*. M. Guizot (*pour s'amuser*), turns over these ordinances, and, copying this one, says nothing: but, the next morning, the public perceived in the *Journal des Débats*, which is the organ of M. Guizot's party, a paragraph announcing that *the King had remitted the sentences*. The paragraph appeared before the time came for the King to take the ordinances into consideration; so that the matter became talked about, fully discussed in the council, and given the go-by. The following morning, the *Moniteur* contained the following paragraph: "We read in the *Journal des Débats* that the sentences of three months' imprisonment against Messrs. Hubert and Thierry have been remitted: the fact is false." When the

paragraph was read in the *Journal des Débats*, it was considered as showing a disposition to please the public, which the fact would have done. But, the ministry sagaciously deemed, that, at that moment, when they had given such great offence, it was impolitic to seem to court popularity, or *to be afraid*. At all events, the contradiction came at an unlucky moment, and increased the irritation, and also the contempt for the government, who thus showed singular want of judgment and of grace combined. Finally, the gentlemen whom I have named were duly put into their prison, in the *Saint Eglise*; but only ten days before the statesmen of the old Bourbon stamp had to give up the power of practising their crochets of degenerated jesuitism.

9. Another circumstance connected with this affair of the *amis du peuple*, will show you that M. Dupont had no influence in the appointing of law-officers, which is naturally belong to his province. On the 1st of October, just previous to the trial of Messrs. Hubert and Thierry, M. BERNARD, Procureur-general at the Cour d'Appel, and whose office it would be to conduct the prosecution, was removed, and installed Counsellor at the Court of Cassation; and M. PERSIL was made Procureur-general. Now, both these gentlemen being Deputies, the first had, a short time before, expressed an opinion in disapprobation of applying the article 291 of the code respecting political offences, and which prohibits meetings of more than twenty persons, to the case of this society; and M. Persil warmly delivered a different opinion. The mode of the installations was also remarkable, as they took place immediately after the appointments appeared in the *Moniteur*, and, contrary to custom, the ceremonies were performed with closed doors and without the usual orations on the part of the persons installed.

10. M. LABREY DE POMPIERES, who was amongst the twenty-two who voted against the "inopportune" address, is father-in-law of M. Barrot. You perceive, therefore, further, the connexion of Messieurs Dupont and Barrot, and the

colour of their principles. This mixture in the ministry has been what has been all along talked of as strange, by almost all parties. I do not recollect hearing it entirely approved of by any body but Mr. Brougham, who wrote a letter to this effect, to Sir F. Burdett, I believe, nearly at the same time that he said, in his speeches to the people of Yorkshire, that the heads of the ministers of Charles X. ought to roll in the dust. The truth is, I believe, that such men as M. Dupont were selected merely for their name; indeed it was so, for his name, as "*garde des sceaux*," was, as I have stated, put to appointments which he had had nothing to do with. In the same way Lafayette would have been served, as he has been, where he is, a sort of unorganized minister. Would you believe, that the General did not hear that Talleyrand was to be ambassador, till he saw it in the newspapers? one would think it impossible, but, for the honour of this worthy man one is glad to believe it.

11. The King himself appears not to have been so sensible of the unpopularity of the government as General Lafayette and M. Dupont; but, as they began to talk of retiring, and the office of the General being the important one of commander-in-chief of the National Guard, the fate of the other men was soon decided. I cannot believe that the condition of the General's remaining at his post was that the Prefect should not be removed from his; that would have been too ridiculous and mad to be thought of for a moment. On the evening of the 18th, the *Quotidienne*, which is the organ of the old Royalists, taunting this government, and describing the excitement of the people, said, *that the royal family were retired to Neuilly*; an order was immediately despatched to the post-office *to stop this paper, until the fact was contradicted*. But, if any such thing as the ousting of the Prefect were to be done, the King would certainly have done well to retire somewhere. Lafayette and Dupont, and particularly the former, because he began to feel the danger of being any longer connected with such men, or

rather committed to the consequences of their having any power, must have made it a condition that they should be turned out. Now, the King could not say nay to these men, in whose name or by whose countenance the government was carried on, and have unlimited confidence from the people, for any thing within the bounds of reason. The instance I have given you, of M. Dupont's causing the election of M. Barrot, in a department where M. Barrot is not particularly known, shows that he has solid influence from his character. Very different from that of Coke in Norfolk, whose will went for nothing against you when you proposed the Norfolk Petition, and when the meeting had an opportunity of declaring their mind without exposing their individual names. Give me the man who can give the order of the day to those who vote by ballot!

12. On Sunday last, there was a grand review of the National Guard, in the Champ de Mars, which had been announced a good while before. It was intended here to review the whole of the legions of this department of the Seine, which amount to the number of upwards of a hundred thousand men. You should understand, that there is a legion to each *arrondissement*, of which there are twelve in Paris, and there are four legions to the *ban-lieue*, which is all that part of this department, on the outside of the gates of Paris. It is customary for the mayors of the *arrondissements* and the mayors of the *communes* in the country, to appear at the head of their respective legions or companies. On this grand occasion, the Prefect of the Seine appeared at the head of the municipal body of Paris, and received the King with an address. As the address and answer have been published in all the papers, you may like to see them, and they are as follows:—

Speech of the Prefect.

SIR,—A place has been marked out for the municipal body of Paris in this great and imposing solemnity; for, the municipal authority is as inseparable from the National Guard as the law

ought to be from the public strength. Deign to accept, Sire, the homage of a devotion which is the more unalterable, because it has its source in the love of country, and in our profound conviction, that the destinies of our France repose on your Majesty, on the virtues which surround your throne, and on the principles which you transmit to your noble family.

Answer of the King.

It is always with pleasure that I see the municipal authority at the side of the National Guard; they lend to each other a tutelary assistance in the maintenance of public order, beyond which, there is neither law nor liberty. It is when the public strength is contained within the bonds of legality that it disquiets no one, and that it protects the rights of all. I am very sensible to that which you evince for my family and for myself; I know that I merit these sentiments by my attachment to my country. I have always loved my nation; I have always rejoiced to find myself in the midst of it, and as I know that nothing can again separate me from its cause, and from the defence of its rights and its liberties, I thank you for having thought the same, and for having expressed it so well.

13. This review was held during a necessary lapse in the almost perpetual sittings of the council, which had been occupied during the week about the ministry, and on this day, Sunday, nothing was determined on, except, indeed, that Messieurs Guizot, Brogli, and Molé must go out. So that the Prefect presented himself with his complimentary speech at a moment when his presence might not give rise to very pleasant feelings. His appearing could not be very well omitted, and especially under all the circumstances, and the passing of the compliments went off very well. The King does not, indeed, in his answer, betray any very violent cordiality, though it is not his custom to be cold or stiff with those who come to pay him compliments. The words *public order*, *bonds of legality* and *protecting the rights of all*, which seem more like words addressed

to rebellious subjects, are not balanced sufficiently to show that he did not view the Prefect himself something in this light. "Public order," being the watchword of the enemies of the people, for it is the express term of the Royalists who qualified their oath to the new government, is a queer word to be constantly falling from the lips of this King; as to the "bonds of legality," they are those which were forged by the Bourbons during the occupation of the country by Wellington, Castlereagh, and the allied troops; and by the "rights of all" is generally intended those which were created at the same time.

14. Two friends of mine, one English and the other French, went to dine, after the review, at an hotel near the Champ de Mars; and they sat down at a table next to one where two of the National Guard sat down to dine also. Before they came away, another guard, belonging to a different legion, came and joined the two who were dining, and he related to his friends, that the chief of his legion had stepped out before the men and made a little speech to the King, something to the following effect: "Sire, you behold my legion, and see what fine order it is in: it is as devoted to your Majesty as it was in the days of our Revolution." The guard went on to say, that they could not hear distinctly what the King said in answer; and giving a toss with his arm and his head, observed, "Ah! il est encore entouré de ——" "(Ah! he is still surrounded by ——" without saying what, but meaning aristocrats: about a hundred of the aristocracy of epaulettes, foreign officers and ministers, being in his train, and sometimes at his side.

15. It was intended to present four crosses of the legion of honour to each legion, at this review, and, notice of it was only given the night before, that the companies which each legion might choose to receive them should be ready. This mode of giving such short notice, and the thing in itself being ridiculous, and these paltry honours having been before treated with the proper contempt by the young men of

the polytechnique medicine and law schools, many of the legions refused to accept the crosses; and those who did not directly refuse expressed their disapprobation: so that the presentation of the crosses did not take place; but, in every respect the review was a perfectly fine show, the accoutrements, order, and discipline of the troops being their own pride. They seem to feel the self-complacency of men who are happy to think that they fulfil their duty "with honour to themselves and advantage to their country." The difference, however, between gentlemen in the land of the Boroughmongers who are so fond of this phrase, and these French National Guard, is, that the latter do it without pay.

16. After the review, in the evening, the King held another council, always about the same concern, the ministry; and, as if the disappointed men who were about to be discarded; who had just received a sort of stigma by the non-acceptance of the crosses offered to the national guard; as if they would finish by making the King utter something spiteful for them, and take a little from his own popularity, perhaps, at the same time, seem to have put him in a humour at rising from his council to write the following letter to General Lafayette:—"It is with as much pleasure as confidence, my dear General, that, to be my interpreter with the National Guard, I address myself to him who gloriously commanded it in the memorable epochs of 1789 and 1830. Always animated by the same patriotism which guided me in my youth, when I was only a soldier devoted to the sacred cause of the liberty of my country, and to the defence of its independence, I this day have doubly enjoyed seeing these superb legions of the National Guard, so capable at the same time of awing the external enemies of the country, and those who may attempt, by exciting agitations within, to disturb our liberties and our institutions, and to trouble that public order upon which they must always depend. This day, so satisfactory for me and so ho-

nourable for the National Guard, is a sure guarantee, that, always checked by its spirit and its force, those culpable efforts, from whatever quarter they may come, will never attain their end, and that they will infallibly fall upon those who should have the unfortunate folly to undertake them. I have to thank the National Guard again for that which they have already done, and to express to them how much my heart is penetrated by the testimonies of affection by which I was surrounded to-day. Such are, my dear General, the sentiments which I pray you to manifest, on my part, to the National Guard, in renewing the assurance of my sincere friendship for you:

"Your affectionate

"LOUIS-PHILIPPE."

17. Upon this letter, you will, perhaps, be better satisfied with the remarks of a French editor, and I have selected some from the *National*, which is considered one of the most independent (for a fundholder) and one of the most ably conducted. "Why, in the good order and the striking unanimity of the marks of affection of which the King was yesterday the object, do his councillors this morning (Monday) see only a text upon which to address menaces to those whom they pretend are factious, to artisans of sedition, whom one sees no-where? France will believe, by this language, which is but too faithful a copy of that which was addressed to us by legitimacy in its days of peril, that the throne raised by our hands sees itself faced by a party who dare to menace it. There exists nothing of the sort; no fraction of public opinion has merited the hard words which are read in this letter of the King. People are neither factious, nor conspirators, nor mad, because they do not agree with Messieurs Guizot and Brogli, or Messieurs Perrier and Molé, upon the right of election, and upon the question of the peerage. Yesterday the King, shaking hands with every body, and acting in his own person, gained the hearts of all; to-day, the

"King, adopting impressions which are not his own, for it is no longer the King of the Champ-de-Mars whom we see in this letter: the King, we say, must appear little like himself to men who observed him yesterday. We know very well, that in strict constitutional language, the letter officially addressed to General Lafayette is a ministerial act, as is every thing which emanates from a King who reigns and does not govern; but, in our present situation, a royalty which is quite young cannot be confirmed but by the personal popularity of the Prince called first to exercise it: we will say, without fear of ceasing to be respectful subjects, that this popularity ought to be husbanded for great occasions; that it would have been well if the King had replied to marks of universal love by testimonies of satisfaction equally to all; and that the care of intimidating and menacing the factions, if there be any, were left to a responsible ministry."

18. I will now, as the new ministry have entered on their functions, conclude this letter with the speech of M. Lafitte, delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, on the Wednesday, the day when the Chamber met, and a few hours after he received his appointment. His speech is as follows, if I have done justice to it:

Gentlemen: I come to this tribune to express to you my gratitude for all the marks of kindness which I received from you while I had the honour to be your president. Certainly, if I consulted nothing but my own wishes, I should remain long in the chair where your suffrages called me, where your indulgence sustained me in the exercise of honourable and difficult functions. But I have yielded to the august will, which myself and my colleagues should have thought ourselves to blame in disobeying. In the presence of grave events, the best citizens, the most skilful, were distrustful in their ability, and I have not been less diffident of mine; but, the King of France wanted ministers, and I have devoted myself,

with my colleagues, to superior necessities. The end of representative government is, to try every name, every faculty, every public character (tous les noms, tous les facultés, toutes les popularités); to employ them, to sacrifice them even, in the service of the country; every one must submit in his turn to this trial; circumstances and not merit determine their durability; circumstances have been and will be difficult for all: all owe it to France and to the King to encounter them. In this new career, gentlemen, I shall again have to claim your indulgence and your support; permit me to invoke and to hope for them. To consolidate order, without which there is no real liberty; to complete, perfect, and, above all, cause to be respected, the laws; to preserve concord between France and the rest of Europe, and to prevent whatever might disturb it: such is the duty and the wish of those to whom the King has confided the administration of the kingdom. Happy will they be who may contribute only in small part to so fine and noble a work! This happiness, if it fall to my lot, is that alone which can make me amends for the honour which I renounce to-day, and for the deep sacrifice which I have made in accepting the high functions to which the King has deigned to call me. I renew, gentlemen, the expression of my gratitude, and I once more invoke your favour and support."

Sunday, November 7th, 1830.

19. I have not time to offer any remarks upon this speech, as I must mention M. MONTAIVET, the new Minister of the Interior. That passage, however, of M. Lafitte's speech, where he speaks of the end of representative government, has been thought approaching to naïveté, and he seems to utter it from the bottom of his heart. Why, of course this is the end of representative government; and, the good of it is, that with a very slight infusion (if I may so express it) of the principle of representative government in France, and more by the will of the unorganized mass of the

people, this effect is produced. Here one cannot help repeating one's admiration of the common people, that is to say, men in their nearest state to nature, who, during the three days, by their deeds, have communicated the self-opinion now entertained, and the moral power which is possessed by the people at large, who gave rise to the same thing in Belgium, and have produced the same effect every-where.

20. Monsieur le Comte de MONTALIVET, is a peer, and by inheritance. These are both bad things to begin with. The peer, his father, was one of Buonaparte's ministers; of the most antiquated notions of feudality. He was Minister of the Interior also, and he always endeavoured that the mayors of communes and such persons were of a kind of nobility. There is also ancient nobility and modern nobility, and his taste was towards the crust and mould and bones of the ancients. The present minister is rather young, being not more than twenty-nine. His principles are not bad; that is to say good, but rather, I believe, negatively. The Chamber of Peers, which had been appointed to resume its sittings on Monday, met yesterday, and upon the order of the day for considering a law passed by the Deputies, this minister made his first speech. The occasion was, 1: *abrogating a law of the 11th of September, 1807, regulating the pensions for military services*, and, 2: *reviving those pensions which had been granted under this law, since the 1st of January, 1828*. M. Montalivet, of course, supported the law, and in a speech of some length, observed, that "*retroactivity was odious to those who wish for the preservation of social order, and that, as it would compromise the government without serving it, it would be impugned by no one more than by himself.*" So that the Revolution is not to be made stationary by him. Apropos, of the commencement of the new ministry, and also of the temper, disinterestedness and, above all, *wisdom* of the hereditary peers, they passed the first part of the law but rejected the second. No looking, peeping into pensions, said they; but they were

obliged to give up the law for the future.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT, JUN.

A letter of the 5th, just received, informs me, that the *deposits* of the printers had been *reduced one half in amount*. Great alarm about the funds; and uncommon anxiety, for a day or two, about our *King's Speech*. Nothing had been yet said about *Talleyrand*, which was looked upon as a *bad sign* for the new Ministry. Uncommon anxiety on the part of the Government to avoid all talk about Belgium! The funds appear to be the only object of interest with the Government.

PARLIAMENT.

LORD WINCHILSKA'S intended motion on the subject of *assessments upon the land to employ men who are out of work*. This is the rub, the real rub. Here the question between fund-lords and land-lords comes to issue. They come slap up in one another's teeth, and both cannot prevail. It is come now to what I always said it would, a question as to which shall be devoured by the cannibals of "Change Alley," the labourer or the landlord; and the burnings and breakings in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey are nothing more than the progress of this question, or, rather, they are its crisis. My readers will remember how often I have said that it would come to this very thing, burning and destroying; and they will also remember that I have not a few times said also, that it would begin in *Sussex or Kent*. I knew that English labourers would not lie down and die to any number with nothing but sour sorrel in their bellies (as two did at Acton in the beginning of this summer); I knew that they would never receive the *extreme unction* and die of hunger, as the poor Irish did; and be praised for their *resignation* by Bingham-Baring or Baring-Bingham, or whatever else he is, who found out, during the *panic*, that bankruptcy and insolvency was caused by a *plethora* of money; and who has now found out that England, owing to its "*position and the nature of its population,*" must always, to a certain degree, *feel distress!* From its *position!* I

knew that all the palaver in the world, all the wheedling, coaxing, praying; I knew that all the blustering and threatening; I knew that all the teachings of all the Tract Societies; that all the imprisoning, whipping, and harnessing to carts and wagons; I knew that all these would fail to persuade the honest, sensible and industrious English labourer, that he had not an *indefeasible right to live*. O, God! with what indignation did I hear the unfortunate Irish *praised* because they *died of want*, while their country abounded in the means of subsistence! There is no man, not of a fiend-like nature, who can view the destruction of property that is now going on in the Southern counties without the greatest pain; but I stand to it, that it is the strictly natural course of things, where the labourer, the producer, *will not starve*. What is his homely reasoning upon the case? "I work twelve hours a day to *produce this food*; I do *all* the real labour, and you, who stand by and look over me, deny *me even subsistence* out of it: "no, if you give me none of it, you shall have none yourself, at any rate." And to work he goes, burning and destroying. Baring says, that the excesses that the lower orders may be driven to by violent language, will only make them *worse off* instead of alleviating their distresses. That is a very fashionable argument; but none the wiser for that. What, could these two men who died at Acton, with sour sorrel in their bellies; could these men be *worse off* than they were? Eat a little sour sorrel yourself, Baring; take a stretch out into the country for three or four days, without a farthing in your pockets, by way of test; and, if you feel hungry, eat a little sour sorrel yourself; lie three or four nights in a barn, or under a hedge; get some rough fellow to put you up to auction, and bid you not go near your wife; faith, I believe you would be ready to set fire to any-thing, except the Thames. But the horrible, the humiliating thing, the thing that I have always, in speaking and writing, and whether in public or in private, spoken of as a thing to avoid; the galling and the

fearful thing, is, that the burnings and breakings are to be followed, and *immediately*, too, by *inquiry into the state of the poor*; the poor are to be bettered immediately on their *determining to be so*! What is this, then, but justice extorted? And who is fool enough not to see how much better it would have been to avoid this by a timely attention to the distresses of the people? There are two noblemen, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Winchelsea, whose conduct is deserving of great praise in this respect. The former brought the subject before the House of Lords last year, in a manner that did him great credit, and the exertions of Lord Winchelsea at this time are calculated to do great good. But the subject wants a *thorough examination*. The state of the poor, declining year after year, for many years past, just in proportion as the state of the loan-monger has been improving; this requires *thorough exposure*. They have gone on, *pari passu*, the labourer sinking and the loan-monger rising; and there is already matter enough in printed reports of committees of the House of Commons to convince anybody of the fact but a loan-monger-boroughmonger. Mr. HARVEY, on Friday night, moved a resolution directing the members of the House to furnish a kind of confession; but he withdrew it in order to bring it forward in an improved shape. Mr. HUMS brought the King's printer to light, a Mr. SPOTTISWOOD. The office of King's printer has been one of the innumerable good things belonging to the THING. It is amusing to see, as this THING is day by day unfolding itself, how delicately all its parts are strung together. No wonder the Duke, if he had had it to do, would have *invented just such a thing* as we now have! Mr. HUMS's speech upon this is well worth reading.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 4.

The House met at four o'clock, and the Majesty's Answer

EMPLOYMENT FOR LABOURERS.

The Earl of Winchelsea gave notice that he should lay a bill on their Lordships' table to

provide for the support and maintenance of agricultural labourers, by enabling the Justices of the Peace to make assessments on the land to employ such as were not employed, and to give relief to those landowners who employed the labourers.

DECLARATION AGAINST MINISTERS.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA went on to say, that being on his legs, he would take that opportunity of expressing the heartfelt gratification which he felt at the honest, the eloquent appeal which had been made to the House the other evening by Earl Grey. He sincerely hoped that the course of policy which that noble Earl laid down, both as to our foreign and domestic concerns, would meet the approbation of his Majesty's Government, and that it would have the good sense to adhere to the great principle of non-interference. It was not by arming one part of the population against another that we could now ward off the danger which threatened us, or that the security of property and of the institutions of the country could be maintained. If the people had grievances—and God knew they had; if these grievances were not redressed, there would be no security for property, and their Lordships would lose their best institutions overturned. The only security was to be found in doing ample justice to the people, and in relieving their distress, and for this purpose an inquiry should be instituted into the condition of the great body of the agricultural labourers, who were loyal and faithful, but suffering very greatly. He could not restrain his astonishment at hearing the declaration made by the noble Duke the other evening, relating to Parliamentary Reform. The noble Duke thought our present Legislature so perfect, that he stated, "that if he had to form a Legislature, he would create one, not equal in excellence to the present, for that he could not expect, but something as nearly of the same description as possible. He could give nothing more perfect, more capable of satisfying the empire than the present Parliament!" (Hear.) That was not his opinion. Moderate reform ought to take place, such as had been described by the noble Earl the other evening, with whose eloquently-expressed sentiments he most cordially agreed. If reform, moderate reform, did not take place, he could assure the noble Duke that he would himself speedily witness the destruction of the best institutions of the country. He agreed fully with the sentiments of the noble Earl as to the degree of reform; he did not agree to the opinion that every man has a right to vote for Members of Parliament; he did not agree to the principle of universal suffrage, for the right of the people was to have a good government, and that was the best government which secured the interests and gave the most satisfaction to the enlightened body of the people. The present times were of no ordinary character. We were surrounded by dangers, and their Lordships would be blind to what they owed to

themselves—blind to that situation of great trust in which they were placed, and they would neglect the duties they owed to their country, the confidence of which in the wisdom of Parliament had been much shaken, if they did not take some measures to win back the respect and confidence of the people. He firmly believed, that if ever their Lordships should become blind to the trust reposed by the Constitution in them, the Constitution would not survive. They must do justice to the people, and then they would have the people ready to support and maintain those laws which were necessary to the security and prosperity of all. He regretted very much that the King's Speech had not alluded to the great pressure under which the peasantry of the country and the agricultural interest laboured; and he regretted that his Majesty had not recommended the House to take that interest into its consideration. The present Ministers were not in possession of the confidence of the country, and other individuals placed in their stations must rescue the country from danger. He firmly believed that all the Protestant part of the community had no confidence in the present Administration, and could only place confidence in such men as the noble Duke (Richmond, we believe) and the noble Earl (Grey, we believe), who had always acted consistently, and had never betrayed their principles and the confidence of other men, in a manner unparalleled in the history of the country. Such men possessed and deserved the confidence of the great body of the country. Such was the unpopularity of the present Ministry, that he believed, were it not for the influence of their office, they could not find in the new Parliament fifty votes to support their Administration. For the peace and safety of the country, he hoped, ere long, to see another set of men in their places, for they could not hold office without endangering all the institutions of the country.

The Duke of WELLINGTON spoke in such a low tone that he was scarcely audible below the bar. It was not usual to make such attacks and such speeches without some intimation; neither was it usual for their Lordships to refer to what had been said in former debates. At least, too, if that were the case, what was referred to ought to be stated accurately. The noble Earl had not represented correctly what had fallen from him.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA had no wish to misrepresent any thing; that was not his intention, and it would only have been fair in the noble Duke had he stated in what manner he had misrepresented him. The noble Earl then moved that their Lordships be summoned for Thursday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House met on Friday at two o'clock, and shortly afterwards Mr. Speaker accompanied by Lord Grimston and Mr. Dundas (the mover and seconder of the address) car-

ried up to his Majesty the Reply of the Commons to his Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne. The Speaker took the Chair at three o'clock, according to the new regulation with respect to the hour of sitting for the despatch of business.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Mr. O'CONNELL presented a petition from Cocker-mouth, praying for reform, and declaring that annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, were necessary for the salvation of the country. The petitioners also said, and he (Mr. O'Connell) thought their words prophetic, that vengeance would speedily fall on the heads of those who lent themselves to the oppression of the people. The Government was as imbecile as it was mischievous, for it had put into the mouth of one of the most popular Sovereigns who had ever sat on the Throne, a Speech which could have no other effect than to make him disliked by his subjects. What else, however, could they expect when there was insanity at the helm? He said insanity, and he was justified in saying it, because the Premier, but one year before his elevation, declared that he would be mad if he thought himself capable of filling the situation of Prime Minister of this country. He since accepted that situation, and, therefore, he (Mr. O'Connell) felt he was at liberty to call him insane.

Mr. CROKER was much surprised that the hon. Member for Waterford, if he felt so strongly averse to the language of the Speech from the Throne, did not record that feeling more effectually by taking the sense of the House on the subject when that Speech was under its consideration the other night, and when he had the opportunity of ascertaining the feelings of the members in one of the most numerous assemblies ever congregated on such occasions.

DISTRESSES OF THE COUNTRY.

Mr. KENYON wished to put a question to the right hon. Secretary of State. He was anxious to ascertain whether or not it was the right hon. Gentleman's intention to propose the appointment of a Select Committee to take the distresses of the country into consideration, and to endeavour to devise some plan for their alleviation. It was a subject which demanded the most immediate notice of his Majesty's Government, and he should be happy to learn what steps they themselves meant to take respecting it. He regretted to see a passage in his Majesty's Speech which alluded to additional coercive measures; and he sincerely trusted that no such measures would be proposed.

Sir ROBERT PEEL rose to answer the question which the hon. Gentleman had put to him. It was not his intention to propose the appointment of a Committee to take into consideration the general distresses of the country. The hon. Gentleman was mistaken in supposing that any part of his Majesty's Speech alluded to measures of coercion.

Mr. HUME observed, that this was the period at which the Commons of England, if they had any complaint to make, or any grievance to represent, ought to make it. In the execution of his own duty, and in compliance with the requests of his constituents, he now begged to ask his Majesty's Government whether, the whole country loudly demanding relief for taxation, the Cabinet had made up their minds on that subject, as they had made up their minds on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. (Hear, hear, hear!) What he wanted was an unequivocal answer, aye, or no. The next thing to having a request granted, was to put the person by whom it was made out of the misery of suspense. The people of England were at present looking most anxiously for the relief which they expected would be afforded them; and they would no longer be put off, as they had been heretofore, by promises of economy. Before, therefore, he could agree to vote away any of the public money, he must ask his Majesty's Government if it was their intention to alleviate the burden of taxation which pressed so heavily upon the country; or if they were prepared to propose such a change in the present system of taxation as would remove the severity of the burden from the industrious to other classes. As to Parliamentary Reform, it was quite unnecessary for him to ask Government what their intention was in that respect, after the declaration which had been made elsewhere, that the present system of representation was not only good, but the best that could possibly be imagined. He believed that the noble Duke at the head of the Government, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite, had declared at Manchester that they had no wish to retain their places, except while they were found to act in conformity to the wishes of the people. When, therefore, they found that they were not acting in conformity to the wishes of the people, he trusted that they would redeem that pledge. He hoped that the people would show their wishes by petitions to that House, and by all other legal means. He trusted, however, that the people would use no other but legal means. If he could make his voice heard from one end of the country to the other, he would exclaim to the people, "If you wish to obtain your rights, and to benefit the country, abstain from all acts of violence." (Hear, hear, hear!) He implored every real friend to his country to act himself, and to use all the influence which he might possess over others to induce them to act, in forwarding the great object of relieving the people by all lawful means; by petition and remonstrance, couched in bold but proper language. There were in that and the other House of Parliament so many individuals who were interested in the continuance of the present system, because it worked well as it respected them, that they adopted every possible means of insuring its continuance. It was not surprising that these place-holders

should say to those over whom they possessed any influence, "Don't go to this meeting, or that assembly; don't sign a petition; don't join in such a remonstrance." That, however, was not the advice which would be given the people by persons who were not interested in the maintenance of the existing abuses. When he considered of what the Duke of Wellington had shown himself capable in other situations, he confessed that he was astonished at his present conduct. He must have received his political impressions from other countries. Austria, Russia, Prussia, must have pressed their opinions upon him. Did the right hon. Gentleman or the Duke of Wellington mean to say that the people of England did not want Reform—that they did not want reduction of taxation, or that they did not want any interference in the affairs of Belgium? (Hear, hear, hear!) After that declaration, he had hoped that he should hear in his Majesty's Speech some expression of due consideration for the sufferings of the people. Those sufferings were great; but they were wholly disregarded; they were set as naught.

SIR ROBERT PEEL. The honourable Member for Middlesex, asked whether his Majesty's Government intended to propose any reduction of taxation? He was confident, that on reflection the hon. Gentleman's experience would show him that the question was a very improper one. He must certainly decline giving any answer to the question, either affirmatively or negatively. But suppose he were to answer the question affirmatively, did not the hon. Member well know that such an answer must be followed up at once by enumerating the specific objects to which the intended reduction was to be applied? No inference whatever was to be drawn from his declining to answer the question. The hon. Gentleman talked of some pledge which he (Sir Robert Peel) had given last Session of the disposition of his Majesty's Government to refer themselves to public opinion. What he had stated last Session was this fact: that his Majesty's Government had made such an extensive reduction in the patronage of the Crown, that no administration could rely upon the permanent possession of office unless they felt themselves supported by the confidence of Parliament and the country. But the hon. Gentleman must not conclude from that declaration, that his good opinion would at all influence him (Sir Robert Peel) in the discharge of his duty. If the hon. Gentleman joined in the vulgar imputation on public men, that they were unduly influenced by their wish to retain the paltry emoluments of office; if he thought it necessary to caution the people against listening to the advice of such persons because they were interested in giving that advice, he knew not by what test the hon. Gentleman was prepared to prove the truth of his insinuations; but he knew that they were most uncharitable, and most unjust. The only considerations which his Ma-

jesty's Government, had in contemplation, were the welfare of the people, and their permanent interest. The people must judge of their motives by their measures.

Colonel DAVIES would do the right hon. Gentleman the justice to say, that he did not believe he was influenced by any love of paltry emolument or of place. But that had no influence on his opinion of the public conduct of his Majesty's Government; and he would say, that if they were not the most discreet and clever of Ministers, they were as bold as any that ever existed; not even excepting Polignac. The Duke of Wellington had expressed his determination to resist every species of reform. He had gone so far as to tell the House of Lords that "if he were to form a Legislature, he would create one—not equal in excellence to the present, for that he could not expect to be able to do—but something as nearly of the same description as possible." The right hon. Gentleman, not to be behindhand with his noble colleague, had told them that evening, forsooth, that his Majesty's Government were not prepared to say that they had any intention of reducing the taxation of the country. If persons, suffering distress felt disaffection, whose fault was it? Was it not the fault of those who drove them into cherishing that feeling by resisting the signs of the times? The best friends of the Government were those who told them the real condition of the country; their worst enemies were those who blinded them to that condition.

Mr. BARING said, there were some expressions in the speech of the honourable Member for Middlesex, which he could not let pass without offering a few observations. As far as his experience went, they had not had a period since the war, when all the essential interests of the country were moving on more satisfactorily than they were a few months ago: he did not mean splendidly, nor with great profit to those engaged in agriculture, trade, and commerce, but until the late excitement on the Continent, he was convinced there never was a period when all branches of industry were proceeding in a manner more satisfactory. Since that period, excitement on the one side, and apprehension on the other, had in some degree affected the condition of this country; but not to a great extent. He had often complained in that House of tampering with the currency as a fruitful cause of mischief and distress; but if there now was one thing more than another which a man wishing well to the general interests of the country, and especially the interests of the working classes, should earnestly observe, it was the abstaining from disturbing the mind of the people at the present time, by those exaggerated statements and that inflammatory language which he regretted to find had been, since the commencement of the session, too frequently brought into use. Was it a fact that the House of Commons was acting

merely on a mercenary regard for its own interests? (Loud cheers.) The sooner this was explained the better. It was true that public officers were paid; and this was a part of the Constitution of the country, and he thought a wise part. It was also true that the great officers of the State had seats in Parliament; and this, too, he thought was well: and unless the hon. Member meant to say that all public offices should be monopolized by men of large fortune, it was impossible that persons holding such offices, and having seats in the House, should not receive money for their public services. It might be that unfounded assertions, from the confidence with which they were put forward, might find credit with some new Members; but if these gentlemen had been, like him, five-and-twenty years in the House, they would know that concession and reduction with respect to places of this description had been always going on; that there was not one of them which did not require much labour and anxious thought, and that they certainly were not overpaid: at least, he was not aware they were overpaid. If they were so, let the hon. Member show that they were, and how they were overpaid. Let him point out the saving which could be effected, and he (Mr. Baring) thought that the experience of his conduct would prove that he would not hesitate to concur in a proper or advisable reduction. (Cheers.) But he would say that, in the present condition of the country, exaggerated statements and inflammatory observations, addressed to the lower classes, were calculated to provoke a state of things which would press most grievously upon them and the country at large. Now, as he was on the subject of such statements, he would remark, that he lately saw in a placard set forth in a window, that the Earl of Eldon had pensions and allowances to the amount of 50,000*l.* a-year. There was in the card in the window a long list of other pensions given to other persons, and equally well founded with that attributed to Lord Eldon: it was well known his Lordship received his retired pension, as a Lord Chancellor, of 4,000*l.* a year. He was no admirer, and never had been an admirer, of Lord Eldon's political character, but his private character it was impossible not to respect; and he was sure no one would say that a man, who had devoted so long a period of his life to the arduous duties of his office, was overpaid with such a retired pension. (Hear, hear!) If, perchance, the honourable Member should think it excessive, let it be brought before the House. It really was, however, impossible to see such exaggeration without a strong feeling of the danger it cannot fail to produce. The House of Commons was acting in the face of the country. It was good for nothing but as representing the feeling of the sound and sensible part of the community, which, thank God, by the increased diffusion of education, formed the great body of the people, and was able to

judge honestly and truly of the measures brought forward in the House. (Cheers.) From this portion of the people it was impossible to conceal any thing; it was not desirable to conceal any thing from them; but it was the duty of every man, who had the interest of his country at heart, to disavow and expose exaggeration, and condemn the use of inflammatory language. (Loud cheers.) He was led to make these observations from his knowledge of the great credulity which prevailed as well in a certain portion of the mercantile class, as in other classes of the community, and apprehension of the mischief that might be occasioned. He disapproved of the question which had been put to Government, respecting the repeal of reduction of taxation. He considered the proper course to pursue would be first to go into the Committee, and see if the right hon. Gentleman opposite proposed any extravagant grant. If he did, then oppose him. Let them proceed upon the principles of an enlightened economy (hear, hear), not upon those of a low, sordid economy. (Cheers.) There was one other topic to which he wished to advert, knowing the unpopularity which attached itself to any man who said there was not any great distress in the country. The fact was, the country always must be, from its position, and from the nature of its population, to a certain degree in a state of distress. At present, therefore, there was, as at all other times, distress; but it was not any thing to be compared to that which existed any year since the peace. It was a gross exaggeration to describe the people of England as a starving people. (Loud cheers.) The country was going on in a reasonable, quiet way; excitement, as he said before, on the one side, and apprehension on the other, had, it was true, produced a temporary exacerbation; but the course which exaggerated statements would probably lead the lower orders to, would have the effect, not of alleviating, but of increasing the evils under which they suffered.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

FIRES.

GREAT alarm prevails at Hounslow, Bedfont, Northhidge, Lampton, and Heston, amongst the farmers and agriculturists, for the safety of their property, in consequence of the work of incendiaries having commenced in the neighbourhoods above-named; and threatening letters have been sent to the following farmers and gentlemen who have estates upon which they have for some time used machinery instead of hand labour:—The Rev. — Trimmer, at Heston, one of the magistrates for the county; Mr. Peto, at Heston, the builder in the Waterloo-road; Mr. Taylor, of Lampton; Mr. Parsbam, of Northhidge; Mr. Sherwin, of Bedfont, and many others. The threatening epistles are signed, as they are in Kent, by the name of "Swing," and are to the same purport. About a fort-

night since one of them was sent to Mr. Sherwin, at Bedford, declaring that unless he immediately dispensed with his threshing-machines his barns should be razed to the ground. Mr. Sherwin took no notice of the threat, with the exception of keeping a sharp look out after any suspicious characters.

On Tuesday afternoon last, about two o'clock, it is said that two respectably dressed men, who were travelling in a barouche, stopped a boy on the road, and one of them said, "Who's your master, boy?" The boy replied, "Master Sherwin, Sir." "Oh, then, tell him to keep a look out," and then drove on. The boy, it is said, told his master of the circumstance upon his return, yet still it did not excite any alarm in Mr. Sherwin. About ten o'clock, however, the same night, his two barns, several outhouses, and stabling, were discovered to be on fire, and the flames raged so rapidly, that very little of the stock could be saved. The villagers, as might be imagined, as well as those adjacent, were roused to the highest state of alarm, especially those to whom letters had been sent.

Messengers were despatched to Brentford for the engines, but before they could arrive the whole of the barns and outhouses were destroyed. The incendiaries, previous to firing the stables, had removed the horses to a place of safety hard by, where they were found afterwards by Mr. Sherwin. Nothing can exceed the excitement this diabolical outrage has created, and fears are entertained that further acts of a similar infamous nature will follow. The Magistracy and the most respectable farmers are using every exertion to trace out the incendiaries, but up to last night not the remotest clew could be obtained. When our informant left, the villages surrounding Bedford were in the greatest state of suspense and alarm, and it is feared other fires will take place during the night. Mr. Sherwin's loss is very great.

MORE FIRES IN SUSSEX.

(From the *Brighton Guardian* of Wednesday, November 10.)

On Sunday evening, about six o'clock, a barn, in the occupation of Mr. Hilder, at Robertsbridge, agent to the Hastings Bank, was discovered to be on fire, and with its contents, was entirely consumed. Our informant states that two or three other fires were discoverable at a distance, but he could not give us any positive account of their exact situation. On the same day the labouring population of Burwash assembled en masse, and declared their determination of taking Freeman, the Assistant Overseer, by force, and carrying him without the boundaries of the parish accompanying the avowal of their intentions with a threat of severe punishment if he ever again were seen in Burwash. The poor were appeased by being informed that a general meeting of the Magistracy, farmers, lawyers, tradesmen, and labourers of the several parishes in and about Battle would be held

at that place on the morrow (Monday), for the purpose of raising the wages of the labourers. This had the desired effect; and we trust that our neighbouring farmers will follow the example thus set them, which, we suggest, is the best means of protecting their property against the incendiary.

While writing the above, a person from East Grinstead has informed us that the premises of Mr. Kennard, on Old Tie Common, were fired last night.

LEWES.

The terrible conflagrations which have taken place in the neighbourhood of Battle, have spread a universal gloom over this town and its neighbourhood; but, in the midst of our anxiety, we have the consolation to find that nothing of the kind has occurred in the vicinity of Lewes, although we are not free from alarm, threatening letters having been sent to neighbouring farmers, and suspicious persons having visited the premises and made certain inquiries respecting them. Those of them who have threshing-machines on their premises are removing them with all possible despatch. We have heard that Lord Sheffield and family have left Sheffield place in consequence of the threatening letters his Lordship has received, and that a strong nightly watch is established to guard the premises. These threats are alleged to have been caused by the unpopularity of his Lordship's steward, who appears to have rendered himself obnoxious to the neighbourhood. The dismissal of the steward was demanded, with which his Lordship instantly complied.

To so great a pitch were the excited feelings of some of our town's people raised, that an effect was produced on their ocular powers. On Friday morning, the 6th instant, when about twenty bonfire-boys were seen on the Lewes Hill, getting furze for their fire, the circumstance was augmented into a body of five hundred men with bats or large sticks in their hands, scouring the hills in the direction of Offham, and marching up the country. A thousand conjectures followed, and reports springing from these conjectures spread, which happily proved alike unfounded. On the same day, a detachment of the Life Guards, from Brighton, passed the western boundary of the town, on their route to London through East Grinstead.

HASTINGS.

On Thursday last, at Brede, near Battle, a scene took place which, perhaps, exceeds any thing yet reported. John Abel, the Assistant Overseer of that parish, employed the poor unfortunate paupers and distressed them more than was actually necessary. Nearly starved, and driven by want to desperation, the poor came to a resolution that things should no longer be endured. The threatening aspect of affairs led to a conference between the peasantry and the farmers, one of the results of which was that Abel should quit the parish. During the period of his power,

this man had compelled the poor labourers to drag a cart, laden with ~~beach~~, to a wharf some miles distant. The day following that of the meeting of the delegates of both parties, the villagers brought the cart to Abel's door, seized him and placed him in it with a rope round his neck, to which a large stone was tied. Without scarcely an exception, the whole of the inhabitants accompanied the labourers, who thus drew him out of the parish attended by "rough music." They at first fixed on the parish of Westfield to deposit their load; but his *fame* having extended to that hamlet, he was rejected by the people, and the procession bent their steps to Vine-hall, near Robertsbridge, where it appears, rubbish-like, he was "shot out" of the cart into the road, and there left, with this blessing, —that if ever he made his appearance again at Brede he would get his head broke. We trust that this proceeding will be a lesson to those *flinty-hearted assistant overseers* who seem to make a merit of oppressing the poor confided to their care. On these poor men's return, after this exploit, they told the farmers—their masters—that if they could not regulate matters, they would, if it were left to them which the farmers, to keep them quiet, agreed to. "In the first place," they replied, "you pay too much by one-half to your parson—he shall not have so much." They then went to the parson (Hill), and told him what they had fixed as his demand. He replied, through fear perhaps, that he would accede. It appears now, that 2s. a day in winter, and 2s. 6d. a day in summer, is to be the regulation and law of Brede.

At Guestling, near this place, the paupers gave notice to the heads of the parish that their company was requested to meet them at ten o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, with this addition, that if they did not come they would be fetched. But few were absent from the meeting, at which about 130 labourers were assembled. They soon informed their late masters that they did not any longer intend to go on in misery; they had resolved on receiving higher wages. "What wages did they seek?" The reply was, "2s. 3d. a day till summer, and then 2s. 6d.; we only want to be paid for our labour; and that you may meet this fair demand, you must shake off the oppression of the tithes. Mr. Parson (he was there), we say to you, that as your demand on the parish has been raised to about 800*l.* a year for very little done by you, we demand that you do immediately give up 500*l.* a year to our employers." The parson very readily agreed to do so; the men gave three cheers, and every one went to his late unsettled home with happiness beaming in his countenance.

On Monday morning, about seven o'clock, a large barley-stack, belonging to Mr. Moses Fielder, of Eastbourne, was discovered to be on fire. By great exertions, Mr. Fielder was enabled to stop the further progress of the flames. Had it not been daylight, much mischief must have followed.

Saturday night, a straw barn, full of straw, belonging to Mr. James Hilder, of Robertsbridge, was burnt to the ground.

There was a full meeting of Magistrates at the George, Battle, on Monday. The town was full of labourers, amounting to nearly 700. About forty dragoons were in readiness, in case of any disturbance. Sir Godfrey Webster, in the most kind manner, addressed the men, telling them that they (the Magistrates) would continue to sit at Battle, Robertsbridge, and Ilurst Green, till the peasantry were perfectly satisfied. All these places are in a convulsed state.

Mr. Mitling's barn at Hoar was burnt down on Monday night. The barn contained fifty quarters of oats, which were consumed with the building.

RYE.

The agriculturists in this neighbourhood are in a state of constant alarm, caused by the frequent recurrence of the burning of corn and hay-stacks and out-buildings. On Thursday evening, a fire was discovered at a farm in the parish of Icklesham, about six miles from this town, which destroyed about 140 quarters of oats in the straw, a stack of clover hay and a barn, the property of Mr. Henry Farncomb. Many other persons have received hints and threats of similar vengeance.

It at length appears to be pretty well understood, even by the large farmers and great landowners, that the poor will not endure suffering beyond a certain limit; that limit being overstepped has caused the destruction of machlues. In several parishes, farmers have agreed to afford fair wages for labour; and where this humane course has been adopted, it has uniformly succeeded in quelling the turbulence of the peasantry.

APPREHENSION OF SOME OF THE SUPPOSED INCENDIARIES IN KENT.

CANTERBURY, Nov. 9, Three o'clock. — (*Extract of a Letter.*)—This morning at three o'clock, the principal turnkey at St. Augustine's, accompanied by some Bow-street officers and the town constables, to the number of eight, proceeded hence to the village of Bridge, on the Dover road, about three miles distant; they were armed with pistols, cutlasses, and crow-bars. When they reached Bridge they proceeded to the cottage of a man named Taylor, whom they took into custody without his making the least resistance, telling them that he did not care what happened to him, *as his condition in life could not be made worse.* Part of the officers then proceeded to the village of Kingston, where they surrounded the house of another cottager, whom they also apprehended, and conveyed both their prisoners into Canterbury gaol this morning.

We have since learned that information has been given against the prisoners as having been among the most active in the late *deprecations on machinery.* Taylor is a shoemaker, but states, that not being able to

procure full employment, he has occasionally gone to agricultural labour; that his condition in life has been miserable, and his family nearly starving.

The parishes of Preston and Wingham are now patrolled nightly; the greatest alarm prevailed at the latter place this morning, in consequence of the head officer having delivered in a report that they had heard during the night several shots, and one of the patrol was hit by a spent ball in the hat, which, however, did him no injury. Rockets were also seen in various directions, let off in the air.

There was a sale of some wood at Waltham, near this city, to-day, belonging to Sir J. Courtenay Honeywood, Bart.; one person who purchased part of the wood was openly threatened, that unless he raised his labourers' wages it should be consumed by fire.

Proceedings in the Common Council of London, relative to the countermanding of the entertainments to be given to the King and Queen.

On Monday morning last, the 8th of November, the following documents were published.

POSTPONEMENT OF THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE CITY.

" Guildhall, London, Nov. 7.

" The Committee appointed to conduct the entertainment proposed to be given on Lord Mayor's-day next, on the occasion of their Majesties honouring the City of London with their presence, deem it their duty to give publicity to a letter received at nine o'clock this evening by the Lord Mayor from the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, of which the following is a copy :—

" Whitehall, Nov. 7.

" My Lord,—I am commanded by the King to inform your Lordship, that his Majesty's confidential servants have felt it to be their duty to advise the King to postpone the visit which their Majesties intended to pay to the City of London on Tuesday next.

" From information which has been recently received, there is reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and affection borne to his Majesty by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of an occasion which must necessarily assemble a vast number of persons by night to create tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the properties and the lives of his Majesty's subjects.

" It would be a source of deep and lasting concern to their Majesties, were any calamity to occur on the occasion of their visit to the City of London, and their Majesties have, therefore, resolved, though not without the greatest reluctance and regret, to forego, for

the present, the satisfaction which that visit would have afforded to their Majesties.

" I have the honour to be, my Lord,

" Your obedient servant,

" ROBERT PEELE.

" The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

Upon the appearance of these documents, which were placarded all over London, the Common Council of the City was called together; and the following is a report of their proceedings.

Sir Robert Peel's letter having been read to the Court,

Mr. LEDGER begged to know whether that letter contained the whole of the information which his Lordship was able to lay before the Court? It appeared to him that the letter was an answer to some communication made to the Ministers from the City of London (hear hear), and he was desirous to know whether his Lordship could add any thing calculated to open the eyes of those interested in so important a question?

The Lord Mayor Elect said, that he rose under feelings of a very painful nature, to address the Court. Nobody more deeply lamented the unfortunate event of which every one spoke than he did, particularly as it was supposed that his conduct had led to that result. But the Court should have a full opportunity of judging to what extent he was blameable, as they should have the opportunity of hearing read the communication which he had thought it expedient to transmit to the Duke of Wellington. He had received letters from various quarters lately on the subject of his Majesty's expected visit. Some of those letters stated that there would be a most decided difference between the reception which awaited the King, and that which awaited the Duke of Wellington—that his Majesty would be received with the most ardent expressions of loyalty (hear, hear), but that it would be far otherwise with the Duke of Wellington. (Hear, hear.) Upon the merits of the question as to the contrasted treatment, he should not enter. He had received other communications also, stating that it was the intention of a set of desperate and abandoned characters to attack the Duke; and upon such a foundation was his communication to his Grace built. He had previously, in a communication with Sir Robert Peel upon the subject, heard the Secretary say, "*What are we to do with the Duke of Wellington?*" After a few words more, which we could not hear for the above-stated reason, the following letter was handed by the Lord Mayor Elect to one of the Clerks of the Court, and read :—

" My Lord Duke,—From the station of Lord Mayor to which I have been elected, numberless communications are made to me, both personally and by letter, in reference to the 9th, and it is on that account I take the liberty of addressing your Grace. Although the feelings of all the respectable citizens of London are decidedly loyal, yet it cannot but

be known there are both in London as well as the country a set of desperate and abandoned characters who are anxious to avail themselves of any circumstance to create tumult and confusion, while all of any respectability in the City are vying with each other to testify their loyalty on the occasion. From what I learn, it is the intention of some of the desperate characters alluded to, to take the opportunity of making an attack on your Grace's person on your approach to the Hall. Every exertion on my part shall be used to make the best possible arrangement in the City; but should any sudden and violent attack be made in one quarter, any civil force alone might not be sufficiently effectual; and I should not be doing my duty, after what I have heard, did I not take the liberty of suggesting to your Grace the propriety of your coming strongly and sufficiently guarded. I probably may be considered giving you needless trouble, but the respect which I, as well as every person who really wishes the welfare of the country, must have for your Grace, and the gratitude we owe you, has induced me to adopt this course.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"With the highest respect,

"Your very obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN KEY, Lord Mayor Elect."

[Here there were expressions of disapprobation, and some cries of hear, hear!]

Mr. FIGGINS: Was that communication made to the Duke with or without the advice of the Court of Aldermen or the Committee?

The LORD MAYOR Elect: It was made without advice.

Mr. LEDGER said, that on account of the personal nature of the matter before the Court, the discussion ought to take place with closed doors.

Mr. GALLOWAY deprecated discussion with closed doors. He had, he said, listened attentively to the letter, and he regretted much that so injudicious a communication had been made by the Lord Mayor Elect. He, however, could not but say that he believed the motive to have been a good one, although the suggestions were most unadvisedly and unwisely made. (Hear, hear.) A certain evil had sprung from the communication, which owed its origin to the Lord Mayor Elect; but it was attributable to misconception and mistake, to which his Lordship would, no doubt, look back, during his life, with great pain. (Hear, hear.) They (the Corporation) were in difficult circumstances, and it required the exercise of judgment and forbearance to extricate them from these difficulties. It was their duty to convey to the Executive Government their opinions on the subject of the postponement of his Majesty's visit; and he thought it would be a good precursor of those opinions if the Lord Mayor Elect would acknowledge his regret at having made the communication which the Court had just heard read. (A partial cry of hear.)

The LORD MAYOR Elect rose under much

apparent agitation. He was, he said, much obliged to the gentleman who had just spoken, for the mild manner in which the accusation had been made. The communication had been sent to his Grace in a moment without consideration, and he (the Lord Mayor Elect) should certainly never cease to regret that he had acted so erroneously. (Hear, hear.) He assured the Court that it would operate upon him as a caution in his future proceedings, which he should take care should never be considered as unadvised. It would give him the greatest happiness to adopt the advice just tendered to him, but he wished it to be distinctly understood, that it was an error to suppose that he meant to advise the Duke of Wellington to come into the City accompanied by the military. His object was merely to induce his Grace to pass guarded through those parts of the Metropolis where the New Police were so unpopular. (Hear, and some expressions of disapprobation.)

Mr. DIXON, who spoke in such a tone as to be scarcely audible, said, "God forbid that any man should not be able to come to dinner in the City in safety." (Cheers.) If the Lord Mayor Elect had erred in expressing his doubts on the subject, the error was of the head, not of the heart. (Hear.)

Mr. CLARKE (of Bishopsgate) said that the Court could not but be of one opinion on the subject. They deprecated the interference of the Lord Mayor Elect on such an occasion, without holding a consultation with his brother Magistrates (hear, hear); and he thought that a Committee should be nominated, to draw up Resolutions expressive of the feelings of the Court on the subject.

Alderman VIVANDES rose to defend the Magistracy of London from any imputation which might be cast upon it in the allusions made to the safety of his Majesty's person. He had most strictly attended to all the details of the police regulations made for the occasion; and he most solemnly declared, that the arrangements were perfectly adapted to the security of the peace and good order of the City. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. EBENEZER TAYLOR wished to know whether the Court of Aldermen came to any resolution upon the subject of the communication made by the Lord Mayor Elect?

Alderman HUNTER (the Lord Mayor's locum tenens) said, that the Court had come to certain resolutions, which the Town Clerk would read. [Here the Resolutions, as they are published, were read, and the Court expressed their approbation of them.]

Mr. STEVENS did not see that the Lord Mayor Elect's letter was a matter of such heavy accusation. He thought, he had heard it spoken of, that it contained a comparison of the character of the citizens of London; but he begged to ask whether the very subject of it was not matter of common conversation amongst the Members of that Court? Whether it was not a matter of question that the Duke of Wellington would be treated with

respect and kindness. (Loud cries of "No, no," mingled with cries of "Hear.") He was convinced the statement he made was correct. (No, no, and laughter.) He admitted that an act of imprudence had been committed by the Lord Mayor Elect, because he *did not consult his brother Magistrates*; but beyond that there was no imputation upon that gentleman. (Cries of "Hear, hear," and murmurs.) But there was reason to believe that *other Members of that Court* had taken measures to inform the Duke of Wellington that it would not be advisable in him to attend the banquet. (Loud cries of "No, no," and cheers; and a call for the names of those who had so advised.) He should not name those persons, because he knew that they were unanly enough to make the avowal in that Court. (Name, name.)

Mr. GALLOWAY said, he rose to avow that he was one of the individuals who had said that after the extremely injudicious observations of the Duke of Wellington in a debate in the House of Lords, they would sign a letter to him expressive of their opinion of the unfavourable reception which his Grace would probably meet. (Hear, hear.) He was not one of those who blamed the Lord Mayor Elect for writing the letter; he only blamed his Lordship for *not saying why he wrote it*. (Laughter, and cries of "Hear.") He wished upon such an occasion, for the truth, and the whole truth; and if that had been told without reserve, there would have been no ground for censure.

Mr. LEDGER (the leader of the requisitionists) said that he lamented that it was his duty to move a resolution expressive of the sentiment of the Court on such an occasion. He lamented that such an unadvised and unauthorized communication had been made, and matter. *He had to speak out on so important a subject upon the citizens of London, and a disgrace to the Court of Aldermen.* He regretted that the Lord Mayor Elect should so far forget himself as to propose what was calculated to produce the most ruinous consequences, and to suggest upon so vital a subject without consulting his brother magistrates. (Hear, hear, and expressions of dissent.) The Duke of Wellington was bound to notice such a communication, coming from such a quarter.

Mr. TICKNER said he had been informed that the letter produced was not the only letter sent to the Duke of Wellington on the subject—that a member of that Court had also written a letter to the Duke, which was calculated to add to the feeling upon which his Grace had acted, in advising his Majesty. (Cries of, Name, name.)

Mr. CHARLES PEARSON at once admitted he had written a letter to the Duke on the subject. He, however, considered himself bound not to state the contents until he should receive his Grace's permission, for which he had sent, when he understood a Court was to be called. He then read the postscript of the letter, which stated, that in the event of an answer from the

Duke, the communication should be kept quite a secret.

Mr. BLEADEN said that the Court could not come to a Resolution of too loyal a description; he was of opinion that the King might come into the City with all his Ministers, but he believed also, that if any Minister were more unpopular than another, that Minister was the Duke of Wellington; if any Minister ever performed an act calculated to throw disrepute upon the Sovereign, the Duke was that Minister (Hear, hear).

Mr. ALDERMAN asked whether the communication received on the subject of the danger to the Duke of Wellington by the Lord Mayor Elect were anonymous or not. (Hear, hear.)

The LORD MAYOR Elect said, that one of the communications he received was anonymous, and signed, "A Citizen;" one of the verbal communications was from a Mr. Christie, of Gray's Inn-lane.

Mr. THORNHILL wished to hear Mr. Pearson justify the course he had adopted.

In Mr. CHARLES PEARSON'S speech, that Gentleman, when explaining his motives for having written a letter to the Duke of Wellington, alluded to and distinctly mentioned the assemblages of the people at the Rotunda, on the Surrey side of Blackfriars Bridge, where, he said, the crowd were advised to arm themselves for the purpose of accomplishing a Revolution. Now, he asked, with a knowledge of all the facts which he had ascertained, had not he done right in making a representation to the Duke, not for the safety of his Grace, but to save the numerous starving individuals from the calamities which, in a period of tumult or excitement, might befall them? (Cries of no, no, and hear.) He felt quite satisfied himself of the propriety of the course he had pursued; and as he never did anything in secret, he had informed the Chairman of the Royal Committee of what he had done. (Disapprobation, and cries of hear.)

Mr. WOOD wholly disapproved of the conduct of the Lord Mayor Elect, as did Mr. Thornhill.

Mr. LEDGER then moved a resolution, stating the unabated loyalty of the citizens of London to his Majesty, and condemning the conduct of the Lord Mayor Elect.

Mr. ROUTH moved, as an Amendment, that a Committee should be appointed to prepare a declaratory resolution, expressive of the loyalty of the citizens, and their regret that circumstances should have occurred to deprive the citizens of the gratification of the Royal visit.

The Amendment was, after some discussion, for which we have not room, agreed to, and the Court adjourned.

The Corporation of Poole have signalized themselves by setting a glorious example to all corporate bodies in the kingdom, by at once dispossessing themselves of their exclusive privilege to return Members to Parliament. They have, with a liberal spirit that

will shine like a morning star of future hope to the people of this kingdom, freely offered the elective franchise to all of the inhabitants of the town who may choose to accept it. Great things rise from small beginnings: may this noble example lead to the great results which alone will save England from the gulf of ruin!—*Bath Journal*.

ATTACK ON THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Being in the park on the day his Majesty went to Parliament House, my attention was directed to the announcement of the mob—"Here he comes! Here he comes! See, here comes Wellington! Now is the time, my boys!" At this moment an immense mob surrounded the Duke and his groom, who, with manly fortitude, bore patiently the insults of a lawless infuriated banditti; groans, hisses, and gravel, were liberally bestowed on them, with tremendous vociferation of "No Police, no Police!" Seeing his Grace surrounded on all sides with a crew of furies, and pelted with gravel by a mob, I fearlessly got near his person, and, actuated with the spirit of an old British tar, I boldly took off my hat, and loudly sang out, "The brave Wellington for ever, who dare insult the Hero of Waterloo?" At these words a few others joined me; I pressed forward, and addressed the Duke—"Why, my Lord, does not your groom dash boldly among the rascals, and secure one of them to make an example of?" The Duke replied, "What can I do, Sir?" At this moment a stone struck the Duke on the cheek; he shook his head, applied a key to the door of his office, the back of Downing Street, in the park, and escaped their further fury. While the Duke was opening the door, missiles were flying about in various directions; I turned round and seized the arm of one fellow, who was about throwing a large stone at the Duke, and though an old tar upwards of sixty years, I held him taught until I was compelled by the mob to relinquish my hold, and for the first time scud before the enemy to avoid having my upperworks severely battered.—*A Correspondent of the — Old Times*.

A letter from Brussels states that a considerable number of the Belgian volunteers have formed the plan of destroying the monument on the field of battle at Waterloo, as it only has the effect of perpetuating a sad recollection for Belgium, and for the entire of Europe, considering that the triumph of that day has had no other result than forcing Belgium under the yoke of Holland, and placing Europe in the hands of the Holy Alliance.

The following was posted at the Stock Exchange:—

"London, Nov. 8, 1830.

"To the Honourable the Members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen and Common Council for the City of London, and the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

"No thinking man can look on the signs of the present times without great anxiety. Insurrectionaries are abroad, and the minds of the public are ripe for mischief. The well-disposed are alarmed, and, for want of leaders, inactive.

"I call upon you to consult with your friends and colleagues, on the propriety of holding a public meeting, at which the great body of the citizens can express their loyalty, and consult upon measures for their mutual protection in the hour of need.

"Be not supine, saying, 'It is not my business; there are others more interested or more capable than I am;' or secure, saying, 'It cannot happen yet.'

"Do your duty. Unless a strong demonstration be made, the mob will rise, and then it will be too late.

"A CITIZEN AND LOYALIST."

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1830.

INSOLVENT.

Nov. 4.—EVANS, C.S., Grove-street, Camden-town, master-mariner.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

OWEN, J., Chiswell-street, Finsbury, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, J., Brimscombe-Port and Bourne, Gloucestershire, coal-merchant.

BEST, W., Noble-street, ironmonger.

BUMFORD, E., Tredegar-square, Mile-End-road, builder.

BURGIN, W., Old-street, St. Luke's, corn-dealer.

CHRISTIAN, T., Leicester, salt-dealer.

DAWE, F., and T. Guppy, Axminster, Devonshire, millers.

FIELDSEND, J., and F. Crook, Oxford-street, linen-draper.

KERR, R., and J. Little, Ipswich, tea-dealers.

LEE, J., Brighthelmston, Sussex, victualler.

MILLER, G., Watling-street, tallow-chandler.

MONTEITH, R., Sloane-street, Chelsea, merchant.

MURTON, C., Great Newport-street, Long Acre, bookbinder.

NEWMAN, J., Upper Clapton, carpenter.

PERCIVAL, J. jun., Whitechapel, oil and colour-man.

SCRIVEN, E., Clarendon-square and Battersea, engraver.

TULLETT, T., Birmingham, hatter.

WHITE, J., Linton, Hertfordshire, miller.

WOODBINE, R., Littleport, Cambridgeshire, carpenter.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

Nov. 6.—HEBERT, H., Retreat, South Lambeth, wine-merchant.

Nov. 8.—HILL, J. C., Liverpool, merchant.

—M'INNIS, W., Sculcoates, Yorkshire, tea-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, H., Norwich, laceman.
 COOPER, R., Plas Ucha Dwygyfylchi, Carnarvonshire, dealer.
 FERLUSON, R., Great Prescott-street, Good-
 man's-fields, carpenter.
 GRANT, P., Strand, newspaper-vender.
 PETTY, Joseph, Manchester, joiner.
 SCOTT, John, Norwich, upholder.
 SPENSLEY, John, South Molton-street, Han-
 over-square, cheesemonger.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, Nov. 8.—
 The demand for Wheat to-day is very brisk,
 but the supply very small; the prices given
 are 1s. to 2s. higher than on this day se'n-
 night. Barley is in considerable request and
 fully maintains last week's prices, there being
 but a scanty supply. The trade in Oats is
 very heavy, with large arrivals, and a reduc-
 tion of 1s. per quarter. In Beans and Pease
 there is but little doing, the prices remaining
 steady. The arrivals of Flour good, the de-
 mand moderate, with no variation in terms.

Wheat	54s. to 72s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	34s. to 36s.
— fine	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White	48s. to 52s.
— Boilers	54s. to 56s.
— Grey	38s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	34s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoes	28s. to 30s.
— Poland	24s. to 28s.
— Feed	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape seed, per last	26s. to 28s.

ARRIVALS OF THE WEEK.

ENGLISH—Wheat, 3,483 qrs.; Barley, 8,163;
 6,679; Oats, 6,369; Rye, 76; Beans,
 2,173; Pease, 1,530.
 IRISH—Wheat, —; Oats, 25,600 qrs.
 FOREIGN—Wheat, 6,650 qrs.; Barley, —;
 Oats, 290; Rye, —; Beans, —; Pease, —.
 English Flour.....8,827 sacks.
 American Do.....6,333 barrels.

SMITHFIELD—Thursday.

This day's supply was in the whole limited,
 yet the trade was, throughout, very dull, with
 Veal at an advance of full 4d., very prime
 small Beef 2d. per stone; with Mutton and
 Pork at Monday's quotations.—Milk Cows,
 which were not so numerous as on this day
 se'n'night, were dull of sale at that day's prices
 —viz., a useful short-horn, with her small
 calf, producing from 19l. to 20l.—Prime Beef,
 from 3s. 2d. to 4s. 10d.; middling Beef, 2s. 4d.
 to 2s. 8d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.;
 prime Mutton, 3s. 4d. to 4s. 4d.; middling
 Mutton, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d.
 to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. 2d. to 5s.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to
 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8lbs., to sink the offal.—
 Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 42s.; and quar-
 ter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each.—Supply,
 as per Clerk's statement; Beasts, 430; Sheep
 and Lambs, 6,230; Calves, 165; Pigs, 160.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, old....	36s. to 40s. per cwt.
— new....	46s. to 48s.
— Sides, old....	37s. to 40s.
— new....	46s. to 48s.
Beef, India, new....	100s. to 102s. 6d. per tr.
— Mess, new....	58s. to 60s. per barrel.
— old....	55s. to 57s. 6d.
— India, old....	110s. per tierce.
Butter, Belfast.....	90s. per cwt.
— Carlow.....	90s.
— Cork.....	88s.
— Limerick.....	90s.
— Waterford.....	86s. to 88s.
— Scotch.....	76s. to 78s.
— Dutch.....	104s.
Cheese, Cheshire, new....	48s. to 60s.
— old....	56s. to 84s.
— Gloucester, Double....	42s. to 56s.
— Single....	42s. to 52s.
— Edam.....	42s. to 44s.
— Gouda.....	42s. to 44s.
Hams, Cumberland....	60s. to 65s.
— Yorkshire....	70s. to 84s.
— Irish.....	46s. to 60s.
Lard.....	58s. to 61s.

THE FUNDS.

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	80½	81½	78	79½	81½	84½

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 12.

The supplies this week are very small, not-
 withstanding the market is very dull, and Mon-
 day's prices scarcely supported.

	English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour . . .	2,700		
Wheat . . .	1,710	3,650	
Barley . . .	3,430		150
Oats . . .	1,600		1,100

On the 18th of November will be published,
 No. 1. of

THE USEFUL FAMILY LIBRARY, which
 will contain the RIGHTS of MAN, complete;
 with highly-finished Likenesses of Paine and
 Lafayette. It will be got up to correspond,
 in every respect, with the Family Library.
 Small 8vo., price 5s.

"The present crisis requires every one to
 read so valuable a work as 'The Rights of
 Man.'"—Times.

John Brooks, 421, Oxford-street.

AN ADDRESS from the MILLIONS who
 have grown poor and are daily growing poorer,
 to the THOUSANDS who have grown rich and
 are daily growing richer, is just published by
 W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-Row, and may
 be had of all booksellers, price 3d.

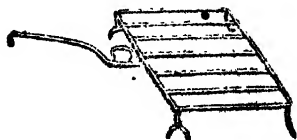
Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 70.—No. 21.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1830.

[Price 1s.



LAST WORDS TO LORDS.

Kensington, 15th November, 1830.

LORDS,

It is now about *thirty years* since I began to address you, sometimes individually and sometimes collectively; and it is now time to bring the practice to a close. As a branch of the *law-makers*, I may address you a few times more; but never again in any other capacity. My object now is, not to *inform* or to *persuade*; for I now care not one straw for your opinions or your actions. I have plied you with fact, with argument, with supplication, long enough. I have pleaded with you in behalf of the suffering and insulted people, till further pleading became disgracefully mean. I have now, therefore, merely to put upon record my opinions as to *what will befall you in the end*, unless efficient means of prevention be *immediately* applied; or, in other words, to TELL YOUR FORTUNES. I do this merely to gratify my own feelings and those of my readers; and not at all with either the hope or the desire of saving you, to whom I owe no good-will, but a great sum of ill-will; and if I withhold that which I owe you, the withholding arises from feelings the reverse of those of respect.

That which you may think of the predictions that I am now about to put upon record, I set no more account on than I do on what so many mice may be thinking of. But on my intelligent readers I may call to look on the state of the country now; to look at every feature in that state; and then to say, whether any prediction of mine be not entitled to atten-

tion. How long, good God, have I been pleading for the working people, and for *country-labourers* in particular! How often and how urgently have I pressed it on you to consider what must be the ultimate effects of the law to *transport men for poaching*, and of the *hangings* for the violences committed on gamekeepers, hangings proceeding directly from the former law! How often have I said, that these laws, both of them *quite new*, and on principles abhorrent to all our settled notions of law and justice; how often have I said, that these laws, if there had been nothing else, must of necessity fill the breasts of the country-labourers with feelings of deadly hostility towards those who caused the execution of these laws! How often have I said, when official statements have showed, that "*pouch-ers*" constituted one-half of the people in the jails, that it was not in nature to believe, that *in every village* there were not several persons who had some degree of *vengeful feeling on this score*; and how often have I asked, whether it were possible that, sooner or later, this feeling would not break out in overt acts! How often have I said, that the *new felony law*, the *new trespass law*, *Ellenborough's act*, the *new poor-laws* of STURGES BOURNE, with their double votings, select vestries, and "*assistant overseers*," aided by the *tread-mill*; how often have I said, that these things, *all new*, all unknown, unheard-of, and undreamed-of, before George IV. became Regent; how often have I said, and how often have my town readers been surprised at my saying, that, in the end, *these things* would produce the *most dreadful consequences*! But how many scores of times have I said, that this system of taxing would, at last, "*press the middle class down amongst the working class*"; and that then would come the fearful time; for that the farmers would become *indifferent* with regard to what took place, and would, in a short time,

Y

see that it was their *interest* to make *common cause* with the labourers against the *landowners and the parsons*! How often have I said all this? And what do we behold now! We have seen (last Register, p. 725) that the labourers have, in two instances, ordered the parsons to *take less tithe from the farmers*, and had declared that the *landlords must take less rent*. In the *London Morning Chronicle* of the 15th instant, we read this: "*Among nearly three hundred farmers assembled at Maidstone, to be sworn as special constables, not more than forty could be prevailed upon to take the oath, and of these not more than ten would act; many declaring openly that they considered the cause of the rioters as their own; that they had repeatedly, but in vain, petitioned for a redress of their grievances, and that they were become indifferent to the result. Some even of those who did their utmost to put down the rioters, disapproved more of the manner than the matter of their demands; and you may rest assured that all classes who do not live upon the taxes will, at no distant period, unite in telling you that something must be done, and that by refusing to listen to them, you more than risk the safety of the country.*" And in the bloody old *Times*, of the 13th, we read: "*The risings, where they occur, are now with the ostensible view of reducing the tithes and taxes, without a diminution of which, the men say, their wages cannot be paid. In short, they seem convinced that, in the case of the petty farmers, the latter are nearly as badly off as themselves; and it is shrewdly suspected by some, that these conflagrations are viewed with comparative indifference by some of the farmers, even when they happen on their own farms; the hay and corn destroyed may be nominally theirs, but they are really the landlord's, to whom they are pledged for arrears of rent.*" How often have I said, that things would come *precisely to this state*; and more than ten times I have said, that, in all probability, the thing

would be *begun in Sussex or Kent*, and thence stretch its fatal steps through *Hampshire and Wiltshire*!

I cannot even name this last county without shuddering at the thought of those *stack-yards* which have so often been objects of my admiration, and the equal of which no part of this world has ever beheld. Nor can I name this fine county without calling to mind my efforts *there* to prevent the scenes that we now behold. Lords, you may turn up your upper lip, and give your head a haughty fling; but the public will read with *wonder and admiration* that which I am now about to lay before them, being the conclusion of a speech made by me to a large company of *farmers*, at a dinner at *SALISBURY*, on the 22d of October, 1822, as reported in the Register of the 26th of that same month. They had listened to me for an hour, or more, with a great deal of patience, when I concluded as follows, in words that ought to have been, and, I hope, were, *engraved on the hearts of my hearers*, and that would have been engraved *on yours*, if the substance had been of a sort to admit of it.

"Without this reform, Gentlemen, be you assured that no efficient reductions will take place; and be you also assured, that without those reductions you must either cease to be farmers or must be ruined men. And, when I say *ruined*, I mean reduced to absolute pauperism or beggary. I do not mean merely reduced to poverty in a limited sense of the word; for, recollect, that when a man has fallen, he is not the same man that he would have been if he had never been aloft. He does not fall to the bottom of the farmers and stand at the head of the labourers; but he falls to the bottom of the labourers; and, bitter as the thought is, unpleasant as I know it is for you to hear, painful as it is for me to say, it is my duty to say it, and I give it you as my settled opinion, that if you do not quit your farms or bestir yourselves to obtain a reform of the Parliament, thousands upon thousands of you who are now farmers, will, along with your children,

"become the labourers of your present
 "labourers or your present labourers'
 "sons. I know, Gentlemen, that this
 "is not the way for me to acquire popu-
 "larity amongst you; but I know that
 "to be honest and sincere in the de-
 "claring of my opinions is the way to
 "acquire a fair claim to your respect;
 "and I know also that in the end it is
 "the way to possess it. It does not
 "become me, stranger in the county as
 "I am, to dictate to men like you, nor
 "even officiously to obtrude on you my
 "advice; but upon this occasion I can-
 "not refrain from mentioning, that I
 "have seen, in the county newspapers,
 "that a meeting of farmers took place
 "at Winchester on Saturday last; that
 "they signed a requisition to the
 "Sheriff to call a County Meeting to
 "take into consideration the propriety
 "of petitioning Parliament on the sub-
 "ject of their unparalleled distress,
 "and on that of a suitable, efficient and
 "speedy remedy. This requisition they
 "have resolved to send to the several
 "market-towns to be signed by the
 "yeomen; and, Gentlemen, my opinion
 "decidedly is, that if the yeomen in
 "every county in England will act thus,
 "and will, when they meet, pray, in
 "the language of the intelligent and
 "public-spirited yeomen of the county
 "of Kent, for a Reform of the Par-
 "liament and reduction of the interest
 "of the debt, the thing will be done,
 "you will be saved, and the country
 "will be once more happy and free, and
 "relieved for ever from that disgraceful
 "sight, labourers cracking the stones
 "into little bits; labourers, reduced to
 "half-skeletons, thus employed by the
 "way-side, while, with full bellies and
 "plump cheeks, they ought to be
 "whistling to the jingle of the plough-
 "traces on the other side of the hedge.
 "This brings me, Gentlemen, to that
 "conclusion to which I should long ago
 "have come, had I not been enticed
 "along by that singular patience and
 "attention with which you have ho-
 "noured me, and which I value so much
 "more than bawling and clamour.
 "Conclude, however, I cannot, without
 "an observation or two with regard to

"the hardly pressed and unhappy la-
 "bourers. Gentlemen, there seems to be
 "a regular scheme on foot for getting
 "something out of this body of persons,
 "wherewith to satisfy the other de-
 "mands upon the farmer. He cannot
 "now pay all the demands that are
 "made upon him. The taxes: 'Oh!
 "he must pay them; for they are for
 "the support of the Government!' The
 "tithes: 'Not to pay them were to
 "sin against God, as well as against
 "man!' The rent: 'He must pay that;
 "for here is the lease; here is the purch-
 "ment; and what man will be worse
 "than his contract?' Well then, what
 "are the other outgoings? The poor-
 "rates: 'Aye, reduce them!' The
 "labourer's wages: 'Aye, pinch him!
 "Get something out of him! Let him
 "have less to eat and less to wear, and
 "less to warm him!' Gentlemen,
 "every such project will fail, in the
 "end. Every such project is in defi-
 "ance not only of the laws of God, but
 "of Nature herself. The landlord sup-
 "plies the land; but what is his land
 "without the hand of the labourer? I
 "have no wish to depreciate the claim
 "of the landlord; but is his claim better
 "than that of the labourer? Is the dirt
 "on which we tread more precious than
 "the sweat of man? Is property
 "in land to be set before labour, which,
 "according to every principle of law as
 "well as of justice and reason, is the
 "very foundation of all property of
 "every description. Laying aside
 "however, all principle connected with
 "the subject; divesting ourselves if we
 "can be so base as to wish it, of all
 "those feelings which nature has placed
 "in our breast, and looking at the
 "matter with an eye of common pru-
 "dence only, who can think of interest,
 "of safety, of one moment's happiness
 "or quiet, surrounded by a swarm of
 "starving labourers? Gentlemen, look
 "at unhappy Ireland: think of the
 "occupier of a farm, compelled to pass
 "the night with lights burning in his
 "house, with arms ready loaded; with
 "his friends and relations collected to-
 "gether as in a garrison; with the
 "doors barricaded; with all the ave-

"nurs rendered inaccessible; with a
 "force distributed in preparation for
 "attack; and think of the feelings of
 "the master of that house, while his
 "*stacks and his out-buildings are blazing*, and he daring not to sally out to
 "face the invaders of his own farm-
 "yard! For myself, I can safely say,
 "that I would not accept of the proprie-
 "torship of fifty estates upon the con-
 "dition of leading such a life upon one
 "of them for one winter; and I think I
 "can safely say, that what I feel upon
 "this subject is the feeling of you all.
 "The description which I have just
 "given is no description of mine. My
 "genius has not the merit of inventing
 "a thing so full of horrors. I merely
 "repeat what we read in almost every
 "newspaper that reaches us from Ire-
 "land. Do you, Gentlemen, wish to
 "*see England in such a state as that?*
 "Every Englishman's heart answers,
 "'No!' No: God Almighty forbid that
 "*the once happy farm-houses of Eng-*
 "*land* should be converted into scenes
 "like this! Well then, Gentlemen;
 "farmers of Wiltshire, do you see
 "any other means of avoiding such a
 "calamity than that of treating the
 "labourers with gentleness and justice?
 "Almost through the whole of my life,
 "being an employer of labourers myself,
 "I am aware that they are not without
 "their faults any more than the rest of
 "mankind. I am aware that their
 "follies and vices stand in need of the
 "correction of those whom they serve,
 "I am aware of all this; but I cannot
 "forget what is due to the toils that
 "they perform; I cannot forget the
 "endless repetition of the commands
 "of God to *render to labour its due*
 "*reward*; I cannot forget that it is
 "owing to accident, perhaps more than
 "any thing else, that I am not at this
 "day a labourer myself; and I cannot
 "forget, though I can not about reli-
 "gion; though I make not a bawling
 "about blasphemy, that it is the duty
 "of us all to do by others as we under-
 "stand similar circumstances would have
 "those others do unto us. Gentlemen,
 "for the great attention that you have
 "paid to me, and particularly for the

"patience and the manifestly just and
 "kind feeling with which you have
 "heard what I have said *with regard*
 "*to the labourers*, the only return I have
 "to make to you is that of most sin-
 "cerely wishing you, what without
 "your own exertions I am persuaded
 "you will never again enjoy, pros-
 "perity."

There, Lords! Do you not think,
 now that it would have been better for
 YOU, if I had been MINISTER, since
 1822, instead of being calumniated by
 the bloody old *Times* and the rest of your
 "best possible public instructors"? I
 do not say, better for the PEOPLE;
 but better for YOU? For *to you* the
 evil is now coming, and that, too, with
 long and rapid strides. You have seen
 the labourers tell the Parsons to *lower*
their tithes; and, will they not tell you
 to *lower your rents*; nay, have they not
 said, that *you must do it*? What is this
 but approaching your *estates*? Men,
 particularly in a case like this, go on,
 step by step, *increasing* in their demands;
 and those steps follow one another very
 quickly. They, when they get a part
 in this way, can see no reason why the
 principle should not be extended to *the*
whole; and this brings me to my point,
 and my opinion is, that, *if a real and*
radical reform be not speedily adopted,
 YOU WILL LOSE THOSE
 TATES, OF TITLES I make no ac-
 count; for they are worth *rather* less
 than nothing after the estates be gone.
 But do I, now, *seriously believe this*? I
 do most sincerely believe it; and, in less
 than a year, you will begin to believe it
 too, unless there be that *reform of the*
House of Commons of which I have just
 spoken; and which I am afraid we shall
 not see.

As they were feasting and carousing,
 as they were marrying and being given
 in marriage, until Noah *actually stepped*
into the ark, so, I dare say, you will
 retain your disbelief in me to the last
 possible moment. There are habits
 thinking as well as of acting; and it
 has, ever since your minds have had
 thoughts, been the habit of your minds
 to regard the durability of your power
 to be like that of the sun or the earth,

and to look upon this country and all its industrious, laborious and persevering millions as *made for you*, for your benefit, your enjoyment, your pleasure, and, almost, for your *consumption*. Of late years, and especially since the restoration of the Bourbons, this habit has, too, wonderfully increased upon you, as is exemplified in the establishment of military and naval academies, which as good as say, "No one shall ever have a commission again, unless he belong to us." You must have regarded the people as made for your *sport*, before the *transportation-poaching law* could be passed. Your very *phraseology* indicates this habit of your minds: instead of *people*, you call us the *population*, and, instead of *country people*, you call them the *peasantry*, a term borrowed from the feudal times of the French, and meaning a creature almost the *property of a Lord*. You thought, when you had forced the Bourbons back upon the French people, that the "*population*" were yours for ever. One would naturally think, that the "*population*" and the "*peasantry*," and particularly the latter, had, by this time, convinced you, that you ought to begin to adopt a new set of ideas; but those who would think thus, do not know you. They do not consider the habit of mind in which you have always existed, and how difficult it is for you to be made to believe that any-body but yourselves are flesh and blood.

You are now, however, in a new state. While you have been passing transportation-for-poaching laws and Sturges Bourne's poor-laws and new trespass laws and new felony laws and power-of-imprisonment laws, and while *tread-mills* and *cells* have been invented for the use of the "*population*" and the "*peasantry*," the "*population*" and the "*peasantry*" have been *reading*, not those base tools of despotic power, the monopoly-newspapers; not them, but papers and books, which in spite of the *new and heavy chains* imposed on the press, have taught them to know the real causes of their sufferings; have taught them *what you really are* and whence you *arose*; have taught them not to be

amused with *parties and factions*; have taught them to judge you justly; have taught them to inquire and to know *how you came by your estates*. They have had information from various sources; but the great source of all, the source of sources, has been the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, written to show how that event had *impoverished and degraded the people of England and Ireland*. This is, the Bible excepted, the most famous book in the world; but about that I never cared a straw. It was *here* that I wanted it to produce effect, and political effect too; and that it *has done* to a greater extent and of a graver and more lasting character than any other writing that ever appeared in the world. From this book the "*population*" and the "*peasantry*" have learned the *origin of tithes*, their *rightful uses*, and their *application* according to that *venerable constitution*, of which we hear so much when the preservation of Old Sarum and of *Ston* is the object. From this book they have learned *how the poor-laws became necessary*. From it they have learned, that a third part of the land belonged to the *people at large*, and they have learned *how the aristocracy got it all*. They now know how it came to pass that the *Duke of Devonshire owns the tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland*, and how the Duke of Bedford came to have the power of *taxing the cabbages in Covent Garden*. From this book they have *imibed real practical knowledge*. And upon this knowledge they are now ready to *act*; and act upon it *they will*, curl up your lips and toss up your heads as long as you please. You may creep under the gaberlines and kelts of BROUGHAM and HUMPS; they cannot save you by any other means than that of *radical reform*, and that reform will soon make you quite a different sort of beings from what you are now.

And now I take my leave of you, not caring one single straw what you say or what you do, and with a resolution never to address any of you again.

WM. COBBETT.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

Bolt-Court, 17th Nov., 1830.

By turning to my account of the *proceedings in Parliament*, the reader will see how tamely the "*Prince of Waterloo*" gave up the ghost. Where are his 40 titles now! How exactly has his fall verified my prediction, addressed to himself, in February 1828! He has literally been *hooted down by the people*. He says (and Peel says the same) that he has *resigned* in consequence of the majority against them, in the *House of Commons*, on Monday night. Aye, that is the pretence, but, if true, *what gave the opposition that majority?* Why, the cry of the people against the "*Prince*," to be sure; but, it would not do to say that he was *driven out by the people*. This would not have suited that *precious House* neither; and, there can be no doubt that it was *settled amongst all the parties*, that he should go out under this pretence; and that thus the *precious House* should have the *credit* of putting him out. This puts me in mind of haughty Lord Cornwallis, who, when he surrendered his army to the combined American and French army, wanted to give up his sword to the *Royal French* commander, and not to the *republican* Washington. He did, however, give it up to Washington; and our "*Prince*" might as well have given up his treasurer's staff to the people; for, it is the people, and not the *precious House*, that have taken the staff from him.—— Well! but who is to succeed him? The letter (sent to the King *early this morning*) of which the following is a copy, will show who, in my opinion, ought to succeed him.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Bolt-Court 17th Nov., 1830.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

BRING CONVINCED, that, if I were your Majesty's Minister, I could cause to be adopted such measures as would, in a very short space of time, put an end to the burnings, which are now a subject of great alarm, and as would, in a few months, restore the country to content and peace, and enable it again to raise its head aloft in the world; being thus convinced,

I deem it my duty, to your Majesty and to my country to tender my services to your Majesty; and, having thus discharged this duty, it only remains for me to add, that I am your Majesty's most dutiful, most obedient, and most humble subject and servant.

WM. COBBETT.

How, upon reading this, the lords and parsons and place-hunting lawyers and all the tax-eaters will curl up their lips and toss up their heads! What sweet grins it will excite on the 'Change, at Lloyd's, and in the hells of St. James's-street! In spite of all this, however, *to this* (if I live and have my health a few years longer) *it will come at last*; or something *a great deal worse to all these parties will come*. There is *not one single village*, however reclusive, in England, where my name is not known as the friend, the kind, the disinterested, the zealous friend of the working people, and particularly of the farming labourers; and if ever man deserved any-thing, I deserve this character. I have written and caused to be published, in various forms and under various titles, writings in defence of the rights of the labourers, writings calling for justice and mercy towards them, of which writings more than *three millions of copies* have been distributed in England, within the last twenty years. I have, on different occasions, addressed, in the way of speech, *two hundred thousand* men of property on the same subject, making it, in point of importance, superior to all others. I have stated their hard case, I have argued, I have supplicated, in their behalf, with as much earnestness as if my own life had depended on the result. They all know this, they know, too, how I have *suffered* for these my endeavours; and they respect and confide in me accordingly.

Now, if all this be *true*, and very few men will say that it is not, what would be the natural effect of the knowledge of the bare fact of my being the *King's Minister*? Is it not *possible*, at any rate, that it would *stay* this terrific plague of the fires? Every one will say, that *it is possible*; and there ought to need *nothing more than that* to induce the King to accept of my dutiful

tender of services. For, does any one believe that the *new Ministers* (be they who they may) will have any such power? Why should they? The labouring people *know nothing of them*, except that they make part of "*the great ones*." Besides, what can *they* do? I could not, by the use of my mere persuasion, stay the plague without a *specific promise of a specific good*, and within a *specified time*. They would rely on *my word*, but I must make good the *promise*. It is nonsense to suppose that the putting down of Prince Wellington will stop the proceedings in the counties. It may gratify coffee-house politicians and *talking societies* and unions; it may satisfy these, who may deem it *a triumph*. But what do the labourers care about it? It will not *raise their wages*, nor will it abolish the savage *game-law* nor *Sturges' Bourne's bills*. Take the following *two accounts*, and then say whether the putting out of the Duke will restore peace to the country:

"STAPLEHURST, Kent.—The farmers in this place have adopted a petition to Parliament, which, after describing the attempts that have been made to obtain a reduction of tithes and taxes, states—'It was then that we found ourselves compelled to reduce the price of labour, and we have seen our peasantry deprived of the comforts and, in part, the necessities of life, without the means of alleviating their condition. Nevertheless, until now, the oppressed labourer has borne his load, complaining but not resisting. But the time has arrived when he will bear it no longer. Desperation has urged the labourers of this and the neighbouring parishes to rise and congregate. They have surrounded the houses of your petitioners in fearful numbers, claiming at our hands that which we believe to be their right, and which we have felt it our duty and interest to give. We have increased their wages, and now, with our augmented burden (insupportable before), we approach your Honourable House; we tell you in language respectful yet plain, that our burdens are such that we can bear them no longer.' They then pray for *practical Parliamentary Reform*, and the *appropriation of such part of the Church property* as is not absolutely necessary for the liberal support of the clergy, according to their several stations and merits, TO THE EXIGENCIES OF THE STATE."

Take that, totters-up! Tuck that

under kelts! The other account comes to me in a letter from HORSHAM, (Sussex), written by a friend there; but, indeed, I have seen the substance of it in the newspapers.

"HORSHAM, 15th Nov., 1830.—SIR,—Take the following particulars as correct information for our hereditary and other law-makers assembled in London. On Monday the 15th of November, the Tithe Audit of a Mr. Dallaway was held at the parish of Slinfold. He usually comes once a year, and takes from the tithe-payers about three hundred pounds, leaving seventy for his journeyman's wages. As soon as the cloth was removed, after dinner, to commence the collection, the affrighted landlord of the inn at this obscure village, entered the room, in the greatest agitation, demanding his company to come to his assistance, as a party of about two hundred of the labouring classes had besieged his house. The farmers present invited them to a conference in the room respecting the object of their visit, which turned out to be a determination on their part, that the Rev. gentleman should receive *but two hundred pounds per annum*, and that the farmers should agree to a *higher price for labour*. Such was the determination on the part of the labourers, that the farmers found it prudent to comply with their demands. The Rev. gentleman went away without any money, not choosing to submit to the new laws made so unexpectedly. After the farmers paying the men for their time, they returned to their homes in peace. *Similar meetings are going on in several parishes round here.*"

Tot up that, Mr. HUME! Negro-slavery that, Mr. BROUGHAM! Show us how that is to be gotten rid off by he trundling out of "Prince Waterloo." The plain, common-sense state of the case, if one could hope to get common sense into the heads of Scotchmen, is this: the labourers want, on an average, *double* the amount of wages that they now receive; the farmers cannot give them this without instant ruin to themselves, while they have to pay *rents and tithes*, and this they tell the labourers; the parsons are found in every parish, this is the time of the year when the farmers pay them for the tithes, and the labourers go to the parsons and tell them to take less than *their due from the farmers*. Never was a plainer case; and who is to believe that the farmers do not approve of these proceedings? Who does not see, that *all the tithes* must soon go in this

way; and who is to believe that the rents will remain untouched? The newspapers tell us, that "A public meeting of the yeomanry was held on Tuesday at Rochester, when it was unanimously resolved—'That at the present alarming crisis it is the duty of the landowners and clergy, by a liberal abatement of rent and tithes, to assist the farmers in bearing those additional burdens which the peculiar circumstances of the times necessarily imposed upon them.'"

Kelts are, I dare say, very useful things, in certain cases; they might cover a *Dungeness* light-house for the venerable Whig, DADDY COKE, or a batch of *Crown-lands* for a great Yorkshire Whig; but, of what use are *kelts* in a case like this! Well, then, what is to be done? Why, the landlords, to keep rents, must get the taxes taken off the malt, soap, sugar, candles, tobacco, tea, and other things of the labourer, and the assessed taxes of the farmer and shop-keeper; and then it will remain for Mr. HUME to tot up what is left for the Civil List, army, ordnance, navy, colonies and the fundholder: first to tot up the remaining items, and then to divide them amongst the several claimants. That's all. Nothing can be more simple. Only two rules of Arithmetic, addition and division. Only this little thing; but this little thing must be done; or this whole fabric goes to pieces.

What, then, will the new Ministry do for the people? That is the question. Not what speeches they will make, but what they will do for us:

1. Will they reform the Parliament, and let every man vote, and by ballot? and when?
2. Will they repeal the malt-tax?
3. Will they repeal the sugar and tea tax?
4. Will they repeal tradesmen's assessed taxes?
5. Will they repeal those horrible Six-Acts that remain in force?
6. Will they repeal 1 Geo. IV., about apprehended riots?
7. Will they abolish the *gendarmierie*?
8. Will they reduce the army to its old standard of peace?
9. Will they lop off all unmerited pensions?
10. Will they free Ireland from transportation without trial by jury?
11. Will they repeal the new-treason law?

12. Will they repeal the law making it death to attempt to seduce a soldier from his duty?
13. Will they repeal the new felony law, making it felony to take an apple off a tree?
14. Will they repeal the new trespass law?
15. Will they repeal the transportation-for-poaching law?
16. Will they repeal Ellenborough's act, under which so many men have been hanged for resisting game-keepers?
17. Will they repeal Sturges Bourne's brace of poor-laws?
18. Will they put an end to the horrid treadmill?
19. Will they put an end to the harnessing of men, making them work like cattle, and separating them by force from their wives?
20. Will they make the Aristocracy and the soldiers pay postage on their letters, as is done by the farmer, the trader, the artisan and the labouring man?
21. Will they make the parsons pay back the 1,600,000*l.* that Perceval and Liverpool gave them out of the taxes?
22. Will they make the parsons pay back what they got in half-pay after they had livings in the church?
23. Will they put an end to the military and naval academies?
24. Will they cause the bishopricks, benefices, and abbey-lands to be assessed, beyond other property, for the relief of the poor, agreeably to the proposition of Mr. Rugles, as stated in introduction to Vol. II. of History of Protestant Reformation.
25. Will they now, now that they have the power, institute an inquiry into the bloody transactions which took place at Manchester, in 1819?
26. Will they cause OLIVER and EDWARDS now to be brought to light, and, at any rate, take from them any emoluments, that they may now be deriving from the taxes imposed on us?

Here are twenty-six things, every one of which ought immediately to be done, and my opinion is, that they will do not one out of the twenty-six; that their economy will be all talk, and no effect to be felt by the people; and that their reform of the Parliament will be, in effect, no reform at all; that, insulting as the Duke's speech was, Brougham's project will be still more insulting. But, after all, the taxes are the main thing; and these they cannot sensibly reduce without a radical reform of the Parliament; which alone is adequate to an EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT of the affairs of the country.

No. 6 of TWO-PENNY TRASH; to be published on the last day of this month, will contain, in an *Address to the Farmers of Kent*, my opinions fully stated on what *they now ought to do*.

No. 3 of HISTORY of GEORGE IV., to be published on the same day, contains the true account of the matchless intrigues of the WIGS, on one side, and of the NO-POPEY PEOPLE on the other side, and of the crucifying of the poor Princess of Wales between the two, in 1806 and 1807, and lets out all the secret of the means by which Perceval, Scott, Eldon and Co., became the Ministers of the Prince Regent in 1811.—N. B. The future Numbers of the History will be *price 6d*.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER IV.

Paris, 7th Nov, 1830.

SIR,

1. IN the Chamber of Deputies the disposition of the Government was yesterday announced with regard to the *press*. A general discussion stood in the order of the day, upon a motion of M. BAVOUX, for a reduction of the *cautionnement* and also of the *stamp*, which is of six centimes, or *one sous and one-fifth*. The subject was viewed in two lights by M. de la BORDÈ, namely, as to the reduction which lowering the stamp would make in the revenue, and as to the danger, politically, from lowering the *cautionnement*; and he argued that the revenue would not be diminished, and that the preventive effect of the deposit was not necessary to prevent licentiousness, as there was law to punish it. M. LAMETH made a most violent speech, inveighing against the placards which he was in the daily habit of seeing (I hope he reads them and your Letter to Talleyrand amongst the number), against little hand-bills which poor people cry about the streets, containing extracts from the newspapers, at one sous each; these hand-bills are generally perfectly "in order,"

for the extracts I have seen have almost always been taken from the *Moniteur*; but the extracts are to the point. I saw in one which I bought, an account of some young men who had been going to Spain being detained in Bayonne, by the gates being shut earlier than usual; some young men from the country were thus shut in and prevented from going to their homes in the evening, and at last the National Guard, who kept guard at the gates, were disposed to let the friends of liberty in Spain have liberty in France. "No such thing," said the Sous-prefect, who sent troops of the line to "relieve" the National Guard: "We are not tired yet," said the National Guard; and an engagement was just going to commence, when the Prefect rescinded the orders of the Sous-prefect. While upon this subject let me propose this *query*; whether the Sous-prefect will be removed; and also this; whether the Consul at Barcelona, who is a cousin of BOURMONT, now commanding Ferdinand's forces, and going to have the command of his army of 80,000 men, who are to have muskets, powder, and ball, great-coats and caps from England; whether this Consul will be removed either! One more question; but this is on principal, not upon fact: What does the *law of nations* say upon one nation supplying two other nations at the same time with munitions of war? And how is the liberal supply of *munitions* from the Tower itself to the King of the French consistent with the supply to Ferdinand, unless these two kings are upon a good understanding?

2. M. LAMETH complained that these "*miserables*" who cried about the *hand-bills*, and also that all *placarding*, were not *put down* according to law. He said that there were journals also existing *contrary to law*, and containing the most horrible doctrines, leading to *republicanism*. He said that it was *time to have done* talking of the *sovereignty of the people*, and that that sovereignty, at any rate *existed* in their *representatives*, to whom, in *electing them*, they gave up their sovereignty! To have made this out, he should show

that the deputies are the representatives of the people, freely chosen. After being cheered exceedingly for all this, by the right and centres, that is to say, by the parts of the House where a majority sit, he ceased, and the Minister of Marine spoke for the Government. He concluded differently from M. de LA BORDE; he said that the Government could not afford to relinquish any part of its revenue at this moment, and that with regard to the *cautionnement*, this must, at any rate, remain in a proportion with the fines which were inflicted by law; whether the law would finally be altered, the Government had not yet made up its mind. They are afraid to give trust for fines and damages or for the bonds to pay them. There is a French maxim, "*Qui cautionne paye*" ("He that is security pays"), and in the case of the press it is so indeed. I must observe, however, that it is not confined to the press, as it is rather a general custom for securities to be paid down. But then the arbitrariness of subjecting a newspaper to this security, as if the proprietor were a collector of taxes, and had on the other hand the money of the nation in his pocket entrusted to him!

3. The Minister of Marine finished his speech by answering a speech made by M. MAUGIN, the day before, relative to foreign affairs. M. Mangin wished for the interpretation of the Government upon a speech of the King of England, so far as it applied to an interference in Belgium. Upon this subject he said: "Gentlemen, the Chamber has been entertained about a document emanating from an august source, and which has been represented to it as being a ground, if not of disquietude, at least of attention, and as being such that it required serious explanations. Gentlemen, this document gives sufficient proof in its terms of the firm maintenance of peace, and its terms have been commented on in the most satisfactory manner in the Houses of the English Parliament. The chief of the administration has protested against all armed intervention in the affairs of Belgium. France is

"animated by the same pacific spirit; she will respect all existing treaties, and stipulations. Negotiations are open at this moment; they have not given, and will not lead to, any war-like movement, and never, we hope, will the termination of these negotiations be followed by the appearance of an armed intervention against this neighbouring country of France. We, Gentlemen, we will never go to war but for the defence of territory, or when the national honour is attacked." This speech was applauded in the centres; the general discussion upon the motion of M. Bavoux relative to the press was closed, a report upon it being to be heard on Monday, and the Chamber rose.

Tuesday, Nov. 9.

4. With regard to the press, the report which I mentioned on Sunday, as being to be brought up yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies, it has regulated the *cautionnement* at 3000 francs of yearly interest, being a reduction of one-half, and the other half to be returned to the various proprietors of journals. It also regulates the postage of newspapers, and also the stamp, at a lower rate. Up to this time, the expense of postage and of stamp amounted to thirteen centimes (hundredths of a franc) out of twenty upon the price. The report was adopted by a great majority. M. BAVOUX had proposed that the *cautionnement* should be reduced to one-quarter; and M. de TROCHY, that it should be abolished and also the stamp, and that each journal should pay a patent of from 1000 to 2000 francs a year, in order that the revenue should not lose. This latter was the proposition most equitable for the journalists, and placed them on the footing of other professions which pay for patents. Both these propositions were rejected by a great majority; and M. LAFITTE, as Minister of Finance, said that the Minister of Marine had, on Saturday, delivered the sentiment of the Government, which was, unanimously, that in the present times, when commerce was suffering so much, the Government could not relinquish any part of its revenue,

ana must wait for a time more favourable. Nevertheless, they do relinquish a part. The question is, now, What methods will be taken to enforce the giving the present deposit from the journals who have not complied with the law for the former one. M. BENJAMIN-CONSTANT submitted a proposition that two months should be given for this; but this proposition was not taken into consideration yesterday.

5. You will perceive, therefore, an inconsistency between the proceedings of the new ministry, and the *expectation which I expressed* at the beginning of my former letter, that the change amounted to a *sweeping-off* of the principles of those who have been turned out. *Great qualifications* must always be understood, I am afraid, when I have the rashness to expect any-thing good for the people. While I think of it, I had better request you, whenever you see an adjective, such as *good, honest, virtuous*, or any laudatory epithet applied by me to public men, to scratch it out in the manuscript. I cannot possess any means of positively *knowing* of the existence of such qualities, and as I wish to confine myself to facts, as far as individuals are concerned, whenever I suffer myself to become an echo to thoughtless and ungrounded praise, or *any praise at all*, I shall be particularly obliged to you to correct the effect of my inadvertence. Upon the same principle, I shall abstain as much as I can from offering you any anecdotes or relations respecting individuals which have not an immediate application to politics. What I related in my last letter but one, about a clerk of Rothschild's being *furnished with a horse* for the National Guard, is of this nature, and I should, upon reflection, not have mentioned it. These fund-holding and loan-jobbing establishments are all so stupendously opulent here, that probably there is hardly a clerk in them who does not keep his horse; and a moment's reflection convinces one, that it is not that they have not horses, but *that they have them*, which is connected with political evil.

Paris, 15th November.

6. The law affecting these journals has passed the Deputies, but it is *yet to* pass the Peers, and also to *receive the* sanction of the King; and, it is expected by some that the *cautionnement* will not be enforced. Others say, *that they will be seized*. I cannot understand the reason of the law not passing entirely; for, either the whole of the journals must be excepted from any *cautionnement*, or these must be suppressed. • I think that the *reductio* has been made to take from the law the name of the originator of it (if possible) for the purpose of crushing these new journals with less odium.

7. Last Wednesday, there was the greatest possible curiosity and anxiety to have information from London. It was rumoured, that the streets were barricaded, and that blood-shed and fire was every-where! The truth is *new known*; but the state of England, through you principally, is now pretty well known; and the *knowledge of it* is of *vast value to the French*, as this knowledge of it *by them* will, in the end, be of vast use to the people of England. The French now know, that, as to continental interference, the English government is *hors de combat*! That's a great comfort.

8. The trials of the ministers are preparing with extreme slowness. They will last a long time. The only thing likely to make things *move* at present, is a suspicion that justice will be done here: if there should not be refusals to pay taxes to a great extent. *Talleyrand will not be recalled*. The last ministry have declared that they sought a king as near to the old dynasty as they could; and the present pretty nearly declare that they follow the late one as *nearly as possible*. But, in fact, *nothing* can be said to be settled. Men are waiting for what change is to take place. The short question seems to be *here*, as well as in England: Shall the working-people live on *potatoes*, or shall the funding system be destroyed? I have read, with inexpressible delight, that the labourers of Kent are resolved no longer to live on potatoes I am, &c.,

WM. COBBETT, Jex.

PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Nov.

(Continued from p. 722.)

Mr. HUME called on the hon. Member for Callington to show why he (Mr. H.) was a dangerous man. He asked him what were the exaggerated and inflammatory expressions he had used? He had never uttered such exaggerations in that House as the hon. Member for Callington. (Laughter.) It ill became him (Mr. B.) to join the Government in damaging his (Mr. H.'s) statements. He denied his allegations altogether of not having explained away any exaggerations into which he might have fallen. It was unfriendly in the hon. Gentleman, in a man enjoying his great consequence, which was far more than he (Mr. H.) thought he deserved for any thing he had done, to endeavour to damage his statements. He deprecated all attempts to hold him up as a man who was urging the public to their ruin. The hon. Gentleman denied that there was distress. Every man spoke as he felt. (Laughter.) The hon. Member did not feel it with his great rent-roll and his money right and left. But on his own authority he could say that distress prevailed in the agricultural, the manufacturing, and all the other great interests. He had a right to complain of having his statements damaged. (Laughter.) Words or phrases used in a former debate should not be again brought forward: a member should only allude to the tone of a speech which had been delivered; therefore the right hon. Gentleman was irregular; and if his hon. Friend did not stand up and tell the exaggerated expressions he had used that evening, he too would be irregular. His hon. Friend, too, the worthy Alderman, got a bee in his bonnet the other night and attacked him. (Loud laughter, and cries of "question.") He took that opportunity of stating, that if any body cried "question" during the session while he was speaking, he would that instant move an adjournment, and put a stop to all business. It was very indecent, he had his eye on them. (Laughter.) He saw the cry come from a corner in which there was a Secretary to the Treasury and a Lord of the Admiralty. Sir (said he to the Speaker), I will bring them up on a complaint before you. (Great laughter.) If they wish to stay they must behave themselves. They may go away if they like, but I'll make their absence known to the country. (Laughter.) Now I hope you'll take it well, (addressing the hon. Members from whom he supposed the cry proceeded.) (Loud laughter.) He knew the right hon. Secretary was impatient; but he had borne his lash with great patience. (He did hold up both his hands and eyes, when the hon. Member for Callington declared his ignorance of the power of money or place, sinecures or taxes, in that House. Let the hon. Member go to the back of the Treasury benches, and let them not have him

in their quarters. He did not like snakes in the grass; if the hon. Member was to attack them in the flank, let him not be in their camp.

KING'S PRINTER.

Mr. HUME moved for papers relative to this most curious affair. In the year 1799, Mr. Pitt granted a patent to John Reeves, Robert George Eyre, and Andrew Strahan, appointing them the King's printers for the period of thirty years. The chief object of the patent was to secure to John Reeves a sinecure of 1,500*l.* a year. Mr. Pitt knew at the time that the profit was estimated at 3,000*l.* a year, and he wished John Reeves to be secured in the half of that sum for his life. The patent comprehended not only Bibles and Prayer-books but Acts of Parliament, and many other things relating to that and the other House. In 1810 a Committee, of which the hon. Member for Dorsetshire was Chairman, sat to inquire into this patent, and they then made a report which was intended to be a guide to future Governments. He complained that the Governments had not acted upon the recommendation of that Committee. He had told them that John Reeves had been secured in the possession of half the profits of the patent, and in the year 1807 that person filed a bill in Chancery, calling on the others for a discovery of the profits. In that bill he alleged that the income amounted to 36,000*l.* and that the net profits were 13,000*l.* a year. With respect to the hon. Member who was now connected with the office of King's printer, he would not say that that hon. Member had always voted for the Government in consequence of that appointment, as he was not then present in the House (hear, hear, hear, from Mr. Spottiswoode); but he would say, that he never knew the instance in which that hon. Member had voted against the Government.

Mr. SPOTTISWOODE contended that the charges of the King's printers would not be found unreasonable. He begged to know on what ground the hon. Member for Middlesex had dared to assert that he (Mr. Spottiswoode) had entered into a compact with Government that he should always vote in their favour. He had entered into no such compact; he denied the charge; and if the hon. Member would not retract it he should throw it back in his teeth. It did not follow, because he differed from the hon. Member for Middlesex, that he (Mr. Spottiswoode) must, of course, be corrupt. He had not the slightest objection to the production of the patent, or of the accounts, and he challenged inquiry of every kind. He doubted, however, whether the Bill and answer in Chancery could be properly laid upon the table.

Mr. HUME remarked that the hon. Member (Mr. Spottiswoode) had thrown at him what he (Mr. Hume) had never cast in the first instance. Although there was no compact, it was constantly found that the King's printer had voted with Government.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER added,

that what had roused the hon. Member's indignation was the notion that he was under a compact to vote for Ministers.

Mr. SPURISWOOD said that as he had understood the charge, he could not help disclaiming it.

The true history of this affair is this: Pitt gave the King's Printership to Mr. Reeves, in 1799, for thirty years, as a reward for his services as Chairman of the "LOYAL ASSOCIATION against Republicans and Levellers;" that is to say, an association for preventing parliamentary reform, by the means of publications, spies, and the like. The patent was given to Reeves only; but "*Hypocrisy personified*" and two others of the same crew, beset Pitt, and made him divide the thing between Reeves, Eyre, and Strahan. Reeves made a contract with the others, to give up his share for 3,000*l.* a year; but, finding that he had been deceived as to the worth of the thing, he filed a Bill in Chancery to set aside the contract; but, the parties then agreed to give him 4,500*l.* a year, and thereupon the Bill was withdrawn. This he continued to receive for thirty years; so that he got, from this source alone, 135,000*l.* sterling! And this is the way our money goes, and this is the cause of all the calamities of the country! Reeves did no business for this of any sort; he employed no capital; what he got was over and above the usual profit; so that, here were 13,500*l.* a year, at the least, SINECURE PROFITS; and this, in thirty years, amounts to 405,000*l.* sterling! And yet, the Duke of Wellington has, in his economical arrangements, just renewed this patent! This office has always had a member in the House, during the last thirty years! And, is this system to continue? Oh, no! but for a very little while longer:

WIDOWS' PENSIONS.

Mr. HUME moved for a Copy of the Regulations now in force for granting Pensions and Allowances to Widows of Officers in the Army and Navy, and Ordnance; to Clerks in Public Offices, &c., in the United Kingdom. He observed that he wished to bring the principle of granting pensions before the House; for, as far as his opinion went, he was quite ready

to agree to a resolution, that from this day no new pension should be granted. He did not wish the law to be retrospective; and he was willing, if necessary, that the pay of officers should be revised. As matters now stood, extravagance was encouraged by the expectation of a pension. He took this opportunity of stating, that until this vice were taken out of the Poor Laws, the country would never have a bold independent peasantry; and he contrasted the situation of the peasantry of England with that of the peasantry of Scotland, where, however, much distress was prevalent. He hoped that the subject would be discussed in this session upon a new principle.

Mr. RYMER hoped that the principle of not granting pensions to the relics of those who had faithfully served their country would never be sanctioned by the House of Commons, and complained that a number of inferior but deserving clerks had been turned out of their offices without pensions.

Lord F. L. GOWAN vindicated the manner in which the pensions of widows were at present regulated, and denied that it led to extravagance on the part of officers. His predecessors in the situation he now filled had long struggled against feelings of compassion in granting pensions.

Mr. WARBURTON said, that if the noble Lord really meant to introduce economy in his department, he must arm himself with sternness to resist appeals to his feelings. All the hon. Member for Middlesex wanted was, that officers and men in the army and navy should be placed upon the same footing.

Mr. HUME added, that he objected to granting a pension to the widow of the rich man, and excluding the widow of the poor man; they ought all to be placed upon the same footing.

Yes, they ought to be placed upon the same footing; that is to say, to have no pensions at all. The widow of a labouring man is more worthy of a pension than the widow of any soldier or sailor. But, this is a part of our costly system; and Mr. Hume does not appear to see that he is, in this way, upholding this system. He wants to change the poor-laws, so as to make a "*bold peasantry*." What! is he going to souse himself in this slough, which has swallowed up so many bright legislators! Take off the taxes, Mr. Hume; but to do this you must get rid of the dead-weight, and, alas! you are for making it heavier! In short, you would keep up the system. This I see clearly; and your attempts to do it will swamp you in a very short time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 8.

AFFAIRS OF BELGIUM.

LORD ABERDEEN said, that the Government did not mean any *armed* interference, but yet he seemed to say, that the *treaties* were to be *maintained*. The Marquis of LANSDOWN deprecated *all interference whatsoever*, and spoke rather in praise of events in France and Belgium.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY, having differed from the noble Earl (Earl Aberdeen) during the greater part of the last Session, thought it but justice to him now to declare, that he cordially approved of the determination which that noble Lord evinced to preserve the faith of the treaties to which we were pledged. He had heard with great pain the eulogium pronounced by a noble Marquis (Lansdown) on the revolution of France. Did the noble Marquis blind himself to the fact that that revolution was only commencing, and that it might ere long inundate Europe with blood? How noble Lords could come down to the House, and pronounce eulogiums on such a state of things, he was at a loss to conceive. If his information was correct, the Chamber of Deputies of that country had annihilated one half of the Chamber of Peers, and when the Government appointed by it showed a disposition to extend mercy to persons who had been perhaps misguided, or had misruled, it was told that the mob would not allow the National Guard to do their duty, and that that Guard would open their ranks, and let the mob pass, sooner than see mercy extended to the prisoners. He (Lord Londonderry) thought that there was blood behind the revolution, and if it extended to Belgium, what, then, would become of the peace of Europe. He was convinced that the policy of this country was to preserve a decided and cordial union with those allies who had for twenty years been united with them in their struggles to obtain peace, and he was convinced that by the preservation of that union they might bid defiance to all the mischief which threatened them abroad. Looking at affairs at home, he confessed himself at a coward, for he looked with fearful apprehension at the signs of the times. It was the duty of that House, however, to stand by the Throne and the Executive, and if the noble Earl opposite (Earl Grey) for whose talents he had all his life preserved the highest admiration; if that noble Lord and the aristocracy would stand by the Throne, the opinions of the fomenters of mischief would soon cease to make themselves heard, and their power dwindle into dust.

After this noble brother of Castlereagh had concluded, a talk took place about the City dinner, and the Duke of Wel-

lington gave that fine explanation which was quoted at full length in the *last Register*. Nothing occurred besides, worthy of particular notice, except a speech of Lord RADNOR, which has excited a good deal of attention, and the report of which is as follows:

The Earl of RADNOR did not think the second explanation of the noble Duke satisfactory. The noble Duke had told the House that he had received information from a variety of quarters, respecting intended tumults; but he had not stated whether he took the trouble to inquire whether those apprehensions were well founded or groundless. If the noble Duke had made any investigation into the subject, he had certainly come to a different result from that at which the Court of Aldermen had arrived. He regretted that the letter signed by the Secretary for the Home Department had circulated for sixteen hours in different parts of the country, unaccompanied even by that explanation which His Majesty's Ministers now gave of the matter. If there was disaffection in London, was there not also disaffection in the country, and would not that letter create confusion and alarm? Would it have no effect in Ireland? If the noble Duke had inquired into the statements contained in the letter of the Lord Mayor elect, and found them correct, will he not follow up the step he has taken by some other measure? What caused this disaffection; what occasioned this rebellion in London? Forty or fifty thousand respectable householders were ready to be sworn in to preserve the peace. What, then, was the fear? There must be a rebellion, if the Lord Mayor, with that great force, was incapable of preserving the peace. The noble Duke was bound to take measures to inquire into the causes of disaffection in this town, and which were being spread in several parts of the country. He expressed his astonishment at the indifference with which their Lordships had treated this important question. It was quite surprising that when matters of such moment ought to occupy their attention, they had consumed nearly an hour in questions about the slave-trade, and radical or moderate reform. He gave credit to the noble Duke for having investigated the information he received, for it would have been the height of rashness not to do so: but he thought the noble Duke ought to have seized the first moment of coming down to that House, and calling upon their Lordships to take measures to preserve the peace of the country. He should say no more at present; but he thought, that if the Ministers did not follow up the course they had taken by some substantial measures, it would seem a betrayal of their trust.

I should be very sorry to appear to desire to stretch the meaning of this; but, it certainly, in the opinion of all

that I have heard speak of it, does *look like* one of those speeches by which Old WILBERFORCE (purely from his piety and love of the people) used to scold Pitt into the passing of dungeon and gagging bills!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A great deal of talk about the City-fenst affair; but *no fact* not to be found in the report of the proceedings of the *Common Council*, contained in the last Register. Mr. HUME talked of an address to *turn the Duke out*, which excited a laugh, as well it might; for, *who is to supply his place*. Turn him out? For what? *Because he will not propose a real reform of parliament*. Who is to come in, then? For, *who will propose it, with the intention of causing it to be carried*? Will this be done by *any* man, in either House? *Why*, then, put out the Duke? The Duke is "*unpopular*." His successor would be even *more* unpopular, unless he did that which not one man has yet expressed his willingness to do. No matter as to his want of talent or of anything else; *in* he must remain, or *the whole system goes to pieces*. That it will go to pieces at last is likely enough; but, those who have the power to put out and put in Ministers will naturally wish to hold it together as long as they can. Things have totally changed: there are *no parties now*; there is *no scramble for loaves and fishes*; for there are none of these; the scramble is, as I always said it would be, *to keep out of harm's way*.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 9.

FIRES IN KENT.

LORD TEYNNIAM gave notice of his intention to move, on Monday next, that an Address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to give his consent for the *formation of a corps of volunteers*, for the protection of the peace and property of the county of Kent. The noble Lord also gave notice of his intention, at the same time, to bring forward a proposition for a *reconsideration of the Poor Laws as applied to the same county*.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

Mr. O'CONNELL having presented a petition praying for this repeal, Mr. DAWSON answered the speech of Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. DAWSON observed, that the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had spoken so indefinitely with respect to the period at which it was his intention to bring forward the question of the repeal of the Union, because he knew that he did not dare to bring it forward. The House must not suppose that the hon. and learned Gentleman was the organ of the people of Ireland. He might be the organ of the mob of Ireland; but the people of Ireland disclaimed him. Whenever the subject came to be actually agitated, every man of property, every man of influence, and almost every man of intelligence, would be found arrayed against the repeal. The arguments in the petition, which the hon. and learned Gentleman had just presented, were childish, and the allegations unfounded. The Union had had the most beneficial effects. No repeal of the Union was talked of until the separation of Belgium from Holland, and then the hon. and learned Gentleman thought an excellent opportunity was afforded him for indulging in his usual agitation, and for exciting a mob to follow at his heels. The hon. and learned Member had recourse to every kind of misrepresentation in furtherance of his purposes. Among other things he had made the extravagant statement that eight hundred families had been driven from the estates of a noble Earl in Wicklow; for the House must recollect that it was the hon. and learned Gentleman's practice, both there and elsewhere, to make assertions without any foundation. Mr. Chaloner, a highly respectable man, lately Member for York, who was the agent of the noble Earl to whom he had alluded, had published a letter in an Irish Paper, in which he declared that a more gross falsehood had never been uttered. He (Mr. Dawson) would not say anything as to the courtesy of that expression; but he would say that he believed Mr. Chaloner, and that he did not believe the hon. and learned Gentleman. It was possible that the hon. and learned Gentleman might retract his assertion. If, however, he should do so, his retraction would not be more satisfactory to him (Mr. Dawson) than his assertion.

Mr. O'CONNELL (after another member had backed Dawson) did not complain, for he was proud of the attacks that had been made upon him by two individuals, the one the late Member for the county of Londonderry, the other the present Member. He would tell the one that his exertions, after he had been called to the bar, had made him his equal, in spite of all the baseness of attempted monopoly, in spite of every effort of religious bigotry, in spite of the foulest conspiracy that was ever attempted against civil liberty. He would ask the other if he had not largely participated in the public money, if he had not put shovelfull of it into his pockets? As to the repeal of the Union, he (Mr. O'Connell) had called on the electors of the county of Waterford to return him on the ground of his proposing that repeal. Adverting to what had been said

on the subject of tax-gatherers in Ireland, it ought to be recollected that before the Union the debt of Ireland was only sixteen millions. Did the hon. Gentleman know that no country was at that time so lightly taxed as Ireland? He knew perfectly why the hon. Member had addressed him in the manner in which he had done. But what was the hon. Gentleman's superiority over him? Could he point out one single benefit which he had conferred upon Ireland? The hon. Gentleman had alluded to the occurrences on Lord Fitzwilliam's estate. He (Mr. O'Connell) had never said that 800 families had been expelled from the noble Lord's estates. Eight hundred persons was his expression. The hon. Member had read a letter, couched in exceedingly improper terms from Mr. Chaloner. He would say nothing about the courtesy of that letter; but he would say, that the hon. Gentleman should have done him the justice to say that it was 800 persons. He repeated, that he had never said 800 families. He had never been represented to have said so in any of the newspapers. He repeated, however, that 800 persons were so driven out; and he had that day received documents to prove it. On one farm alone, 60 families had received notice to quit on the 1st of May. When he mentioned these discharges, he was speaking of the subletting; and the persons discharged were under-tenants. His assertion, therefore, was completely borne out by the fact. Did hon. Gentlemen think that by assailing him in this manner, they could put him down? In the neighbourhood of Newry the majority might perhaps not be favourable to the repeal of the Union; but he knew that three of the provinces were decidedly favourable to the repeal; he knew also that many of the influential persons in Newry were favourable to it; and he knew that an attempt to get up a petition in favour of the Union at Belfast had failed. He was not acquainted with the constituents of the hon. Gentleman, but he understood that they were a pugnacious race. When the French in former days surrendered their arms to them, under the promise of protection, that protection they did not receive; but he would go no farther on that subject; it was a feud which he wished over. An hon. Member had called his (Mr. O'Connell's) constituents a mob. Nothing could be more untrue. Never had any assertion been made by human being, the most miserably degraded in character, that was so untrue. He felt himself in all respects superior to the hon. Member. He (Mr. O'Connell) had had the representation of three counties in Ireland offered to him. That if he had chosen he might have been returned for any of those counties was obvious, as they had all returned candidates standing on the same interest. How, then, could the hon. Gentleman who had been turned out of the county which he had represented, compare himself with him? He (Mr. O'Connell) was an Irishman representing Ireland. The hon. Gentleman was an

Irishman representing nothing Irish. He had escaped from an Irish county into an English rotten borough; and the hon. Gentleman ventured to compare himself with him (Mr. O'Connell), an independent representative of the Irish people, freely chosen! This was the rancour of a little mind; the ebullition of a low nature, envying what it did not, and could not, possess. His constituents might have selected an abler representative, but they could not select one less liable to be intimidated. He would do that duty to his country which it deserved at his hands. It had been well said by the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, by Lord Plunkett, that Ireland never wrung anything from England but as if it were drops of her heart's blood. With reference to another hon. Gentleman, he would merely observe, that the glorious Brownlow of 1782, on whose tomb was inscribed that he found Ireland a province, and left it an independent nation, could be eclipsed only by a Brownlow of 1831, who should vote with him (Mr. O'Connell) for a repeal of the Union. For himself, having been born in an independent nation, he trusted that he should die in one.

DISTRESS.

After this, LITTLETON, a Member for Staffordshire, made a charge of misrepresentation against Mr. O'CONNELL, which the latter manfully repelled. Mr. PORTMAN next came with anxious inquiries whether the Ministers had ready any measure of relief for the *distress of the people*. Several members pressed this point, and called for *inquiry*. PERL said he was ready to do any thing; but thought country gentlemen more able to suggest. His speech, and that of Knatchbull and that of Biscoe, upon this subject, are really *piquant*! WROTESLEY, Member for Staffordshire and a banker, had called for *vigorous measures*; others for *reduction of taxation*.

Mr. ROBERT PERL said, it was extremely difficult at one and the same time to enforce the *strictest economy* and *exercise the energy* that should belong to the governing power in any state. Infantry and cavalry were to be disbanded, scarcely a soldier was to be allowed in aid of the *civil power*, Government were compelled to *dismiss the yeomanry*; and when disturbances arose, they were told that they ought not to leave them to be suppressed by the constables, but ought instantly to *crush them with a strong hand*. (Hear, hear.) He would call upon the hon. Member for Kent to say, if his Majesty's Government had not done all, under the circumstances, which could be expected of them for the suppression of those disturbances? He had further to

state, that though at a great public inconvenience, and to the neglect of other pressing matters, the *Secretary for the Treasury* was at the present moment at Maidstone, endeavouring to trace the causes of that extraordinary mystery which had, up to the present moment, eluded their most careful investigation; there were also at Maidstone every police officer who, in the present state of the metropolis, could be spared. To this he had to add, that he had authorised the Lord Lieutenant of the county to call out and embody the yeomanry, rather than resort to the regular military force. It would be a gross error to suppose that the disturbance in a neighbouring county was local. Its object, he could have no doubt, was general, the fires, constituting its overt acts, were neither executed by the hands, nor devised by the heads, of the peasantry of the county of Kent; no suspicion attached to the resident population, the whole of the matter, whatever might be its origin, was devised by other heads than theirs, and proceeded upon principles, not local, but general. Though, up to the present moment, no detection had taken place; but he did hope that the time was at hand when not only the hands by which the offences were committed, but, what was infinitely more important, the heads by which they were devised, would be brought to condign punishment.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL bore testimony to the fact, that Government had given immediate assistance on being applied to, and he had much satisfaction in being able to state, that in the eastern part of the county, the efforts for the suppression of disturbance had not been altogether unsuccessful; and in the eastern part of the county he had the means of knowing that many of the inhabitants had used great exertion to discover the causes of the disturbance, and to put an end to it. Similar exertions had, he had learned also, been used in other parts of the county, for the same purpose; but the continuance of those exertions was more than could be expected from individuals, if public measures were not resorted to for the restoration of peace and tranquillity. From every inquiry that he was enabled to make, he could declare that the conflagrations in the county of Kent were not caused by the peasantry of the land. He was persuaded that the peasantry were actuated by a very different feeling from that which influenced the authors of those outrages; the peasantry were, he was assured, full of attachment to their employers, and the least likely in the world to commit acts of that diabolical character. Another consideration led him to acquit the peasantry of Kent; they were not so ignorant as not to be aware that those burnings would prove most injurious to their own interest, even destroying the very means of their own subsistence.

Mr. BRISCOE regretted that the spirit which prevailed in the county of Kent had spread itself to two parishes in the county which he had the honour to represent (Surrey). He en-

tertained not the least doubt that the labouring poor of the district were perfectly innocent of those offences.

The rest of the proceedings of this day were wholly without interest. But there is something in these three speeches quite marvellous. Here is one of two things; insincerity indescribable, or credulity passing that of childhood! What! the fires not kindled by those who have demanded and enforced a rise of wages! Those fires kindled by strangers to the places where they have taken place! They see the labourers go in a body and threaten an overseer or a farmer; they hear their execrations on these parties; and when in a few hours afterwards, they see offensive parties' stacks on fire, they ascribe the fire to some one who has no connection with the county! This is really more ridiculous and contemptible than the conduct of the wittol, who still believed in the fidelity of his wife, though he saw the paramour with her between the sheets! But why, then, good Knatchbull; why, then, good Briscoe; why raise the wages? If the labourers do not kindle the fires, and are "full of attachment to their employers," why raise the wages? Is it because it is just to do it? A very good reason; but how comes it not to have been thought of before? How comes it to have been just as soon as those fires began to blaze? Enough, enough! If Lord TREYNHAM propose to alter the poor laws, so as to make them what they were forty years ago, he is wise; but if any thing on the MALTHUSIAN principle be in his eye, he will create a flame indeed! If SCARLETT'S or SLANEY'S Bill had been passed, or NOLAN'S, the affair would have been settled long and long ago. STURGES BOURNE'S Bills have been the greatest immediate causes of the present effects. If Lord TREYNHAM would but read "POOR MAN'S FRIEND," he will attempt no hardening of the poor laws. Better repeal all the laws on the subject that have been passed within the last forty years.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

Nothing done in either House.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 11.

Some conversation of little moment, and leading to no motion, about the Lord Mayor's-day affair.

STATE OF THE LABOURERS.

Lord WINCHILSEA brought in a bill for the purpose of *finding employment for the labourers*; but of the details of which an account will, of course, come hereafter.

Lord TEYNHAM said, that the noble Lord had stated that taxation had had no influence on the poor-laws; he thought quite differently. It was since the American war, when taxation had increased so much, that the condition of the agricultural labourer was deteriorated, and he conceived that deterioration had been mainly caused by two measures of finance. These two measures were the duties on hops and the duties on malt, which had prevented the poor man from brewing his own beer, and driven him from his cottage. When he had ceased to be a brewer he had ceased also to be a baker, and then had to go to the shop and the ale-house for all his food and drink. He had heard that the farmers around Battle, and that the farmers in several parts of Kent, had agreed to give their labourers fifteen shillings a week. They had met and resolved to do this in consequence of intimidation. He doubted the efficacy of the noble Earl's bill, and would recommend the Government to come to the help of the poor-laws. It was a cruel thing that the property in land was so excessively burdened; and he would also recommend that the Government should *tax funded property to support the poor*. He was, on the whole, glad to see their Lordships disposed to take the poor-laws into consideration, as he was sure, that unless that were done, the agricultural districts would be ruined.

The Duke of Devon rose, not to discuss the bill of his honourable Friend, because he had not yet heard it read, but to deny the statement of the noble Lord who had just taken his seat. The noble Lord was not authorised to make that statement, as he was sure that he could not prove it. He did not deny that the farmers of Kent and Sussex might have agreed to raise the wages of their labourers, but he denied that they had done so from the motive of intimidation. The farmers of Kent and Sussex were not accessible to such motives, and he hoped the noble Lord would give them credit for nobler motives.

Lord TEYNHAM took all that the noble Duke had said in good part, as he was sure that the noble Duke could never mean to say anything that was not Parliamentary. But still he must persist in the opinion which he had given, which was, that the *yeomanry of these counties had raised their wages, not out of choice, but compulsion*. He had received a letter to that effect from a most respectable

individual well acquainted with the circumstances, in which it was stated that the farmers had been forced to promise fifteen shillings a week, although they could not pay it, and he was ready to produce that individual at the bar if required to do so.

The Duke of WELLINGTON assured the noble Lords who pressed this matter upon the attention of Government, that the Government had not been inattentive to the subject. The real truth was, that the administration of the poor-laws was so various in different places, that it was impossible to find out where the evil lay, or to prepare any one measure which would apply to all, for what would answer in one place would not answer in another. A noble Duke had said, that the Ministers knew nothing about the administration of the poor-laws; and it was true that they could not well know how they were administered in every parish, when the modes of administration were so exceedingly various. But the variety of these modes proved how very difficult it must be to find out a general remedy. He agreed in what had been stated respecting the consequences of the resort of the superabundant unemployed Irish to this country; but there again it was extremely difficult to find a remedy. The noble Lord opposite (Suffield) had himself suggested two remedies, or plans, which he thought would be attended with advantage in Norfolk; but it did not follow that what would be a beneficial plan in Norfolk would answer in Kent and Sussex. The Government, however, felt every disposition to do all that lay in its power to remedy the evils which had been the subject of so much complaint.

Thus, then, the *real struggle* is fairly begun. The labourers say *we will live*; the farmers say, *we have not the means to give you*; the labourers reply, *Go, then, to the lords and parsons and get the means*. Take the following from the BRIGHTON GAZETTE of the 9th instant:—"In one of the eastern villages of this county a vestry meeting was held in the church after divine service, when all the principal inhabitants being present, it was determined to call in the labourers, of whom more than one hundred were assembled in the church-yard, and remonstrate with them. This was done. They were asked what they sought. An increase of wages was the reply. But (said the farmers) you know, from the price of corn and the amount of rates, that we cannot afford to give more. Then (rejoined the labourers) the great ones must do it. Comply (they added) with our demand, and we will stand by you; refuse, and

"there are one hundred men ready to join us at a moment's notice. And" this occurred in a place where, twenty-four hours before, no man suspected the existence of the slightest discontent." Mark, "the great ones must do it!" The KENT HERALD has, upon this subject, the following printed remarks: "The aristocracy are in fact defending themselves from the demand for reduction of rents, defending themselves from the duty of assisting to procure the abolition of tithes held by themselves or their friends, and in obtaining such a reform of our whole corrupt political system as can alone place things on a basis permanently secure. We know how ready these haughty aristocrats, and the priests in their service, will be to raise the old clamour of 'revolutionary doctrines and inflammatory designs' against all who dare to propose a liberal mode of meeting the present crisis." Thus, then, the matter is well understood, at last. As I have a thousand times said, SOMETHING MUST GIVE WAY: the system must yield in one part or another: the MILLIONS are resolved to live; the HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS must make common cause with them; and the true dispute lies between the aristocracy and the fundholders. See, in last Register, the account of the labourers making the parson promise to lower his tithes! This is making common cause! It is impossible not to see, that the labourers were urged to this by the farmers! Here, here is the real pith of the subject. Long and long ago I told the farmers, that, at last, they must make common cause with the labourers.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A long debate about the Irish "Subletting Act," for the repeal of which Mr. O'CONNELL moved, but which motion was lost by a majority of 150 against 24.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 12.

BURNINGS.

The Duke of RICHMOND (alluding to what Lord Teynham had said the night before), said that he was sorry to say, that no man who

heard the speech of the noble Lord could avoid receiving the impression, that its expressions were calculated to inflame the minds of the people, and aggravate the difficulties in which the farmers were placed with respect to their labourers. He was one of those who thought the agricultural labourers of this country were not adequately paid for their services; but he was quite certain that no course could be adopted more prejudicial to their interests, and the interests of their masters, than by making declarations in that House, or in either House, which would lead the labourers to believe that their objects could be effected by intimidating their masters. It was because the people of Kent and Sussex were, unhappily, in a state of excitement, that he thought nothing should be done to widen the breach between the labourer and the farmer; for it could not be too often repeated, or too widely disseminated, that the interests of the farmer, the landlord, and the labourer, were one and the same. (Hear, hear.)

Lord TEYNHAM was obliged to the noble Duke for the opportunity he had given him of explaining the meaning of what had fallen from him on a former evening. It was very far from his intention to excite the people to violence. The meaning of what he said was this,—that in consequence of what had happened in Sussex and elsewhere, the farmers had felt it to be right to raise the rate of wages; but he was at the same time fully prepared to admit that it was necessary to put down every attempt at intimidation, and that the labourers must not be led to expect that they can obtain any increased rate of remuneration for their services without the full consent of their employers. What he said on the former occasion was merely this,—that the labourers had demanded a higher rate of wages, and that the farmer's thought it prudent to comply.

The Marquis of CAMDEN was happy to hear the language of the noble Duke (Richmond) with relation to the attempts of the labourers against their employers. He thought the declarations on that subject would do good, and that it was highly necessary the labourers should know that any attempt at intimidation was not approved of either by the Parliament or the country at large. He hoped, indeed, that the opinions of Parliament on this subject

of such a system. Any undervaluing of the wages of the labourer under such circumstances must fail, because the amount was much greater than the farmer at present could afford to pay.

The Earl of DARBYLBY said the disturbances in Kent could not have arisen from the lowering of the rate of wages, as it was a singular fact that the wages of labour were higher in the disturbed district than in any other place of the South. He believed the disturbances did not arise from an inadequate rate of wages,

but from the sup. abundance of labourers, and the want of employment. Throughout that part of Kent the wages of an able-bodied man were two shillings a-day; and if the farmers were disposed to give, as he understood some of them had agreed to give, two shillings and sixpence, then in his opinion the distress would be increased; because the farmer could not afford to employ so many labourers at two shillings and sixpence as he had formerly employed at two shillings.

One would hardly think it possible that these men should have talked thus! As to the facts, look at the proceedings of the labourers.—But, now let us hear the farmers themselves, in their meeting at Rochester, last week, having been called together by the magistrates to consider of the propriety of calling out the yeomanry troops, to keep the labourers in awe. LORD CLIFTON, son of Lord Darnley, was the spokesman for the aristocracy.

“Lord CLIFTON addressed the farmers at considerable length upon the expediency of re-embodiment of the Yeomanry Cavalry, in consequence of the present disturbed state of the county. His Lordship stated, that the wish of Ministers had been intimated to the Lord Lieutenant that this force should be revived. He dwelt much upon the constitutional nature of that force—the loyalty and zeal which had always distinguished the men of Kent—and hoped that, upon the present occasion, similar feelings would be manifested.

“Mr. BENTLEY observed, that the re-establishment of this corps was, undoubtedly, a proper subject of consideration; but the Yeomanry required that, ~~some~~ ~~extra~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~afforded~~ ~~them~~ ~~as~~ ~~to~~ ~~what~~ ~~the~~ ~~principal~~ ~~landowners~~ ~~and~~ ~~clergy~~; who were parties most materially interested. ~~and~~ contribute, by a liberal abatement of rent and tithes, towards alleviating the burdens that now pressed heavily upon the farmers—and which, it was evident, would be considerably increased by the proceedings which now agitate the county; and he asked his Lordship whether he would sanction a resolution to the effect that such assistance was expedient?

“To this proposition his Lordship replied, that, standing there as an individual, he must decline pledging himself to any Resolution of that nature; he conceived that it was not connected with the question of raising the Yeomanry Corps. The law had regulated the proportion of public burdens to be paid by different parties, and if any disproportion existed, it was a subject for the interference of the Legislature; and that, in his opinion, it was the duty of every liege subject to come forward in support of the state, upon every disturbance, without first inquiring into the

causes, or insisting upon a remedy for the abuses which occasioned it.

“Mr. LARKIN contended, that the present force, if properly applied, was sufficient for the preservation of the peace against open riots; and that cavalry could not guard against the midnight incendiary. He thought that, in all probability, an event would take place in a few days, which by restoring the public peace, would obviate the necessity for any additional force, namely, the retirement of his Majesty's Ministers; and that, as a corrupt representation was the cause of most of the evils that afflict this country, so a reform in Parliament could alone remove them, and prevent their recurrence.

“Mr. NEWSON strongly objected to the re-establishment of the Yeomanry Cavalry, particularly upon the recommendation of those Ministers whose misconduct alone had made any additional force at all questionable. He could but recollect, that upon the only occasion of the employment of that force, namely, the massacre of Manchester, it had acted in a manner which must ever remain as a stain upon the character of Englishmen.

“The meeting then, upon the motion of Mr. BENTLEY, unanimously passed a resolution, ‘That, at the present alarming crisis, it is the duty of the landowners and clergy, by a liberal abatement of rent and tithes, to assist the farmers in bearing those additional burdens which the peculiar circumstances of the times necessarily impose upon them.’”

There they are, then! The farmers and tradesmen referring the labourers to the Lords and Parsons. There they are, doing what I have always recommended, what I recommended at this very town of Rochester, on the 13th of October; that is, the farmers and the rest of the middle class making common cause with the labourers. This cannot be resisted for any length of time!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

NEWSPAPERS.

LORD MORPETH presented a petition from the inhabitants of Manchester, praying for the abolition, or considerable reduction, of the Duty on Newspaper Stamps and Duties. At present those stamps and duties constituted two-thirds of the entire cost of the article in question. The consequence was, that it was monopolised by a few persons, who thereby acquired great power of misrepresentation. To reduce the duties would increase the revenue, in consequence of the much greater number of newspapers that it would cause to be circulated; and at the same time it would give great increased employment to paper-makers, printers, and others. His hon. Friend, the Member for Dover, had last session intimated his intention of making a motion on this subject. He begged to ask him if he meant to make such a motion in the present session?

He owned that he thought it would be highly expedient to adopt a proposition, which, while it was calculated to increase the revenue, was also calculated to *diffuse that sound political and religious knowledge* which was most essential to the maintenance of good government and social order.

Mr. P. THOMSON said, that it was decidedly his intention to bring forward the motion to which his noble Friend alluded, after Christmas.

Ah! Mr. Thomson, your motion will only excite a laugh! No, no! the parties will make common cause here! What! pass a law to add to the circulation of *Cobbett's Register*? Oh, no, no, no, NO! "A monopoly!" Aye, to be sure it is. Take away the stamp, and down goes the bloody *Old Times* and all the rest of the present daily papers, Dr. BLACK's writings excepted; and even the Doctor must look sharply about him. See what horror is excited in the loan-mongering Deputés in France, at the bare thought of removing the monopoly of the press. Oh! no: LORD MORPETH, if you be sincere, you are ignorant on the subject. None but a cheap government can bear a free press. It will be free in England whenever the BURKE'S PENSION shall be knocked off; and, in France, when the people shall not be taxed to uphold a debt and a peerage.

DISTRESS OF THE NATION.

MR. BENETT presented a petition from the inhabitants of several parishes in Wiltshire, complaining of the great distress under which they were labouring, and which they attributed principally to the change in the currency, and praying to be relieved from taxation. The hon. Member characterised the petitioners as a most loyal and well-disposed set of people, and expressed his conviction, that notwithstanding the temptation held out to them by what had taken place in another part of the kingdom, they would not only refrain from outrage, but would be most active in repressing it.

Pity Mr. Benett took upon him to vouch so very positively for the labourers of Wiltshire; because here is a long winter coming. The best way will be to raise their wages at once; do that now, before there are any people coming in post-chaises to set fire to home-steads. But, by-the-by, if they will not "refrain from outrage themselves," how is it possible, that they can be "most active in

repressing it!" Ah! Mr. Benett, Mr. Benett They will not be coaxed. Get their wages raised, Mr. Benett: take my advice, for once.

CIVIL LIST.

MR. GORDON asked the right hon. Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if it were his intention, previous to entering upon the discussion respecting the Civil List, to lay before the House the details of the English Pension List?

THE CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, his hon. Friend must be aware that the details of the English Pension List never were given.

MR. GORDON replied, that as his right hon. Friend had, upon the present occasion, given many papers which were never given before, such as papers referring to the Scotch Establishment; and considering the declaration made by Government, that they intended to lay all information before the House, he trusted the details of this list would not be withheld.

MR. HUME begged to remind the right hon. Gentleman, that when he made a similar demand in 1828, it was objected to upon the ground that the details could not be brought forward until there was a new settlement of the Civil List. He did not think a single shilling should be voted until all the information that might be required was laid before the House.

We did get a list of pensions in 1808. I got it: I, William Cobbett, got it: I have it bound up in a volume, endorsed "SPLENDID PAUPERS." I have had it in use ever since; it has been the stock-book of all those who have been working the Civil List from that day to this: I have turned it over a hundred times, that we shall never have another through the same channel. Several granted it at a moment when he thought that he field the thunderbolts of Jupiter, and that the indignation of the people was a subject of sport. No. 5, of Tico-penny Trash, which is a dish of cut-and-come again, never could have been written had it not been for this list, which I carry with me wherever I go. After this came the CIVIL LIST subject, and Goulburn moved a resolution, "that the sum of 970,000*l.* should be annually payable out of the Consolidated Fund for the life of his present Majesty to support the expenses of his Civil List." That's all! only a million a year, lacking 30,000*l.* Not a penny more! Only just about enough to maintain

*all the families of the agricultural labourers in Kent, at 15s. a week all the year round! Only that! While the whole of the civil government of the United States of America costs that twelve millions of happy people 32,000*l.* a year, or enough to maintain the agricultural labours of a couple of parishes in Kent. Accordingly, the labourers in America have high wages and cheap food; and the country knows not what rioting means! There was no real opposition made to this motion. And it having been disposed of, then came the Supply; and 3,253,882*l.* 15s. was voted without so much as a division!*

POPULATION. IRELAND.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE moved for leave to bring in a bill to take an account of the population of Ireland. The bill would be in substance the same as the bill which was passed for taking an account of the population of Ireland in 1815, the returns under which were made in 1821. He should make a few alterations in it, agreeably to the suggestions of the honourable Member for the Queen's County, who had paid great attention to the subject. By the first known account of the population of Ireland—that furnished by Sir William Petty in 1672—the population was then 1,100,000. In 1731 a census was taken by an order of the Irish House of Lords, and then the population was 2,000,000. In 1788, by the population returns then made, it appeared that the people amounted to 2,345,000. In 1812 an Act was passed for taking an account of the population, and it was supposed that, from various causes, the returns made under that Act, which were made by the grand juries, were not quite correct. The returns were made in 1813, and then the population amounted to 5,537,000. In 1815 another Act was passed for the same purpose, but the care of taking the census was given into the hands of the benches of magistrate, instead of those of the grand juries. The benches of magistrates, with the valuable aid of the assistant barristers, made the returns under the Act in 1821. Those returns were supposed to be very accurate, and by them the population amounted to 6,801,827. According to the returns under that bill, comparing them with the census of 1731, it appeared that the population had rather more than trebled itself in ninety years. According to the later returns, it would appear that the population had doubled itself in forty-five years. He had no other observations to make; but when the bill was brought in, he should most willingly attend to the suggestions of any honourable Member who should take an interest in the subject.

Mr. O'CONNELL threw some doubts on the correctness of the last census, and suggested that this census should be made to discriminate,

which the former did not, the religion of the inhabitants, so that the number professing different religions might be known. As far as he understood the relative numbers of the different persuasions, he thought it was impossible that the temporalities of Ireland should remain as at present.

They will not give Mr. O'Connell this discriminating account!—That the population is now what is here stated may be correct; but that it has increased a million and a quarter since 1813, must be a monstrous falsehood! But all about Ireland is of the Munchausen character.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 15.

The Lord Chancellor brought forward a bill to settle the Regency, in case of the King's death, before the princess should come of age, which was read a first time, without opposition.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

There was another long talk about the burnings; but leading to nothing of any importance. It was stated by PERL that the employment of military, or of yeomanry, would be of no avail! Ah! I always said, that, when the clouted shoes began, those who do, and dont talk, the THING would be bothered!

CIVIL LIST.

This was the day appointed for discussing the subject of the Civil List. Sir HENRY PARNELL moved, "that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the various items connected with the Civil List, and to report thereon." This would necessarily reveal the names of all those who shared in this immense sum of money. The motion was, therefore, resisted by the ministers, and by GOULBURN, particularly, on this ground.

Mr. GOULBURN, after a long introduction, said that it appeared to be the opinion of some that the Civil List ought to be separated into two distinct parts, distinguishing those required for the necessary splendour, dignity, and comfort of the Monarch, from that other portion of the public expenditure heretofore defrayed from the Civil List; and that instead of placing a million and somewhat more at the disposal of the Crown for life, it was held that all, excepting what was required for the personal expenses of the King, ought to be annually voted by parliament, and that nothing should be granted for the life of the

Monarch save only the amount he mentioned. He would put it to the House whether it was wise or prudent to make the regal authority an object of reproach to the ignorant and unthinking. *Let them only look to the impression to be made upon the public by fixing in a precise form the personal and private expenses of the Monarch. If somewhat upwards of a million were granted, and that some of the public expenditure was covered from that, it would not have the inconvenient and disadvantageous effect of fixing the attention on, and placing beyond all doubt, the amount expended by the Monarch (Cries of "oh, oh!") To enable the ill-disposed to say that a little less than 500,000l. was expended on the private and personal gratifications of the Monarch, would be conceived calculated to bring the Monarchy into obloquy and distrust. In his opinion, it would be infinitely better to vote a larger income, and let some portion of it be devoted to public purposes. He attached no importance whatever to what had been said with respect to the foreign Ambassadors—that House had nothing to do with the foreign Ambassadors. He would maintain that it was the inalienable prerogative of the Crown to decide with what Powers amicable relations were to be maintained or interrupted. Upon that point, or indeed upon any other, he deemed it unnecessary any longer to occupy the attention of the House, trusting that he had established abundant evidence to warrant his giving the motion of the honourable Baronet a decided negative.*

Upon a division, there were 233 for, and 201 against, the motion! Thus the ministers were beaten. A very pretty excuse! To confound the expenses of the King with the money taken away by others, in order to keep from the eyes of the "ill-disposed" the manner in which the money was disposed of!—When, when, good God! are the toiling people of this country to cease to be covered with insult!

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Nov. 16.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

The Duke of WELLINGTON rose, and addressed the House as follows:—"My Lords, I have to inform your Lordships, that in consequence of what had occurred last night in the House of Commons, I felt it my duty this day to wait upon his Majesty, and tender my resignation of the office which I have had the honour to hold in his Majesty's councils. That resignation his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept; and I now hold office only until my successor shall be appointed."

The most profound silence prevailed during his Grace's communication.

"Away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down

"comes your picture from the sign-posts." That's *prophecy*, if you like!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

Sir R. PEEL rose and spoke to the following effect:—"Sir, the unfeigned respect I owe to this House induces me to take the earliest possible opportunity of publicly stating in my place, that in consequence of what occurred last night, I have felt it to be my duty to wait on the King and humbly and respectfully to inform his Majesty that I feel it no longer in my power to undertake the administration of Public Affairs, so far as it depended upon me, either with satisfaction to myself or the prospect of advantage to the country. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept the resignation I have tendered; and I, therefore, consider myself as only presiding over the Home Office until my successor shall have been appointed. The same circumstance is the case with respect to the other Members of his Majesty's Government—they consider themselves as merely holding office until his Majesty shall have been pleased to appoint their successors."

Poor fellow! Just like the dying *hum* of a broken spinning-jenny! Well! will he be *peered* now? I should think he would. I hope he will; for *he is quite worthy of it*. A spinning-jenny with a brace of police padlocks for supporters, would make him an appropriate coat of arms: and thus *he is fitted out*.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

LORD ALTHORP said, that in consequence of the communication which had been just he was convinced that every individual in that House would feel that it would be most improper to debate any question of great importance, as there was, in fact, no existing Government. (Hear, hear.) Under these circumstances, he considered that it would be impossible for his honourable Friend to submit to the House a motion of such vast importance as that of which he had given notice for that night. In all his recollection, no question of importance had ever been discussed under such circumstances. On these grounds, and also for the sake of the question itself, he hoped his honourable and learned Friend would comply with his request of not bringing his motion forward that night. (Cheers.)

MR. BROUGHAM: "Sir, my respect for this House is, at all times and under all circumstances, as great and unfeigned as that so fitly and gracefully expressed by the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel); but, Sir, at the same time, I do feel the greatest possible repugnance to putting off my motion. My noble Friend is right in stating that no question of such importance has ever been discussed when there was a deficiency in the Executive Government. To me, Sir, however, the doubt and

difficulty arises from hence—that in the present state of the country and the present stage of the House no such question—no question of such mighty and pervading interest—ever yet was discussed within the walls of this House. I feel, therefore, the deep responsibility which attaches itself to the task I have undertaken; and I also feel to the fullest extent the *painful situation* in which I am placed in being thus called on by my noble Friend, and in finding that his request is supported by the expression of a similar feeling upon the part of the House. (Cheers.) Sir, I am too anxious at all times to evince my respect for this House, and the *intense interest I feel in the success of this question*, to do any thing which might baply have, in the most remote degree, a tendency to show that I am not most willingly to defer to the sense of the House, either as to the shape—or as to the manner—or as to the time when I should bring my motion before them. (Cheers.) I therefore throw myself frankly and fairly upon the decision of the House. (Hear, hear.) I consent to put off my motion; but if I put it off in deference to the feeling of the House, I beg to have it most positively and distinctly understood that it is *contrary to my own feelings*. They may be wrong and I right. If I yield it is in deference to them. But as the *change of Administration is a matter which cannot possibly affect me*, I take this opportunity to state, that if, in compliance with the request of my noble Friend just made to me here, and before communicated to me in some private conversation we had upon the subject, and in obedience to the wishes of the House, signified in its favour, I now consent to defer my motion—I defer it to the 25th of this month, and no longer. (Hear, hear.) I bring forward the question then, *whoever may be his Majesty's Ministers*. (Loud cheers.)

Do mark him! He is most cursedly hampered! He is, as the country people say, *between hawk and buzzard*. Does not know *what* in the world to be at. Eyes blazing in his front, police-growlings in his rear; loaded with expectations, and seeing an empty Exchequer! But, do mark *his words*! Remember his words.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

HUSKISSON'S WILL.—The will of this distinguished and lamented statesman was proved on Monday, and the personal property of the deceased sworn under 60,000*l*. An estate at Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire, left to Mr. H., we believe, by his maternal great-uncle, Dr. Gem, is bequeathed to his brother, General Huskisson. All the residue, with the exception of a pecuniary remembrance to his other brother, Charles Huskisson, Esq., and a few trifling legacies, is left to Mrs. Huskis-

son. This includes his beautiful and favourite villa at Eyrtham, near Chichester, which he purchased about thirty years ago of Mr. Hayley, the poet and biographer of Cowper, and to which he had subsequently made considerable additions. The codicil, which he executed immediately after the fatal accident which deprived the country of his invaluable services, merely secures to his widow any property acquired by him since the execution of his will, which is dated in 1827.—*London Morning Chronicle*.

There will be a time for remarking on this, and asking from whom the money was got.—WM. C.

LATE KING'S WEALTH.—It was currently reported yesterday, in well-informed circles, that the late King has left funds to pay his brother, the late Duke of York's, debts in full. His Majesty's private wealth has been estimated at six hundred thousand pounds.—*London Paper*, just after the King's death.

LABOURERS' WAR. SUSSEX.—On Saturday, property to a considerable amount was destroyed by fire on a farm at Dallington, situated between Battle and Heathfield. The risings of the peasantry have continued to increase. On Thursday they collected in considerable numbers at Mayfield; and, going from farm to farm, they pressed all they came near into their ranks. Remonstrance and entreaty were vain; farmers, tradespeople and labourers, all were obliged to congregate and accompany the multitude. On this occasion they visited the Rev. Mr. Kirby, whose tithes, for a portion of that parish, amounted to 1200*l*. or 1100*l*. a-year. They demanded that he should immediately reduce them to 400*l*., and that the rest should be remitted to the farmers, to enable them to allow their labourers 2*s*. 3*d*. and 2*s*. 6*d*. a-day, to which Mr. Kirby consented. They then went to the house of Thomset, bailiff to Lord Carrington, where a Mr. Read was lodging. Mr. Read hires of his Lordship the other portion of the tithes, amounting to 700*l*. a-year. They demanded of this gentleman that he should forthwith saddle and bridle his horse; which being done, they ordered him to mount, which he also complied with. Two men then took the bridle, one on each side, and accompanied with drum and fife, and followed by hundreds of the populace, he was escorted out of the parish; and having arrived at Mark Cross, they bade him good speed, demanding that he might never again be seen in the parish, under severe pains and penalties. Mr. Read expressed his readiness to follow their instructions, and told them that the corn on the premises they were welcome to share amongst themselves. A vestry was held the next day, to which the neighbouring magistrates were invited, and the neighbouring parishes were desired to attend. We have not heard the result. On Friday, the peasantry of Warbleton assembled, 400 in number,

and first of all bent their course to the work-house, in quest of Burton, the master and *assistant overseer*, with a determination to give him a ride out of the parish; but he was absent. They then repaired to the clergyman's, and demanded that he should accompany them to Rushtake-green, about a mile distant, and there they endeavoured to obtain from him a promise to reduce his tithes, with which demand he refused compliance. Finding the reverend Gentleman firm in his refusal, they left him and again went in quest of the overseer, whom they could not find. They then went to Hawkhurst, and visited the tithe-receiver for Dallington, who had held his tithe-feast the day before, and *compelled him to refund 500l. out of 800l., which they distributed among the farmers; they were then refreshed with bread and cheese and strong beer.*

We have just heard that a letter has been sent to the *Earl of Liverpool* by the peasantry, stating that they *intended dining with him in the course of the week.* His Lordship hearing of their assembling at *Maggfield*, rode thither, and took that opportunity of telling them that he did not desire to be so far honoured; but if, instead of calling on him, they would content themselves with *entertainment at Ruxted public-house*, they should have plenty to eat and drink.

We also understand a strong party paid a visit to *Mr. Courthope's, of Whyly*, and inquired for Mr. C., who was not at home. Mrs. Courthope then came forward, when they demanded of her if there was a thrashing-machine on the premises; and on being answered in the negative, they asked if there was a *mowing-machine*; and being answered in the affirmative, a consultation was held whether it should be destroyed. It was, however, spared. Mrs. C. then *gave refreshment to the party*, and they were left to pursue their purposes *ad libitum.* The feelings of the peasantry, even in places where no risings have taken place, are very similar to those of the more disturbed districts. At *Kingston*, in our immediate neighbourhood, watches are established to guard property; and here we cannot forbear to mention an anecdote which we have heard. A gentleman, of large landed property, residing at *Ilford*, being asked if he did not watch his premises, replied, "No, not I; I go to bed very comfortably every night, and sleep as soundly as ever I did. I am under no apprehensions whatever." On inquiry, we found him to be a *most excellent master*, and his workmen live far more comfortably than do the generality of that class. We mention this to the credit of Mr. Hurly, of the *Lewes Bank*, the gentleman alluded to.

It has been the opinion of the Magistracy in our neighbourhood, that the threatening letters sent to individuals did not emanate from the labourers. In one case, however, they are somewhat disappointed. On Saturday afternoon, a man named Thomas Brown,

a labourer from Fletching, was brought before a bench specially convened, and underwent an examination. He was charged with sending a threatening letter to *Lord Sheffield.* Suspicion fell upon this individual, and therefore an agent was employed to get him to write out a bill; which being done, it was sent off to the *Secretary of State's Office*, and a comparison being made with the letter already in the possession of the Secretary, an order was sent down for his apprehension. He has acknowledged having written the letter, which he says was dictated to him by a second individual, of whom the officers are in quest.

An order has been sent to Mr. Verrall, of Swanborough farm, near Lewes, by Mr. Hooper, desiring that the premises might be watched, and that the expenses would be defrayed by the landlord, *Lord Delaware.*

On Monday, Mr. Hudd, of *Ringmer*, was visited by about sixty workmen, who found him working his thrashing machine. They told him they were come for his men. Mr. H. asked that one might be lent, which was granted. They acted the same part at Mr. H. Paine's, Mr. W. Ridg, and at Mr. S. Grantham's. Mr. G. remonstrated with them, but they told him they wanted two shillings a day; hitherto they had only received nine shillings a week, which he allowed was too little. Their demand is two shillings a day and a reduction of the tithes. Thence they proceeded to Wellingham, to Mr. John Rickman's, where the men also said they were perfectly satisfied with their master and his wages; but the whole of the men, except the bailiff, were obliged to go. By this time their numbers were considerably augmented, and continued increasing as they went from farm to farm. The last account left them about three o'clock on the Breeze, between 3 and 400 strong, with every prospect of a further augmentation before nightfall.

The *Petworth* mailman brings the intelligence that two houses were destroyed by fire on Saturday night, in the neighbourhood of *Storrington.* Incendiarism has extended into this part of the county. On the night of Friday last, a barn, containing wheat, oats, and potatoes, a hovel, and parts of two racks, belonging to Mr. Hide, of Watersfield, near this town, were entirely consumed. The damage is estimated at from 200l. to 300l., and the property was uninsured. On the night of the preceding Monday, a hovel at *Walberton*, the property of Richard Prime, Esq., was burned down; but how the fire originated has not been discovered, though doubtless it was the act of an incendiary. Some of the farmers in this neighbourhood have, we understand, taken the precaution of discontinuing their thrashing-machines.

At *Pulborough*, on Wednesday last, pursuant to public notice, a meeting of the farmers and other inhabitants of this parish was held in the vestry-room, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of

employing the poor. In consequence of similar meetings having been lately held in the neighbouring parishes of Billingshurst and Green, at which the labourers succeeded in obtaining an advance of wages, the poor of this parish also determined upon attending the above meeting for the purpose of making a similar demand. Accordingly, about half-past four o'clock, between thirty and forty persons having mustered at an appointed place of rendezvous, went in a body to the vestry-room, where they were joined by others, till at last their numbers amounted to nearly one hundred and fifty. As soon as a considerable number of farmers and others were assembled, and before any business had commenced, or a chairman had been chosen, a deputation of four, from the people assembled outside the door, entered the room and said, in a tone that indicated strong feeling,—"Have you, gentlemen, a mind to give us two shillings a-day? We are come here to-night for an answer, and an answer we must have before we go. *We have been starving on potatoes long enough, and there must be an alteration; we are come here peaceably, and we wish to go away peaceably; but we must have 2s. a-day for our labour.*" The demand was agreed to. Some of the men said, "We know what they have done in Kent, but we don't wish to do the same, if we can help it."

Hailsham.—At a Meeting held last week, in consequence of the fires in the neighbourhood, it was deemed expedient to establish a nightly patrol. A little before noon on Monday, a body of labouring men and lads, about 150 or 200, marched into the town and paraded up and down for a short time. Their object in thus assembling was not to molest or injure any person whatever; the privations they had suffered compelled them to demand adequate wages. They appeared well informed, and attributed to the *tithe system the want of employ.* Their object, they said, was not Hailsham at present; they then only wanted labourers to go with them. They started for Hailsham, to visit the Rev. Mr. Elure, for the purpose of *requesting him to lower his tithes.* They inquired where Mr. Luxford lived. Mr. Luxford is the proprietor of the great tithes; they propose writing to him on the subject.

Dullington.—I take the opportunity of writing to you, as I think you would like to know how we are going on in our neighbourhood. We held a meeting here on the 10th to adopt the best measures we could to satisfy the labouring people. They said they wanted the wages to be 2s. 3d. per day; we agreed to give 2s., and if other parishes paid more, we would; and with that they were all satisfied. But we told them we did not know how we should get the money to do it; they told us we should go to the Parson and make him pay half the money back again; but we told them we were sure that was of no use, so they said they would go with us and make him. *The farmers and*

altogether went on the 11th to Hawkhurst, to the Parson's; there were but few in the parish; but what went, and he agreed to pay back half what he had received, and he paid all the money he had got, and said the others who had not paid were to pay only half their tithe.—November 12th, 1830.

LABOURERS' WAR.—KENT. At a Meeting held in Ashford, last week, the following was the resolution adopted:—"That this Meeting, taking into consideration the disturbances which have arisen in various parts of the county of Kent, fully concur in opinion that measures should be adopted to preserve the public peace; but at the same time, that as it is feared these disturbances have arisen from the distressed state of the labouring classes, such measures should be of a conciliatory, rather than a harsh tendency. That this Meeting laments, that among all the reports of the meetings which have already taken place among the Magistrates of the county, not one of them contains any allusion to the cause of the present disturbances. That having also taken into consideration such cause, it is of opinion that it arises mainly from the existing high rents and the burden of the tithe laws, which render the tenants unable to employ the labouring class proportionable to the number of acres they use, and of adequately remunerating those they do employ; this meeting, therefore, recommends all landlords to lower their rents, and the tithe-owners (ecclesiastical as well as lay) to relinquish a portion of their interest, so as to enable their tenants to employ the labouring classes, and also to pay them such wages as would alleviate their distress."

Maidstone.—The peasantry, on their part, seem determined to support their cause by other means than outrage. It will be remembered that the spokesman of a large body of agricultural labourers was taken into custody last week, at Boughton, near Maidstone, while explaining to the Magistrates the object of their assembling; since that time there have been held in Maidstone one or two meetings, to enter into a subscription to meet the expenses of his defence at the Sessions, and many of the neighbouring farmers have felt the necessity of coming forward to aid in the object.

Rye.—As a corollary to this statement may be mentioned the punishment, ludicrous in its solemnity, inflicted by the peasantry themselves last week on the overseer of the poor of the parish of *Hyde, near Rye*, the scene of some of the disturbances. On Friday there was a general assemblage of the labourers, who proceeded to the farm-houses, and compelled the employed labourers to accompany them, that they might, at an appointed hour, have a general meeting of themselves and the farmers at the poor-house, to relate and adjust their grievances. The labourers, nearly 300 in number, appointed delegates to meet their employers, when the following Resolutions

were passed:—"That the farmers do give to every able-bodied man with a wife and two children, 2s. 3d. per day from this to the 1st of March next, and from the 1st of March to the 1st of October, 2s. 6d. per day, and to have 1s. 6d. per week parochial relief with the third child, and so on according to the family."—To this was appended, on the part of the labourers—"The poor are determined to take Mr. Abell, the present assistant-overseer, out of the parish to any adjoining parish he may appoint, and to use him with civility."—Accordingly they conveyed him to an adjoining parish, in a cart *made according to his own directions for the poor to draw stones, sand, &c. on the road.* He was drawn by twelve women, accompanied by nearly 500 men, women, and children—a truly ludicrous sight, but a just caution to all arbitrary overseers.—Nor is this the only instance where the conduct of the overseers and managers of the poor has caused discontent and disturbance. In the village of Kingston, some distance from Canterbury, *the parsons are made to walk into that city and back again (a distance of nearly ten miles) to obtain and perform their day's work!* The vicinity of this parish, it will be hardly wondered at, has been particularly disturbed during the last few months.—Some of the clergy throughout the county are acting with wise prudence in lowering their tithes; and during the latter part of last week the labourers proceeded in large bodies to others of the clergy, compelling them, from personal and immediate fear, to pledge themselves to large reductions in the amount of the tithe; this was more particularly the case near the borders of Kent and Sussex.

I have stated to you that there is an unwillingness in the landlords and tithe-holders to reduce, in order to meet the exigencies of the times. As a proof of this, a meeting was recently held in the village of Marden; and, as I have heard, the farmers attending there came to a resolution to increase the wages of labour one-sixth, provided the clergyman would make a correspondent reduction in his tithe; but he refused to do so, saying he had no more than would enable him to live. He enjoys from the parish an income, it is said, three times larger than his predecessor, and is, moreover, a magistrate.

There are meetings of the magistracy in various places, who have issued precepts for the swearing-in of special constables; but there appears a great unwillingness to attend. There is a partial increase of wages, which has tended to quiet the peasantry in places for the moment; but the farmers will not take any general measures to commit themselves, *until the example is set by those above them.*—All, however, call out for reduction of taxation up to the necessities of life; and the most intelligent begin to think, that a complete revision of taxation ought to take place; that as the whole system of our Government is founded on property—which is, moreover, a necessary qualification for all civil offices of dignity

—it (that is, property) ought to bear the principal part of the burdens of the State, by a direct tax; and repeal the *malt tax, assessed taxes*, and others which most oppress them, and thereby enable them to employ a greater proportion of labour. The alarm from fires diminishes, although there are various reports and rumours in circulation which show the unsettled state of men's minds. I hear of various assemblies of peasantry to-day. At Goudhurst there is a mob of some 200 or 300. —They press all persons of their own description, and even of the better classes, they meet with. Their cries are, "*No tithes, and more wages.*" The lay-titheholder of the parish, who is a large farmer, has reduced his tithe, and increased the wages of his workmen. They have not joined the mob. Another mob of smaller numbers are besetting all the farm-houses. At Horsmonden they ask for an increase of wages, press all persons of their own description. If they meet others, their demeanour is quiet. Several of the principal farmers have told their men, if they join the party, they will not be employed by them in future. Such persons do not go willingly. There are hand-bills, signed by the Chairman of the Magistrates' Meeting at Tonbridge, on Friday last, cautioning all persons to keep the peace; requiring returns to be made them, so far as may be lawful, of the number of agricultural labourers in the various parishes; the numbers employed, and the rate of wages; and encouraging vestries to be held, to devise means, in the respective parishes, for the employment of the poor.

SUFFOLK.—**BECCLES**, Sunday, Nov. 14.—One of the most appalling scenes that ever occurred in this part of the country took place last evening at North Cove, about three miles and a half from our town. A dreadful fire broke out in the stack-yard of the farm occupied by Mr. Lamming, and the property of J. Lee Farr, Esq. late of Cove-hall. The devouring flames were so rapid in their progress, that in a few hours the whole of the crops (with the exception of a small quantity of wheat), the barn, stables, and out-buildings, with an extensive malt office adjoining (I should think 150 feet in length), pigs and fowls, all became a prey to the devouring element. I this morning was an eye-witness of the dreadful destruction caused by this truly melancholy event, and saw the many persons who attended, returning from the destroyed property, many of them worn out from incessant fatigue the whole night! The fires from Beccles were directly despatched, for the purpose of rendering every possible assistance, and perhaps were the means of preserving the dwelling-houses. It was astonishing to see the immense number of persons of all distinctions passing to and from the scene of destruction, and, apparently, from all parts of the country. So far as thirty miles, in different parts, this alarming fire could be discerned. There is not a shadow of doubt of

its being caused by the diabolical act of some incendiary, and no exertion will be spared to discover the offender. The Magistrates and leading gentlemen of the neighbourhood were present, and used every exertion on their parts to arrest the progress of the flames. Amongst them may be mentioned Sir T. S. Gorch, Bart., who felt extremely anxious that every assistance should be rendered that possibly could.

About four o'clock, on Sunday afternoon, a fire was observed to break out in a straw stack upon the premises of Mr. Jeffries, of Wilby, adj. to which was a barn containing the produce of five acres and a half of barley. This building took fire, and was burnt down.—*Ipswich Journal*.

On Friday night an alarming fire broke out in a barn occupied by Mr. Sach, at Rayleigh. The flames spread with frightful rapidity, quickly setting fire to the adjoining hay and other stacks, and soon after its commencement the spectacle was awfully terrific. Two men, named Ewen and Richardson, were apprehended on Saturday afternoon, on suspicion of having caused the conflagration, and have been committed to gaol.—*Ipswich Journal*.

On Monday morning, at a very early hour, labourers, to the number of at least thirty or ninety, met in the parishes of Sturry and Westhene, and proceeding from farm to farm, forced every man to join their body, who did not receive wages to the amount of half-a-crown a day, which they had fixed on as the minimum. In many instances they were unsuccessful, as the workmen refused to accompany them. The same night a burning took place in that vicinity, at Minster.

SURREY.—A fire broke out on Sunday morning at *Ubury*, near Guildford, at a mill belonging to Mr. John Cooke, the whole of which was consumed. Very little of the wheat or other stock could be saved, and it was with great difficulty the flames were prevented from spreading to the dwelling-house, which was situated close at hand. It is supposed to have been the work of an incendiary, and he appears in this case to have been a fellow of the most determined atrocity of character. The occupier of the mill, a Mr. Franks, having opened a window when the first alarm was given, was fired at, and the slugs broke the glass of another window close to him. The incendiary, it is supposed, heard the sound of opening the sash, but fired by mistake at the wrong window. A shot was also fired through the front door, on its being opened by one of the family. One man was in custody on suspicion of being the perpetrator of this daring and nefarious crime. It is said, that in consequence of the frequent burnings of farming stock which have taken place of late in various parts of the country, it has been determined on by several of the London offices to decline all insurance on property of that description for the present, except under very peculiar circumstances.

NORFOLK.—Early on Monday evening last some person or persons set on fire a haulm stack, belonging to Mr. Hammond, of Ashfield, which in a short time was quite consumed. It was situated at some distance from any other stacks, or the destruction of much property would have been the consequence.

On Wednesday night, about nine o'clock, two large barley stacks, belonging to Mr. Hill, of Briston, were discovered to be on fire in several places. Mr. Hill is a respectable man, a tenant of Sir J. Astley, and is the overseer of the parish of Briston. As those stacks stood nearly a mile from any premises, it was evidently the work of incendiaries. Although some of the labouring classes who had assembled lent their assistance, the majority stood looking on in sullen silence, and would not move a hand to extinguish the fire. When asked, "Why don't you help and try to save the property, and put the fire out?" they answered, "What is the use of our assisting? whether it is burned or not, it makes no difference to us—we are as badly off as we can be, and it is impossible for us to be worse; therefore it may take its chance."—*Norwich Mercury*.

READING, BERKS.—A few days ago many gentlemen of this county dined together at this place, Mr. MONCK in the Chair, and agreed to a requisition for calling a *County Meeting*, to petition for a *reform of the Parliament*. The whole of the company appear to have been for the *ballot* at all events.

Mr. HALLET said that the enemies of Reform charged them with a desire for universal suffrage; he, for one, would not admit it; but he would extend it to property, and that branches out into varieties. Suppose a landed estate 100l. a year let to a tenant; it is generally believed that a tenant makes three rents; there would be 100l. for the landlord; 100l. to pay labour and taxes; and 100l. for himself—and for this last 100l. the tenant ought to have a vote. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the 100l. paid for expenses, all who work on the farm have a property in it, and this property is taxed; the labourer when he takes his money to his wife, finds that great part of it goes to pay taxes on his soap, candles, and a variety of other articles, and ought not he to have a vote in respect of this taxation? He would give a man of one thousand a-year, ten votes, but he would not give any. Lord Grosvenor for his two hundred and fifty thousand, a vote for each thousand. (Hear, hear.) The next point—the manner of voting, he considered the most important of them all—he would rather have vote by ballot than all other plans of reform. It would save a great expense to the candidate—it would prevent drunkenness and perjury—and it would enable a man to go fairly to the poll, and exercise his suffrage according to the dictates of his own

conscience. When he stood for Berkshire a respectable farmer promised him his vote. He afterwards came to him and said, "It's all over—I have had a letter from a distant county, and I can't vote for you." *That man was a slave.* A man, who had worked for him a long time, came and said, "Sir, I can't vote for you, *because lawyer such a one says, he will call in some money.*" That man was a slave. (Great applause.) With respect to the duration of Parliaments, he supposed most reformers would be content with triennial parliaments; but if they were chosen for three years, one-third might go out annually by ballot.

Mr. BURN returned thanks to the company, and then gave an outline of his plan of reform—he would disfranchise all boroughs not having 20,000 inhabitants. To this county for instance, he would allot eight Members, two to be chosen by the freeholders and copyholders, four by the householders paying taxes, and two by the general population. Nothing could be more easy than to make the necessary arrangements—for instance, when a list of the population was required for the militia, how quickly it was made out. He would not then go into minutiae, but content himself with stating that he considered the vote by ballot as most essential to every plan of reform.

The company drank Dr. LUSHINGTON as a reformer! Of that fine affair the *Constitutionary court*, I suppose! Some one (MONCK, I believe) said, that the Doctor was for the ballot; and if the Doctor be for the ballot, I will eat the Doctor, though more or less he must be by this time. Mr. HALLER's plan of double vote would never do. Its injustice is too flagrant to suffer it to be tolerated for a moment; and if you would give 10 votes to a man who has 1,000*l.* a year, upon what principle refuse a thousand votes to a loan-monger who has 100,000*l.* a year? Mr. BURN's plan might satisfy many people; but I prefer the more simple; and as to the right, who can doubt the right of every man to have a vote? That which would have satisfied a year ago, will not satisfy now. In short, the question now is, not what might do, but what the people wish; for that will at last be adopted. According to present appearances the probability is, however, that nothing at all will be done; and that while men are debating about what ought to be done, the whole THING will be dashed to pieces.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

Nov. 11.—COLSON, H., Clapton, stage-coach-master.

Nov. 11.—PESKETT, G., Peckham, surgeon.

Nov. 12.—SHEPHERD, T., Frampton Cotterell, Gloucestershire, and Macham, Monmouthshire, tinner.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

APPLETON, C., Northampton, hosier.

BANKRUPTS.

BARKER, J., Caiuby, Lincolnshire, keeper.

BLEADEN, J., Lothbury, stationer.

BULL, C., London, Worcestershire, farmer.

CAWLEY, T. C., Axminster, ironmonger.

DALE, J., London-wall, horse-dealer.

FLEMING, R., Ebury-street, Hanover-square, cabinet-maker.

HARRIS, W., Cornhill, optician.

HILL, P., Greek-street Soho, picture-dealer.

IBBETSON, W., Knaresborough, dyer.

JOHNSON, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper.

JONES, D., King's-Arms-yard, Coleman-st., merchant.

LABRON, R., Wakefield, Yorkshire, linen-draper.

LEVY, J., Strand, dealer in glass.

LOFTUS, T., Leeds, linen-manufacturer.

MACDONALD, A. and A. Campbell, Regent-street, Westminster, army-agent.

PRIDEAUX, J., Plymouth, timber-merchant.

PRINCE, W., Gracechurch-street, shop-seller.

ROWE, G., Shoe-lane, victualler.

STEVENSON, E., jun., Leicestershire, hosier.

WILCOCKS, E., Exeter, linen-draper.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

Nov. 15.—MANLEY, T., Westcheap, Whitechapel, sugar-refiner and merchant, that he is in insolvent circumstances, and is unable to meet his engagements with his creditors.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ELGIE, G. T., Silver-street, London, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWRING, H., Mincing-lane, and of North Brixton, Surrey, colonial-broker.

DYSON, G., Pall-Mall, picture-dealer.

EDWARDS, W., now or late of Lane-end, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, earthenware-manufacturer.

GOODWIN, John, now or late of Lane-end, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, rope-maker.

HART, James, Feathers Tavern, Hand-court, Holborn, wine-merchant and victualler.

HIGHAM, R. H., 43, New Bond-street, hatter and tailor.

HODGES, W. K., otherwise Wm. Hodges,
113, Minories, linen-draper.
HOWLETT, F., jun., of Aston, Warwick-
shire, grocer.
SMITH, G., Leeds, commission-agent.
WALLEY, T., Manchester, grocer.
WATSON, George, now or late of Bentley
Grange, Emley, Yorkshire, tanner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, NOV. 15.—
The supply of English and Foreign Wheat
to-day is extremely short, and the few arrivals
of English have come by land-carriage, the
prices of which are full as high as on this day
of 'nigh. The supply of Barley is very short,
and for very prime picked samples is higher
has been given; the other sorts remain as last
quoted. Oats are far from being great in
quantity, and fully support our last quoted
terms. Beans are also short in supply, main-
taining fully their former prices. Flour is
short in quantity, with prices as before.

Wheat	58s. to 72s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	34s. to 36s.
— fine	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White	48s. to 52s.
— Boilers	54s. to 56s.
— Grey	38s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	34s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoo	28s. to 30s.
— Poland	24s. to 28s.
— Feed	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last	26l. to 28l.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 19.

The supplies are small, but the market is
dull at Monday's prices

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour		
Wheat	1,170	850
Barley	3,450	
Oats	2,950	5,600

SMITHFIELD.—Nov. 19.

The quantity of Beasts in the market is
considerably greater than on Monday last,
with about an equal number of Sheep. Pigs
and Calves are short in supply. There is no
alteration in the prices of any kind of Meat
since Thursday. Hay, Clover, and Straw,
also remain unaltered.

Beef	3s. 6d. to 4s. 0d.
Mutton	4s. 0d. to 4s. 6d.
Veal	4s. 4d. to 4s. 8d.
Pork	3s. 10d. to 4s. 8d.
Beasts at market	3,157
Sheep and Lambs	23,790
Pigs	240
Calves	156

Hay and Straw, per load.

Hay	2l. 10s. 0d. to 4l. 10s. 0d.
Clover	3l. 10s. 0d. to 5l. 10s. 0d.
Straw	1l. 8s. 0d. to 1l. 18s. 0d.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middlesex, old	36s. to 40s. per cwt.
— new	46s. to 47s.
— Sides, old	35s. to 38s.
— new	46s. to 48s.
Beef, India, new	100s. to 102s. 6d. per tr.
— Mess, new	60s. to —s. per barrel.
Pork, India, new	100s. to 105s.
— Mess, new	52s. to 60s. per barrel.
— old	55s. to 57s. 6d.
— India, old	110s. per tierce.
Butter, Belfast	90s. to 92s. per cwt.
— Carlow	90s. to 96s.
— Cork	94s. to 96s.
— Limerick	94s. to 96s.
— Waterford	90s.
— Dublin	90s.
— Scotch	76s. to 78s.
— Dutch	101s. to 116s.
Cheese, Cheshire, new	48s. to 60s.
— old	56s. to 84s.
— Gloucester, Double	44s. to 56s.
— Single	40s. to 52s.
— Edam	42s. to 44s.
— Gouda	42s. to 44s.
Hams, Cumberland	60s. to 65s.
— Yorkshire	70s. to 84s.
— Irish	46s. to 60s.
Lard	58s. to 60s.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tue. Wed. Thur.
Cons. Ann. } 84½ 83½ 81½ 83½ 83½ 83½

SMITHFIELD, Thursday.—This day's supply
was, throughout, rather limited; but owing to
a considerable number of the salesmen, who
wish to re-establish a Friday's market, having
signified they should bring in stock to-mor-
row, the trade was with each kind of meat,
very dull; at barely Monday's quotations.
For Milch Cows, which were not quite so nu-
merous as on several past Thursdays, advan-
ced prices were demanded; but those of last
week (from 19s. to 20l. for useful short-horns,
with their small calf), were at length accepted.
Prime Beef, from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 10d.; middling
Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 2d.
to 2s. 4d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 4d. to 4s. 4d.;
middling Mutton, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton,
2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. to 4s. 10d.;
Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8lbs., to
sink the offal.—Suckling Calves, from 12s. to
42s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s.
each.—Supply, as per Clerk's statement:
Beasts, 335; Sheep 3,620; Calves, 211; Pigs,
200.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.—This work being now completed, those who want odd Numbers to complete their sets, must get them *quickly*, for the single Numbers *will soon be gone*. The work, now freed from the expense of wrappers and the loss and inconvenience attending on a publication in Numbers, will, bound in boards, be sold at 5s.

Just published, Price 1s. 6d., extra boards,

JOURNAL

A TOUR IN ITALY, AND ALSO IN PART OF FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being
From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles,
and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence,
Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND
By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence,
Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona,
Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard,
Geneva, and the Jura, back into France.

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions, and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Just published, price 1s.

A SKETCH of the LIFE of GENERAL LAFAYETTE. Translated from the French by JAMES P. COBBETT.

“RURAL RIDES.”—These are published in a thick volume, duodecimo; the price was to be 10s., I shall sell the volume at *five shillings*, in boards: it is a collection of all my rides in the several counties of “Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Somersetshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire: with Economical and Political Observations relative to matters applicable to, and illustrated by, the

“State of those Counties respectively.” The Book contains 800 pages, and is neatly put up in boards: the volume is printed in a manner to fit it for a library.

HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

THINKING that this work, which has been translated into, and published in, all the languages, and in all the nations of Europe, and in the republics of North and South America, deserved to be put into a *fine book*, I published about two years ago a large edition in TWO ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUMES, the paper and print very fine and costly, with *marginal references*, or abstracts, and with a copious and complete index, making a really fine library book, sold at *one pound eleven and six-pence*, instead of the *eight shillings*, for which the small *duodecimo* edition in two volumes was and is sold. I was out in my estimate: I did not consider that the quantity of piety and justice and sense was not always in a direct proportion to the length of purse; and that while the *cheap* edition was, as it is, continually in great demand, the *dear* edition remained on hand, or at least went off much more slowly than things must move to be agreeable to my taste. I have, therefore, resolved to quicken the motion of this edition by selling THESE TWO ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUMES AT TEN SHILLINGS, only two shillings more than the price of the *duodecimo* volumes, making to myself a solemn promise never to publish a *dear* book again. These books, like my other books, may be had of all booksellers in town and country.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.—The Eighth Part was published on Saturday, the 30th of October, price 6s.

Sir James Mackintosh's Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, was concluded in Part VII. The present Part contains a portion of Professor Playfair's Dissertation on Mathematical and Physical Science, and a continuation of the same subject by Professor Leslie, will commence in Part IX.

The Editor receives the support of the former contributors to the Supplement, which is embodied in the present edition. All the

articles are thoroughly revised; many of them entirely re-written. The paper, typography, and embellishments, are of the first order; while the great reduction of price renders the present edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* the cheapest, as well as the most correct and beautiful, which has ever been offered to the public.

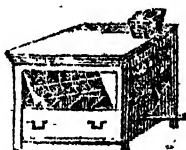
Printed for Adam Black, Edinburgh; Simpkin and Marshall, Whittaker, Treacher and Co., Hamilton, Adams and Co., and Jennings and Chaplin, London; and John Cumming, Dublin.

Part IX. will appear on the 30th of November.

DOCTOR JOHNSON'S TAVERN AND HOTEL, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, opposite Cobbett's Political Register Office.

The public are respectfully solicited to visit this old-established House, where the celebrated Doctor was accustomed to pass his leisure hours in the society of his friends. The Pipe and Chair formerly used by him may be seen by gentlemen visiting this hotel.

N. B. A superior Coffee-Room, supplied with Wines and Spirits of the finest quality. Excellent and well-aired beds, with comfortable accommodation for those gentlemen who may favour **ANTHONY BECK** with their patronage.



ZACHARIAH PARKES, 279, HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, manufacturer of **STEEL MILLS**, for Grinding Malt, Beans, Peas, Oats, Barley, Coffee, Pepper, Rice, and Drugs in general, begs particularly to call the attention of the Public to his improved **HAND CORN MILLS** and **FLOUR-DRESSING MACHINES**, by the using of which private Families may ensure Pure and Wholesome Bread.—Vide the Register for December 29, 1827, Vol. 64, No. 14.

BREWERS and CORN-DEALERS are informed, that they may have Hand Malt Mills that will grind from One to Two Quarters and upwards in the Hour.

Persons who emigrate to Van Dieman's Land, Swan River, or any other new Settlement, would find the Corn Mill and Flour-dressing Machine well worth their notice. The cost is trifling, and the Mill and Machine may be packed in a case containing less than eight cubic feet.

THE "AMERICAN STOVES" from Mr. COBBETT'S Model are now ready packed in Baskets, so that no delay in the execution of orders will take place; also, the "**LONGITUDINAL CORN-SHELLER**" from Mr. COBBETT'S Model, price 3*l.* 10*s.*

H. S. W. JUPSON, Ironmonger, Kensington, the only Manufacturer.

CARPENTER'S POLITICAL LETTERS.

—The Office is removed from No 1, Bouverie-Street, to No. 21, Paternoster-Row, where advertisements and communications may be sent.

The following have been published, each containing as much matter as the *Morning Herald*, but printed in the same form as the *Examiner*, price 4*d.* each.

1. A Political Letter to the Duke of Wellington.
2. A Monitory Letter to Sir Robert Peel.
3. An Expostulatory Letter to the Commissioners of Stamps.
4. A Monitory Letter to the People of England.
5. A Letter to the Aristocracy of England.
6. A Second Letter to the Duke of Wellington.
7. Facts and Observations connected with the present time.
8. A Letter to Lord Grey—next Thursday.

Each of these publications comprises a comprehensive digest of Domestic and Foreign Affairs, with Stocks, Markets, Bankrupts, &c.

Extract from Cobbett's Ninth Lecture.

"They passed a law in 1819, the preamble of which said, 'Whereas the people read too much:' that is the proper version of the thing. It was said that certain cheap publications, pernicious to the morals of the people, were in circulation, and it was expedient that they should be suppressed, or something of that kind. By that Act they prohibited any person to publish any thing in parts or numbers—that is, periodically—often more than once a month, at a price less than six-pence. Now this gentleman is going to try the strength of that law; he is going to publish once a week at **FOUR-PENCE**. He will see what lawyer Scarlett will do with that precious Bill. The truth is, men will bear it no longer, and they have found some one to try it, and I trust I will be one of the foremost to support him: it is my duty to do so, and I will support him to the utmost of my power. I trust that he will be supported by the public also—that every man in the kingdom will come forward and support him in his determination to compel lawyer Scarlett and the rest of them, to tell us in plain language, why they require this law."

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



"It is a great satisfaction to your Committee to observe, that, notwithstanding the alarming progress which has been made in extending DISAFFECTION, its success has been confined to the principal manufacturing districts, and that *scarcely any of the AGRICULTURAL POPULATION have lent themselves to these violent projects.*"—*Report made in February, 1817, to the House of Commons, by a Secret Committee, the Chairman of which was Castlereagh, who cut his own throat, at North Cray, in Kent, in August, 1822.*

THE REFORMERS, AND ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO WERE DUNGEONED IN 1817.

*On the Plans of the New Ministry, as
stated by Lord Grey.*

Bolt-Court, Fleet-Street, Nov. 23rd, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

PRAY look at the motto! See with what malignity a distinction was drawn between the country labourers and the town-labourers! Let those who *cheered* that report, NOW express their "*satisfaction*" that the "*agricultural population*" are so much better behaved than the "*population*" of the towns! Ah! come home to our hellish foes at last! I always knew that it would, and I said it at the time. In a Register, written from Long Island on the 10th of June, 1817, I said, in commenting on the above report, "All in good time for the *agricultural population*; all in good time; but, when *that population* begins to stir, it will laugh at the *power-of-imprisonment bills*. It may be some time first, but it will stir at last; and whenever it does stir, the THING will be put to its trumps."

Now, my friends, bearing in mind that, in 1817, a million and a half of Englishmen petitioned, in the most respectful and humble manner, for a reform of the Parliament, as the only means of saving the nation from a convulsive revolution; that in consequence of this, and for no other cause, we were denounced in a speech from the Throne by the "*mild*" Prince Regent; that green bags were then sent to the two Houses, borne by Sidmouth and Castlereagh; that these men then made motions for appointing secret committees to examine the green bags; that, upon the bare word of these committees, and without hearing any evidence, or seeing any of the pretended documents in proof of the people's guilt, a law was passed enabling the Ministers to seize any one that they might suspect of treasonable designs, to put him (on their own authority, without being confronted with his accuser, and without stating his offence) into any jail that they chose, into any solitary cell, deprived of the use of pen ink and paper, and deprived of the sight of parents, wife, children, and friends; that they did shut up great numbers in this way; that some of these died in prison, that others, when turned out of the dungeons and jails, found their wives or children dead, and that all were totally ruined; that *some* of them were ever brought to trial; and that an act was passed to bear harmless all those who might, in the execution of these horrid measures, have exceeded the limits even of *this absolute power-of-imprisonment law*! ALWAYS, MY FRIENDS, BEARING THESE FACTS IN MIND; and bearing in mind also the destruction of the people at Manchester, who peaceably met to petition for reform in 1819; always bearing these things in mind, let us now look at the plans of these new Ministers.

By referring to the PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS it will be seen, that Lord Grey, who is the Prime Minister, made in the House of Lords, on Monday, a

statement of the intentions of this new body of state men: 1. With regard to PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; 2. With regard to foreign nations; 3. With regard to reduction of expenses; and, 4. With regard to the RURAL WAR. The last is that which is, at present, of the most pressing importance, and, therefore, of that I shall speak first. *Parliamentary reform* is, indeed, inseparable from the other subject; but it is not so pressing as to time. For this reason I shall first speak of the RURAL WAR.

"With regard to this WAR, LORD GREY said, 'It is only within the last three hours that we have been installed in our respective offices as Members of his Majesty's Government, and we have had no access to official documents, or no information respecting the measures which have been pursued by our predecessors. Under these circumstances, I can only promise that the state of the country shall be made the object of our immediate, our diligent and unceasing, attention, of our first and most anxious attention; for what is there which can call upon us so imperatively for our most unceasing and diligent attention? (Hear, hear.) I have, therefore, my Lords, summoned a Council for this evening, to consider what may be done with greatest speed and effect. To relieve the distress which now so unhappily exists in different parts of the country will be the first and most anxious end of our deliberations; but I here declare for myself, (and in doing so, I also speak for my colleagues,) I declare that it is my determined resolution, whenever outrages are perpetrated, or excesses committed, to suppress them with severity and vigour. (Cheers.) Severity is, in the first instance, the only remedy which can be applied to such disorders with success; and, therefore, although we are most anxious to relieve the distress of the people who are suffering, let them be well assured they shall find no want of firm resolution upon our part. (Hear, hear.) I am desirous, then, my Lords, that the people, though God forbid I should say the people, or attribute to them such feeling and conduct, but that a portion of the people in some of the districts of England, should be told the effect of their proceedings is this, that while they complain of want of employment, they destroy the very means by which they would be benefited; and that the Government, although they commiserate their situation, are resolved not to connive at their excesses. (Hear, hear.)

* * * * *

"Their first object would be to examine into the nature of the existing distress, and then into the disturbances consequent upon that distress, and, as there was every reason to

"believe, upon the instigation of persons whom that distress did not affect. That, he had observed, was the first object which his Majesty's Ministers had in view; and, with reference to that object, a Privy Council was to be that evening held. It was absurd to think of giving Parliamentary Reform the priority of such a question. The danger with which the country was threatened was to be the first subject of consideration, and must be met with a prompt and determined hand. (Hear, hear, hear.)"

This must certainly be an assembly of the bravest men in the whole world! Observe how they cheered every time the word *resolution*, *determination*, *severity*, or *vigour*, occurred! And, the "prompt and determined hand" seems to have fairly entranced their Lordships. But, now, let us inquire coolly into this matter. Let us fairly state the case of those who are carrying on this war. LORD GREY proposes to inquire into the "nature of the existing distress." These words are enough to make one despair of him and his measures. Just as if the distress were temporary, and had now arisen from some special cause! Just as if it would pass away, if some immediate remedy were applied to it! Just as if the cholera had got the measles or the scarlet fever; and that a good supply of Doctors only were wanting! Just as if they were all drunk, and only wanted to be whipped into sobriety! Really, if such be the notions of our new set of state men, the THING is in a most hopeful way! Indeed, to hear them talk about "inquiry into the nature of the distress" is quite astounding. One would as soon expect them to propose an inquiry into the cause of the dirt in London streets. The one is just as notorious and as obvious as the other: to feign ignorance of the nature of the distress is shameful hypocrisy, and to be in ignorance of it really seems to argue a total want of common understanding, a want of all observation, of all memory, of all capacity for estimating the most common things.

However, upon the supposition, that the ministers be thus ignorant, still, why institute an inquiry; why waste a moment under that ridiculous pretence? I will tell them how they might save

all the time and expense of such an undertaking. First, let them read the next Number (No. 6) of "*Two-penny Trash*," which I have addressed to the farmers of the noble-spirited county of Kent; that fine and famous county, always deemed the pattern-county even of England. It will not be *published*, indeed, until the 30th of the month; but, I have already sent a copy to each of the new ministers; and, if they can read this two-penny worth of politics, and be still ignorant of the "*nature*" of the distress" and the real cause of the present RURAL WAR, then, as far as depends on their measures, the aristocracy and the parsons may despair indeed!

When LORD GREY is talking of *resolution to put down and to punish*, he certainly does not think of the *cause* of the Rural War. BARING is reported to have said, some weeks back, that there was no *particular distress at this time*, and that the country must, "*from its POSITION and its population, always have some distress*," and that the labourers were *as well off as ever they were*. Then, again, more recently, he said, that, "*if the magistrates had done right at first, the evil might have been prevented*." These appear to be the notions generally entertained by those who have the power to make the laws; and, therefore, I bestow on them a degree of attention which I should not have thought of, if Baring alone were concerned. Here are several distinct propositions, and we will take them one by one, not, however, following precisely the order of this famous loanmonger. The propositions are, 1. "*That the people of this country must, from its position, always be more or less in distress*." Its *position*, Baring! What do you mean by *position*? The country stands where it always did. But, what follows will, perhaps, help us to understand what this loanmonger means by England's *position*: 2. "*That the labourers are as well off as they ever were*." This is a *great point*, at which all those aim who wish to uphold the present system; and it has for its support nothing but assertions that are *as false as*

hell itself. There is no man, who is forty years of age, and who has lived in England, and has been in his senses, who does not know it to be a most impudent, a most barefaced and brazen, lie. But, as to undeniable facts, the poor-rates of England and Wales (including county-rates) amounted, forty years ago, to two millions and a quarter a year; they now amount to *nearly eight millions*. Is this no proof of an increase of poverty? What impudence a man must have to assert, in the face of this undeniable fact, that the labourers are as well off as they ever were!

But, look at the evidence given before Committees of the House of Commons itself. That evidence contains these facts; that, forty-five years ago, the labourers all brewed their own beer, and that now none of them do it; that formerly they ate meat, cheese, and bread, and they now live almost wholly on potatoes; that formerly it was a rare thing for a girl to be with child before she was married, and that now it is as rare that she is not, the parties being so poor that they are compelled to throw the expense of the wedding on the parish; that the felons in the jails and hulks live better than the honest labouring people, and that these latter commit thefts and robbery, in order to get into the jails and hulks, or to be transported; that men are set to draw waggons and carts like beasts of burden; that they are shut up in pounds like cattle; that they are put up at auction like Negroes in Jamaica; that married men are forcibly separated from their wives to prevent them from breeding. All these facts have been stated in evidence before Committees of the House of Commons itself, and by witnesses of their own selecting. And yet here is a man who has the brass to say, that the *labouring people are as well off as they ever were!*

Aye, but this is a *great point*, however; because, if they be worse off, then, in the first place, there is *ground for complaint*; and we know well that redress cannot come without a change in the system, and such a change, too, as the *boroughmongers and loanmongers*

shudder but to think of. *Inquiry*, indeed! What inquiry is wanted? What more does Lord Grey want than the evidence already before the House of

Commons? What more can he want than the bill of fare published by the Magistrates of Dorsetshire?

When the Standard Wheaten Quartern Loaf is sold at

12d. 11d. 10d. 9d. 8d. 7d.

The Weekly Allowance to be made up, INCLUDING EARNINGS.

	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
For a labouring man	3	1	2	10	2	7	2	4	2	1	1	10
For a woman, or boy, or girl, above 14 years old ..	2	4	2	2	2	0	1	10	1	8	1	6
For a boy or girl of 14, 13, or 12 ..	1	11	1	9	1	7	1	5	1	3	1	1
For ditto, 11, 10, or 9 ..	1	7	1	6	1	4	1	3	1	2	1	0
For ditto, under 9 ..	1	5	1	5	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	0

Here is, at the present price of bread, 2s. 7d. a week for a man to live on and to work on. This is the scale published and acted upon by the Magistrates of the Stourbridge Division, in 1828. In some counties it is less. Why, then, look at it, LORD GREY, and then think further inquiry necessary, if you can. The quartern loaf is now 10d. Let us see, then, here are one man, one woman, one boy or girl of fifteen, one boy or girl of fourteen, one boy or girl of eleven, one little child; and, for these six, here are 8s. 9d., including their earnings; that is to say, here are ten and a half quartern loaves amongst the six; that is 49lb. of bread; that is to say, 7lb. 3oz. of bread for each to live upon for a week, and to work upon too; and NOTHING for drink, fuel, or clothing, or bedding, or washing! Look at this, Lord Grey, and then think of extinguishing the fires by a proclamation that does nothing but menace!

And here, before we go further, let us, as it is what Prince Waterloo would have called the "complement" of Lord Grey's speech, have this Proclamation, which was issued on Tuesday, the 23d instant, the day after the speech was made.

WILLIAM R.—Whereas great multitudes of lawless and disorderly persons have, for some time past, assembled themselves together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, in the Counties of Wilts, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks; and for the purposes of compelling their employers to comply with certain regulations prescribed by themselves, with respect to the wages to be paid for their labour, have had

recourse to measures of force and violence, and have actually committed various acts of outrage in different parts of the counties above-mentioned, whereby the property of many of our good subjects has, in several instances, been wholly destroyed, and their lives and properties are still greatly endangered:

We, therefore, being duly sensible of the mischievous consequences which must inevitably ensue, as well to the peace of the kingdom as to the lives and properties of our subjects, from such wicked and illegal practices, if they go unpunished; and being firmly resolved, to cause the laws to be put into execution for the punishment of such offenders, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby strictly commanding all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and all other Civil Officers whatsoever, within the said counties of Wilts, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks, that they do use their utmost endeavours to discover, apprehend, and bring to justice, the persons concerned in the riotous proceedings above-mentioned.

And as a further inducement to discover the said offenders, we do hereby promise and declare that any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the authors, abettors, or perpetrators of any of the outrages above-mentioned, so that they, or any of them, may be duly convicted thereof, shall be entitled to the sum of Fifty Pounds for each and every person who shall be convicted, and shall also receive our most gracious pardon for the said offence, in case the person making such discovery as aforesaid shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And whereas certain wicked incendiaries have secretly by fire, in many parts of the said counties, destroyed the corn, hay, buildings, and other property of our subjects, we do hereby promise and declare, that any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the authors of the said fires, so that they or any of them, may be duly convicted thereof,

shall be entitled to the sum of *Five Hundred Pounds* for each and every person who shall be so convicted, and shall also receive *our most gracious pardon* (except the actual perpetrator of any of the said fires), in case the person making such discovery shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And the Lords Commissioners of our Treasury are hereby required to make payment accordingly of the said rewards.

Given at our Court at St. James's, this twenty-third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, in the first year of our reign. God save the King.

Look again, I say, at the 7lb. 3oz. of bread for a man to live on for a week look at the horrid scale above inserted and then hope that these menaces, unaccompanied as they are with a single word of kindness, can possibly tend to extinguish the devouring flames. I is *no temporary cause*, it is *no new* feeling of discontent that is at work: i is a deep sense of grievous wrongs; i is long harboured resentment; it is a accumulation of revenge for unmerited punishment; it has long been smothered in the bosom of these our injured and suffering countrymen, and it has now burst forth: it is a natural effect of a cause which is as obvious as that rick are consumed by fire, when fire is put to them. What! know well, that men are harnessed to carts and compelled to work like horses or oxen; know that carts are constructed on purpose for them to draw; know that they are shut up in pounds like cattle; know that in order to weary and insult them, they are made to carry a heavy load backward and forward on the road, while the overseer, who has a salary out of the poor-rates, stands by with a stick to compel them to perform the degrading task! What! know all this! know that bells are fastened to their necks, in order that the overseer may hear whether they be moving, when within hearing and out of his sight; know that they are put up to auction and sold; know that the married men are separated by force from their wives, to prevent them from breeding; know that the House of Commons actually passed a law to authorise the overseers to sell their dead bodies! What! know all this, and then to seem to believe, that

it is some *new*, or *temporary*, cause that has produced the present effects! Know all this, and believe that *menaces*, mere menaces, *à la Sidmouth*, can tend to restore tranquillity!

But if this excite our astonishment, what are we to say of that part of Lord Grey's speech in which he speaks of "*instigators*?" He and his colleagues will inquire, he says, into this curious part of the affair; for he adds, "there is *every reason* to believe that the disturbances have taken place at the *instigation of persons whom the distress did not affect*." To hear Peel and Knatchbull, and the stupid and bloody old *Times*, talk at this rate, might not much surprise anybody; but to hear Lord Grey talk at the same rate, will have made people stare. A little time for reflection, however, steadies one's head here too; for they are, though not always pulling together, *all in the same boat*; and it is that circumstance that blinds them all; or, at any rate, makes them talk upon this matter as if they were blind. What! can these men look at the facts before their eyes; can they see the millions of labourers every where rising up, and hear them saying that they will "*no longer starve upon potatoes*"; can they see them breaking threshing-machines; can they see them gathering together and demanding an increase of wages; can they see all this, and can they believe that the *fires* do not proceed from the same persons; but that these are the work of some invisible and almost incorporeal agency! I told Mr. BENNETT, of Wiltshire, last week, that it was "*pity he took upon him to vouch so very positively for the labourers of Wiltshire, because here is a long winter coming*." It now appears that he was too hasty in his vouching. He said, that "*they would not only refrain from outrages, but would be most active in suppressing them*"; though it was hard to see what cause could arise for this activity, *unless the outrages were committed*; and it was, if possible, still harder to see who was to go into Wiltshire to commit the outrages.

In short, all this talk about *insti-*

gators, about men going in *post-chaises* and *landaus*, to cause stacks and barns to be fired; it is all so foolish and so false; it is at once so stupid and staring and insulting a lie, that it really does astonish one to hear it put forth; such an *useless* lie, too, if we suppose the hearers of it to be possessors of the smallest portion of common sense. The *motive* of it is, however, evident enough to men who reflect that every tax-eater and tithe-eater, no matter of what sort or size he or she be, is afraid to believe, and wishes the nation not to believe, that the fires are the work of the labourers. And why are they so reluctant to believe this, and so anxious that it should be believed by nobody? Because the labourers are the millions (for, mind, *smiths, wheelwrights, collar-makers, carpenters, bricklayers*, all are of one mind); and because, if the millions be bent upon this work, who is to stop it? Then to believe that the labourers are the burners, is to believe that they must have been urged to the deeds by desperation, proceeding from some *grievous wrong*, real or imaginary; and to believe this is to believe that the burnings will continue, until the wrong be redressed. To believe this, is to believe that there must be such a change of system as will take from the tax and tithe-eaters a large portion of what they receive, and give it back to the labourers; and believe this the tax and tithe-eaters never will, until the political Noah shall enter into the ark! This is the true cause of all the at once stupid and impudent talk that we have heard about secret instigators, and about incendiaries in *post-chaises* and *landaus*.

And, now, as to the use of all these *menaces*. The *Old Times*, always *bloody*, begins to call aloud for blood. "Send a **"SPECIAL COMMISSION,"**" says this bloody-minded news-paper writer, who always speaks the language of the bad miscreants of stock-jobbers. But what is the "Special Commission" to do in stopping the fires? And what so likely to increase them as acts of *severity*? The case is this, in plain and distinct propositions. 1. That the labourers have long been reduced to a state ap-

proaching to *starvation* for want of a sufficiency of wages. 2. That they have combined in a demand of higher wages, and have used bodily violence in order to obtain what they wanted. 3. That they have not had physical force wherewith to proceed in the enforcing of their demands in all cases, and, in every case, such enforcement is attended with great risk to their liberty and lives. 4. That, therefore, in order to intimidate their employers so as to induce them to render to them what they deemed justice, they have secretly set fire to the stacks and barns of those whom they regarded as most strongly opposed to their interests. This is the state of the case. And now, then, what is to put a stop to these fires? Force is of no avail; and, if force be useless, of what use is *menace*? If we listen to the railings of the miscreant stock-jobbers and Jews, those cannibals who suck up the nation's blood, we shall wish all the whole of the labourers, who give us food and raiment, to be slaughtered. The bloody old *Times*, the organ of the Jews, would send a special commission to strew the counties with hanged carcasses, as it advised Louis XVIII. to do with the departments of France. But there would no good arise from this, even if the thing could be done, which I believe it could not. The fires would still blaze, and with more fury than before.

I beseech Lord Grey to observe, that though these are, in the eye of the law, acts of *arson*, and worthy of an ignominious death, a statesman ought to see that the perpetrators do not so deem them, nor do the millions in their own state of life so deem them; and this is a very important consideration. They look upon themselves as engaged in a war, with a just object. The public in general, and even the employers themselves, declare that their demands are no more than just, though they, owing to high rents and tithes and taxes, cannot comply with the demands without being ruined. But in speaking of the probability of putting an end to the fires, it is no matter whether the parties be right or wrong in their view of the nature of the act: the

important matter is, what is the light in which they do view it? And, as I said before, it is clear that they view it only as the means of obtaining that which they deem *justice*, and which they can obtain *by no other means*. And, therefore, in order to make them desist from this terrific and fatal course, this plea must be taken from them; and this can be done only by enabling their employers to pay them sufficient wages; and this is to be done only by taking off two-thirds of the taxes; which can be done without any injustice, and which ought to be done immediately.

Besides this view which the labourers themselves take of the matter, they are kept in countenance by the middle class, who are every-where beginning to make *common cause* with them. The aristocracy have hitherto carried this class along with them; or, rather, they have employed them to keep the working class down. But the labourers have now taught this middle class, that there is more danger in being on the side of the aristocracy than on the side of the labouring class; and, thus taught, though the teaching has been long about, the middle class are fast *sheering away to the side of the labourers!* If Lord Grey doubt of this, let him read, under my head of DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, the account of *Lord Darnley's defeat at Rochester*; and, if that fail to satisfy his mind, it will, perhaps, get that satisfaction from the account of what took place at TUNBRIDGE, on the 23d instant, as given in the *Maidstone Gazette* of that date: "The meeting, convened by the magistrates, on Monday last, for the purpose of swearing in special constables, gave rise to an extraordinary display of political feeling. Soon after ten o'clock, the inhabitants of this town mustered in great numbers at the Court Hall pursuant to summons, when, upon the oath of special constable being tendered to them, they, *almost to a man, refused to take it.* Mr. R. M. Austen addressed the bench in explanation of his refusal, in which he stated, it to be the opinion of himself, and that of the greater part of the inhabitants,

"that the proceeding was inexpedient, and, he further declared, that although they were actuated by the most devoted feelings of loyalty and attachment to the King, yet, as the Government had turned a deaf ear to the just and reasonable complaints of the people, the latter could not so cheerfully co-operate with them. The room was crowded to excess, and Mr. Austen was much applauded at the conclusion of his address. The inhabitants then simultaneously left the meeting, and upon their arrival in the open street, they gave three cheers to Mr. Austen, whom they considered as their representative. This, however, was a demonstration of feeling which, as it bore the appearance of disrespect to the bench, was no less reprehended by the inhabitants in general, than it was unpleasant to the individual who was the object of it. The persons summoned from the other parishes generally refused to be sworn in. They complained of the intolerable burden of the taxes, and the inattention of Government to their distress. To these complaints the magistrates replied, that, as they were not legislators, it was of no use to complain to them, and that several respectable inhabitants having, upon oath, declared their apprehensions of a riot, it was imperative upon them to take the steps they had done to preserve the public peace. Lord Brecknock was present, and entered familiarly into conversation with some of the principal recusants. One of those placards, headed 'Nice Pickings,' which have been so numerously circulated, was placed in the hands of his Lordship, who declared that the statement of the income of several of the individuals therein named was grossly exaggerated. Out of upwards of 300 persons who were summoned, only fifty-two, including some volunteers, who took the oaths on the previous Saturday, consented to act as special constables. A troop of the 5th Dragoon Guards is at present stationed at Tunbridge Wells; but, although information has been received there

"of the assistance of mobs at no great distance, the services of the military have not yet been required. We are sorry to state, that information was received here on Saturday evening, that several corn-stacks at Riverhead were set on fire. The Rev. Sir Charles Hardinge has reduced the vicarial tithes of Tunbridge ten per cent., in order to relieve the farmers, on account of the pressure of the times, and to enable them to raise the wages of the labourers. The vicarial tithes have always been moderate, being rated at little more than half their real value. It is to be hoped that those who hold the rectorial tithes will be induced to follow the example set them by the Rev. Baronet."

Now, is there not matter here for a Minister to muse on? Does he not see, that here the middle do, in fact, make common cause with the lower? What is the plain language here? Why, this: "We are so taxed by the Government, that we have been unable to give the working people what they ought to have had; the Government has been deaf to our prayers: and, therefore, we will not now aid the Government to keep down the working people." If a Minister can doubt after this, he must be very hard to believe. Addressed to a community in this mind, what is a proclamation of menaces? If I had had to draw up a proclamation, it should have been of a very different stamp, and it should have put a stop to the fires as completely as they could have been stopped by another Noah's flood. But, indeed, if the King, on coming to the throne, had followed my advice, we should never have heard of a single fire. My advice was, that he should call the new Parliament together as soon as it was elected, and send to them the following message:

"The King informs the House of Commons [the same to the Lords], that he has called them together for one important purpose, and for that purpose only. Upon coming to the throne, he finds, from a careful examination

"into the state of his kingdom, whether in its foreign relations or in its domestic concerns, that there has been for many years great mismanagement; that the country has sunk in the eyes of the world; and that his people are in a state of ruin and beggary, such as was never known to their fathers. The King has traced these sad and disgraceful effects to the want of a full, free, and fair representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament; and, therefore, he recommends to the two Houses to pass a law to enable the people at large freely to choose the members of the Commons House, excluding from the right of voting no man who has attained the age of twenty-one, who is of sane mind, and who has not been legally convicted of an infamous crime."

Not a single fire should we have heard of, if this Message had been sent to the Parliament; because the people would have concluded, that a real change was about to be made; that real relief was coming to them; and, therefore, they would have waited with patience. But, then, there must have been a real reform directly, and real relief given; and these things must be done now; or there will be no end of the fires, until the middle class join the labouring, until these make common cause, and obtain a radical reform and a cessation of the oppressive taxation; and this cessation cannot be with acting upon NOR-FOLK PETITION; and to this, or to something a great deal more convenient to the aristocracy, the clergy, and the fund-holders, it will and must come at last.

It is universally acknowledged, that the labourers ought to have that which they demand. The LORDS have, indeed, not said this, nor has it been said in the INCOMPARABLE HOUSE; nor do the FAT CLERGY say it; nor do the LOAN-MONGERS and JEWS say it; but every-body else says it; it is said by all the middle class, in town

as well as country; and it *must* take place; the labourers must have their due. The thing will work, and is working, thus :

1. The labourers have, by means of the fire, the power either to ruin the farmers in that way, or to make them pay them wages, which payment would be equally ruinous to them.
2. All but the lords, parsons and fund-fellows say that the labourers ought to have the wages demanded.
3. The farmers can be saved from ruin only by a very great reduction of rents, tithes and taxes.
4. The question for the farmers (and, indeed, the tradesmen) is this, Shall *they put out the fires at once*, by giving the labourers their due, and by *calling them to their aid* in legally obtaining a reduction of rents, tithes and taxes; or shall they endeavour to put them out *by carrying on a fight with the labourers?*

This is the question which the farmers have presented to them for their decision; and, in short, it is come to this: Is this destructive war to go on till all law and all personal safety are at an end? or are the 113 Privy-Councillors to cease to receive 650,000*l.* sterling a-year? and is Burke's pension and Grenville's sinecure to cease to be paid? and are the loan-mongers and Jews and stock-jobbers to cease to be paid at the present rate of interest? and is the dead-weight to be put an end to? and is the army to be reduced to the standard of the last peace? I have taken Grenville and Burke merely as *specimens*. But, it is come to this: the *farmers and the tradesmen* have to choose between the two. For, it is beastly nonsense to suppose, that the increase of wages *can be squeezed out of the farmers and traders*. The truth is, that, for many years past, about *forty-five millions a-year* have been withheld from the working people of England; about five or six millions have been doled back to them in *poor-rates*; and the forty millions have gone to keep up *military academies, dead-weight, standing-army, mili-*

tary asylums, pensions, sinecures, and to give to parsons, and to build new palaces and pull down others, and to pay loan-mongers and all that enormous tribe; and to be expended in various other ways not at all necessary to the well-being of the nation.

These *forty millions a year* must now remain with the working people. No wonder the bloody old *Times*, the organ of the Jews, cries out for "A SPECIAL COMMISSION." These monsters would see half the people in the world murdered, rather than see their vile per-cents in danger. However, in spite of Lord Grey's declaration about upholding "*national faith*," in pretty imminent danger those per cents will be, if the labourers *get just wages*, and get them they will. What is the proclamation to do in arresting the progress of acts of which a specimen was given at Woodchurch, in Kent, last Monday week? The labourers of Appledore and Woodchurch, about 500 in number, summoned the farmers to meet them on Woodchurch Green, and made them agree to a rise of wages; and then they dispersed, telling the farmers that they might *compensate themselves by withholding the rectorial tithes*, by making the landlords reduce the rents, and by refusing to pay taxes; and they offered their services to effect these purposes for the farmers. Next Saturday is appointed for these farmers and the men to meet to petition for *parliamentary reform, reduction of taxes, and a revision of the tithe-laws*. Thirty of these farmers and tradesmen were summoned to Cranbrook to be sworn in as special constables; and only THREE would take the oath; all declaring, that they were not afraid of the poor; for that they were already worn down by tithes, rents and taxes, and had nothing to lose. Thus, the middle and lower classes are making common cause. The consequence will be, that the food and raiment will remain with the working people to the amount of that *forty millions a year* which are now drawn away from them. The direct taxes will not be paid, because they cannot be paid; and the farmers and labourers, being of

one accord, will soon begin to *make malt, soap and candles*, at their own houses.

And what is to be the *result* of all this? Why, a violent destruction of the whole fabric of the Government, or a timely, that is, an *immediate and effectual* remedy; and there is no remedy but a radical *reform of the Parliament*; because, as I have a thousand times said, nothing but such a Parliament can adopt an "*equitable adjustment*," and reduce the expenses to what they were at the *last peace*. The *tottings-up* of the advocate for the *standing army* and the *New Police* are nonsense. The whole of the taxes must be reduced to *fifteen millions a year*; and I think they will be reduced *still lower* than that. The Government of this country might be carried on, and the honour of the country and its power and weight supported, and the taxes not exceed *six millions a year*. I know this well; and I am always able to *prove the truth* of what I say. And *why* is not this done? *Why* are we not to have harmony, liberty, and happiness? *Who* stands, or who stand, in the way of this desirable state of things? Let it be who it may, something must now *give way*; the first blow is aimed at the *tithes*; the next will be *at rents*; and then the *land* and the *funds* will come into *strict collision*. As the farmers will make *common cause* with the labourers, so the *land*, or the *funds*, will make *common cause* with the *people*. The Scotch place-hunting crew have long laughed at me for predicting an open war *between the land and the funds*. Do the conceited and arrogant and greedy and mystified vagabonds laugh at me *NOW*? Chance may postpone this war for a little while; but the seeds of it have taken root, and up it will come, as surely as my wheat came up last March, though kept under ground by the frost from the 6th of December.

Upon the rest of the plans of the ministers I have not room to remark here. I will, in my next, remark on what was said about *parliamentary reform*; and I will show, that, if the reform be not radical, it will be worse

than none at all. The *economy* talked of is *childishness*. But on these matters I will speak fully in my next.

WM. COBBETT.

ADVICE TO THE FARMERS.

1. READ all the Numbers of Monthly TWO-PENNY TRASH. They cost 1s., there being six numbers.

2. Read my SERMON on the RIGHTS OF THE POOR and the PUNISHMENT OF OPPRESSORS. It is one of 12 sermons, the vol. price 3s. 6d.

3. Read my POOR-MAN'S FRIEND, price 6d. It will tell you all about the rights of the poor, and all the laws of God and our country relating to this matter.

4. Read, if you can afford it, my HISTORY OF PROTESTANT REFORMATION. That will tell you *how parishes and tithes came*, and how *poor-rates came*, and it will show you, that the laws of the church and of the land provided that the poor *should be relieved out of the tithes*, and that poor-rates ought never to have been necessary. The price of this book is 8s. the small edition, in two volumes, and the large size, 10s. Read particularly the *introduction to the second volume*. This book will show you how the aristocracy became possessed of a great part of their estates.

5. *Make common cause with your labourers* in all that is *just*; for that is the only way to *stop the fires*, and to save yourselves *from ruin*. Call them all together in your several parishes; explain to them the reasons why you are unable to pay sufficient wages; and join them in a petition to Parliament for a reform of the *Commons House*, and for a *great reduction of taxes*. Do this, and the fires will stop and you will be safe, and the country will soon be put to rights again.

To be published on the 29th instant, COBBETT'S HISTORY OF GEORGE IV., No. 3, price 6d., containing the history of the conduct of the Whig-faction, when in place, in 1806; and of the in-

trigues of them and of the Perceval faction, by which the unfortunate Caroline was sacrificed.

Also, same day, COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 6, to be published on 29th instant, will make as clear as day-light all the causes of the Rural War, and will point out the only remedy.—N. B. A copy of this has been sent to each of the Ministers.

Also, Mr. JAMES COBBETT'S TOUR IN ITALY, price 5s.

LORD BROUGHAM!

I LAUGH as I write the words! The reader will find *something* about this Lord (I laugh again) in the *Proceedings in Parliament*. I really cannot bestow any more space upon him here. What a figure he will make this day twelve months! He is come *too late*: the *feasting* is over!

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE readers of the Register will recollect that, the week before last, I published a letter, in French as well as in English, addressed to TALLEYRAND's master, the famous Bourbon-Citizen-King, relative to the *stock* that that famous king of the "*best of republics*" had in our fine THING'S funds. Now, then, there is a newspaper published at Paris, called LA REVOLUTION, which was setting the Bourbon law of previous security at defiance. This paper had been prosecuted; but had *appealed to higher courts*; the process was not ended, and the paper *was going on during the time*. But, now, *must!* This paper inserted *part of my letter* to the Bourbon-Citizen-King, *who had chosen the English funds to keep his money in*; and the very moment *that it did this*, it was STOPPED BY FORCE! All its numbers that were at the *post-office*, were seized there; and all the rest seized by the *Police at the printing-office*! Bravo! What, I have *smitten* that stock-jobbing THING too, have I! I said that it would be hard indeed, if my *arm*, which had been long enough to reach this THING across

the Atlantic, could not reach that THING across the Channel! I have reached it; I have found its *sore place*, and I know how to work it. The two crews of *man-mongers* are both in the same boat: they must float or sink together. My son's letter, which I here *subjoin*, will explain the rest. Yes, *Citizen-King* and *Banker-Minister*, I will be with you in due time. Curious, the same postman that brought me this news from France, brought me a letter from New York, telling me that my Register, published here in *June*, about Mexico, and laughing at BARING and SIR BUBBY and that set, had been *re-published there*, to the great amusement of Jonathan! Well, I was born, to be sure, for the express purpose of tormenting these devils of *borough-mongers* and *Jews*! Ah! Sidmouth, Sidmouth! How much this *world will owe to your Power-of-Imprisonment Bill*, and to your brother Ellenborough's *sentence on me*! If it had not been for these, I should have been gardening, planting, and ploughing, at Botley these last twenty years! Ah! Doctor Addington! You will be the regenerator of poor Old England, after all!

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER V.

Paris, 20th Nov., 1830.

SIR,

I. HAVING before endeavoured to make you acquainted with the state of the law with regard to the press, I shall now completely succeed in opening your eyes as to the liberty which is possessed by the people of France; by relating to you a fact which has just taken place. That fact is, in the first place, that the "*Revolution*" was seized at the post-office on Thursday night, and that all the Numbers printed on that evening that could be found at the office of the Journal have been seized also; and the remaining part of the fact is, that this Number, which is the last the Editor has been allowed to print, contained a *part of your second letter to Louis-Philippe*!

2. I had intended to make this letter consist of a description of the system of *taxation*, as the budget is now coming forward, and as this is the most essential thing of all; but, I must first give you the particulars which I have ascertained with regard to the above fact. The budget, the law of election, trial of the ministers, decision about the peerage, all depend greatly upon this matter concerning the press, and it is no wonder that the anti-revolution party wish to dispose of this matter first, in order to destroy its influence in maintaining the rights of the people in those others. It appears to me to be beyond a doubt, that the copying of your letter to the King of the French roused the impatience of the party I have mentioned, and determined them to check this growing spirit of the press without further delay. The law which is now in progress, settling the *cash-security* at 60,000 francs, not being yet passed, the Journals which have submitted to no security are the most powerful in opposing the passing of it by the Peers, and the sanctioning of it by the King; so that, in order even to pass this law, the party are obliged to resort to that of CHARLES to procure a cessation of hostilities on the part of those who write for the people. There never was, I think, anything so strange, anomalous, contradictory and unnatural as these proceedings; one cannot compare the system to any thing one has ever heard of: it is precisely the same as if the siege of Paris, begun by Charles, had been kept up by Louis-Philippe.

3. Upon this important affair, the following is the declaration of the person the most interested, the editor of the "Revolution," issued yesterday, the 19th.—"Yesterday, our numbers were seized at the post-office, and this morning a commissary of the police effected another seizure at our office, leaving us not a copy. We do not know precisely on what account this is done. We were summoned yesterday before M. Roussigné, judge of criminal instruction, who interrogated us as to the great liberty which we take of qualifying as *provisionary* the

"honourables who sit at the palace of the legislative body. Our answers were of a nature, we think, to prove to the gentlemen of the board (particulier), that by this expression we do not deny the rights or authority of the Chamber; we have recognised its power of acting, but we have persisted in maintaining that this power, except provisionally, could only emanate from a general new election.—We do not believe that the seizure which has been made to-day has any connexion with this interrogatory. The commissary stated that it was in consequence of our neglecting to give security; but, the *cour royale* has not yet decided that the old law is not contrary to the new charter; and, the new deposit adopted by the deputies, has not yet passed the Peers, nor received the sanction of the King. At all events, *we shall deposit the security*; the formalities of the law of Charles X. require three days in order for this deposit to be effected; we therefore must defer the continuation of our publication until Wednesday, the 24th of this month. We shall then continue '*the Revolution of 1830*;' and it shall persevere in its career of *unmasking the stock-jobbing ministry*, as it did in that of *unmasking the ministry of doctrinaires*."

4. If the "Revolution" do, after it have become a fund-holder, persevere with the same powerful annoyance which it has, aided by several other most admirably conducted Journals, hitherto given to the stock-jobbers and to the *doctrinaires* (by which they mean those who pretend to a monopoly of all the wisdom as well as to the possession of the greater part of the produce, of the country), I think that the present taxing ministry will not be so successful as it appears to expect. It is truly a taxing ministry, as I shall endeavour to show presently, and appears led away with dreams of absorbing the last half-penny of the poor; but, let us hope that the dreams will not be realized, towards which hope nothing is more favourable than the stand which men of property and education are now making to sus-

tain the press. I really do not know whether it is more monstrous or more ludicrous, the oppression which is now attempted upon the press; for, it is attempted to crush it by *starvation* as well as by correction and prevention. Since the revolution especially, the size of the paper and the quantity of matter in each journal has been doubled; this has been upon the expectation that the stamps would be reduced and the postage reduced, and I believe that the journals of the greatest circulation are barely paid. No reduction of stamp is to be made, and the reason against the reduction of postage is that the paper is larger; so that the papers must, then, be sold at a higher price, or the editors and their establishments be devoted to the public! Nothing was ever so *looked after* as this press by the government: taking it as a corporeal body, it is first reduced to the regimen of Dr. Sangrado and has nothing to eat; it has the benefit of the Doctor's bleedings, administered in the shape of stamps and postage; then, if any remaining force which may be left in it take a turn not relished by those who prescribe the aforesaid regimen, plentiful correctives are ready, which also are anticipated by a burden laid upon the poor animal on the presumption that it will commit sins!

5. Several seizures have been made besides, but none at the post-office, nor has any other editor been summoned to the *sanctum-sanctorum*, which term I use, as there is some degree of mystery attending all the purlieus of the official habitations of the emissaries of the law. I have never heard of any other seizure at the post-office, and only of one stoppage, which was on the occasion of a false statement in the "*Quotidienne*," during the disturbance about the ex-ministers, relative to the retirement of the Royal Family to Neuilly; in that case there was a specified ground, and as soon as the error was corrected, the papers were allowed to proceed. There must have been something urgent, also, in this case, to suggest the seizure to be made first at the post-office. As it happens, however,

this number is unusually bare of original matter, and contains only—*first*, an article upon the change of Ministry, affecting Generals Gerard, Maison, Sebastiani, and Soult, the observations being principally general, and not offensive to any second person;—*second*, a disquisition upon its own theories, which it defends from the charge of being indefinite or mischievous by defining principles which no one can dissent from;—*third*, a petition upon indirect taxes, relating only to the detail;—*fourth*, a letter from a professor of the lance, upon his art;—*fifth*, news from the *Moniteur*, and extracts from other French and English papers;—*sixth*, news from the departments, describing the loyalty of the National Guard to Louis-Philippe, and also describing some rigours adopted at Bayonne with regard to the Spanish patriots. This last article of news, which is the only one which reflects indirectly even with any force against the Government, is followed by the report of the proceedings in the "*Provisionary Chamber of Deputies*," which is a title this journal is in the constant habit of prefixing to those proceedings. Certainly, the fact which is contained in the short article of news from Bayonne, that the Government have kept the Spanish patriots in the dark until they had assembled on the frontier, and, when waiting for reinforcements, oblige them to go to be massacred, or to retire to where they have no prospect but of starvation, is not one which demonstrates a very brilliant colour to pervade the heart which dictated the councils affecting those unfortunate men; but this is the only one which I can find in this paper at which the Government could possibly look ugly, as they say in America, unless it be *your letter*.

6. Now, with regard to this letter, I have already said that it was only partly copied. The part containing a statement with regard to certain large possessions in the English funds is left out, the statement being alluded to by the editor as one which he had ascertained to be erroneous. By the way, one might ask how it was possible to discover the

negative of the fact which you stated? I do not know how you came to learn the fact, but perhaps it is possible for you to learn it, whereas I should think it impossible to learn for certainty the contrary. Though it is a saying that "murder will out," it is sometimes difficult to prove a man guilty of murder; but, it is impossible to prove him not guilty without an *alibi*; and, as the funds afford the means of a man holding property without being known (and as if *by ballot*), to deny his having been detected is like saying that he cannot be detected; and, further, I hold it exceedingly hardy, in these times particularly, and especially of a person in that rank (I might say of that *family*), to undertake to say, that he has not amassed this or that sum.

7. So that, if it be your writings which are dreaded by this Government, it is no particular part of them, and especially it need not be said that it is that part which is *personal*; for that was here expunged, and there was nothing left but that which is found in every three lines at least which you write, namely, *the true democratic spirit and hatred of stock-jobbing*. Therefore, you must not be surprised if there be no vent for your writings in France, while the commissaries of police may introduce their little probing fingers into the post-office, and also pay their domiciliary visits to printing-offices; for, as truly and aptly observed by the *Revolution* of two days before, *stock-jobbing and aristocracy go hand-in-hand*; but, to do justice to the authority I quote I must take his words: "It is quite clear that the aristocracy of Europe have met with *unexpected auxiliaries* in the self-constituted chiefs of our Revolution: the interests of stock-jobbers have been found to be so identified with those of the feudal, monarchical, and corrupting *status quo*, that the parties have understood one another at half a word."

8. With regard to the *interrogation*, this can be regarded in no other light than as a blind; a very flimsy blind, however, because it is inconsistent with

the other blind, of visiting the journals: and, I should observe, that I understand the other seizures have been conducted with less rigour, and the journals not discontinued. I have had the pleasure of reading them to-day; I say *pleasure*, because I do not perceive the least disposition to bespeak the partiality of the government. But, the direct and most avowed enemy of the funding system, the *Revolution*, this must pay the penalty by buying 4,800*l.* into the funds immediately, under the sweet law of Charles, or discontinue his publication and suffer the consequences of discontinuance for several weeks, until, by the good pleasure of Louis-Philippe, he may be kindly permitted to buy in 2,400*l.*; at, be it remarked also, the most unlucky time for a purchase in the funds, which have, by some devilish trick appertaining to their nature, lately taken a great rise.

9. So much, for the present, as far as concerns the liberty of the press under the King and the government for which the French people and the world have to thank Messrs. Lafitte and Lafayette! M. Lafitte, indeed, did not pretend to any great predilection for persons, so that there were royalty and monarchy somehow or other, and, if he balanced on either side, at one time it was rather, perhaps, in favour of the former possessor. While the fight was going on, he presented himself with M. Casimir Perrier at the headquarters of Marmont, and these two undertook to forgive Charles, that he should be received back in Paris, if he would raise the siege and only rescind the ordinances. Precisely what they wanted; a king to be a little more within their control, and everything else about the government was quite good enough for the people! So that, as to *dynasty*, M. Lafitte was not nice. M. Lafayette, on the contrary, was very nice: "Voici le Roi qu'il nous falloit!" (*This is the King we wanted!*) and "C'est la meilleure des Républiques" (*This is the best of Republics*): these were his emphatic expressions on the day of the royal election. On this day the people were sorrowful; they were

as silent as if they regretted they had survived the fight, to see the ardent hopes which had inspired them in destroying the tyranny so soon stifled, and the wet blanket, in the shape of M. Lafayette, thrown over their joy!

10. The influence of M. Lafayette, at that moment, is not surprising, because, to the character which he had during his whole lifetime sustained, by identifying himself with the people, a great *éclat* has been attached to his name since the flattering notice of him by the American government and people. A great distinction, certainly, to receive recompenses, in land and money, for losses, real or supposed, in the American Revolution, or for services that may have been rendered, from the American government; a great distinction, to be sought after, flattered, and caressed, after so long a period had elapsed, and in his old age; a very great distinction, when we reflect that such flattery or recompenses were never bestowed upon any other individual, not upon the greatest victims of the struggle for independence, and while almost all the authors of the independence died in penury, not excepting Jefferson! Having thus been selected by the people of America for the courtship which, in his person, they paid to the people of France, the popularity of M. Lafayette has been not only unrivalled, but, one may say, *unique*; and, immediately after the Revolution here, the minds of the people being unanimous for a republic; it was proposed to Lafayette to become President provisionally; which proposition was made to him through the Society of the Friends of the People, at the Hotel-de-Ville, on the morning of the day when Louis-Philippe was finally nominated King by the Deputies. M. Lafayette did not say, "No," but requested time to consider. This might perhaps be considered, according to French politeness, as amounting to a refusal: however, in a very short time, "the best of republics" was hatched.

11. The interests of the Duke of Orleans, and which were his recommendations in the eyes of the bankers and monopolists, might have been ex-

pected to be viewed with very different emotions by M. Lafayette, when it became a question of appointing the Duke to rule over the country. M. Lafayette, whom the people had been led to believe was a real advocate for that form of government which takes its chief from the mass of the people, and obliges him to return to it without increase of wealth to be derived from the people, it was not to be expected that he would introduce to them the richest man in all Europe—one of the most eminent of the ancient aristocracy, and recommend his family to be adopted as the source of hereditary chiefs, upon the principle, more than any other, repudiated by that government which he had always professed to admire! The immense possessions of the Duke of Orleans, and also the *nature* of them, may render him a more fit person for the office of King in the eyes of some; they might in the eyes of the nation generally; but upon what M. Lafayette could ground *his* motives for choosing him it is impossible to imagine. On the contrary, if he could have supposed, for a moment, that Louis-Philippe would act upon his *own* interests, M. Lafayette must have been guilty of a species of treason too horrible to describe, in recommending such a man to the adoption of his country.

12. The interests of Louis-Philippe, in his private capacity, are so powerful, that it must require the efforts of the greatest patriotism to force him to relinquish them, attended as he is, also, with a young family of eight children. He is the greatest landed proprietor in France; what he may be as a fundholder, I have before hinted that it is impossible to know; then he is, if I may so express it, identified with that system which tends to the absorbing of the inhabitants, and of the riches of countries, into large cities, by his immense possessions in this capital. The whole, with trifling exception, of the Palais-Royal, which is the centre and focus of dissipation, is his property; and the revenue arising from it, which increases annually, is truly enormous. Reckoning three hundred shops, consisting of a small room only on the

ground-floor, with a front ten feet wide, at twelve hundred francs a year each, this is about *fifteen thousand pounds*. Then there are the rooms at the back, and three floors above, the probable amount of the revenue from all which I am afraid to mention. Now, Sir, I beg not to be misunderstood. I am no enemy to the fair possession of property, large or small. With regard to this Palais-Royal, which was built by Cardinal Richelieu, by him given to the Duke of Bourdeaux (afterwards Louis the Fourteenth), and from whom it was obtained by the Duke of Orleans; with regard to this *palace*, which encloses an oblong square of about four acres, and the chambers on the ground-floor of which are all let in *shops*, and all the others in *apartments*, I do not mean to contest but that the walls and the ground belong to the Duke of Orleans: all I mean to say is, that the revenue arising from those walls depends upon the growth of this city, and that the growth of this city corresponds with the centralization of the wealth of the country, the engrossing of property into few hands, and the consequent poverty and misery of the country at large.

13. I hope, for the interest of his kingdom, that the private interests of the King will be abandoned by him; nay, sacrificed: I hope that the dirty motives which must absorb the mass of mankind will be left to his subjects, and that he will seek rather to divide amongst his heirs that character which disinterestedness in his eminent station will procure him, rather than those riches which opportunities may enable him to accumulate. But, with regard to those who first turned their eyes towards him for King, they, I think, stand guilty of founding their preference upon the presumption of the existence of motives which nothing but the acts of the King will warrant our believing him capable of entertaining.

14. Here, again, is a self-contradiction, a sort of prevarication of conduct, in the constructors of the new government. They choose the richest man they can find; and then, by a fiction, he is no longer to possess property, and

every thing which he has passes to his family, he being maintained by the country. So that, it is inconsistent with the due administration of his office that he has worldly affairs of his own; and yet, notwithstanding this principle which they acknowledge, they seek out the man more connected with the affairs of this world than any other in it, and which connexion is rendered of the most intimate and binding nature possible by a family of eight children!

15. With all respect to the person of this choice, here also we see that which the editor of the *Revolution* remarks, stock-jobbing and aristocracy united. The long-exploded system of primogeniture, which is the vital part of the ancient aristocracy, finds its last supporters in those who have originated as bankers' clerks. They see that primogeniture is the means of perpetuating large masses of property in a single hand, and that this is its chief tendency; for that, as to perpetuating *names*, this is likely to be inconvenient, sometimes, to the existing generation. It would be a shocking calumny, for instance, to pretend to suppose that the King of the French inherited the qualities of all his noble ancestors: if this be the case, it must be also absurd to presume that the good qualities which he possesses are the fruit of the example, still less that they are derived from the blood of those ancestors.

16. After thus, perhaps, rather positively pronouncing opinions upon a matter which may still divide the minds of some, I will conclude this letter with a quotation or two from historians, from which I submit that, in the King of the French, the authority appertaining to his person must be acquired by his actions, and ought not to be confined to that which is communicated to him by the reverence due to the memory of his ancestors.

17. PASQUIER, speaking of the reign of Charles VI., observes, about the year 1401, "The pleasure of handling the royal treasures became such, that princes took to putting a finger in the pye. The Duke d'Albret in 1401, and the Duc d'Orleans in 1402, were

" commissioned to preside over the Re-
 " ceivers-General; the Dukes de Berri
 " and of Burgundy wanted to be of the
 " party; and, to speak the truth, the
 " jealousies between the two houses of
 " Orleans and Burgundy, which has
 " since caused the desolation of France,
 " were founded upon this quarrel."

18. MEZERAI, speaking of the same
 period, but a year or two later, says,
 " The Duc d'Orleans was a gulf which
 " nothing could fill. He assembled
 " the council to order new collections.
 " John, Duke of Burgundy opposed him
 " strongly, and by that acquired the
 " love of the Parisians. However, the
 " plurality of voices having brought
 " him to the same opinion with the
 " others, new impositions were made
 " under the pretext of a great arma-
 " ment: and the princes agreed to se-
 " cure the money in one of the walls of
 " the palace, and that it should not be
 " touched but by common accord. *The*
 " *Duke of Orleans did not forget to*
 " *come one night with a strong party and*
 " *to carry off the greater part.*"

19. The character of the present
 generation is not, therefore, derived
 from its predecessors, and the main-
 taining of that character must depend
 upon future actions.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT, JUN.

Paris, 23d Nov., 1830.

P.S. Yesterday, the affair of the Count
 de Kergorlay came before the Chamber
 of Peers, of which there was a very full
 attendance, and the spectators were
 very numerous, from the higher classes.
 The pleadings, consisting of the accu-
 sation by the Procureur-general, for a
 libel on the new government; then the
 defence by M. de Kergorlay himself and
 also by his counsel; next the reply of
 the counsel for the prosecution, and,
 finally, a reply from the counsel for the
 defence, all of which occupied a long
 day, and the decision of Peers left for
 this day, and is not yet known. A
 change has been made in the ministers
 of *foreign affairs* and of *war*: Marshal
 SOULT replacing Marshal Gerard, and
 General Sebastiani, Marshal Maison.

The government here seem to depend
 greatly on the government of England,
 and the people depend on the people of
 England. There is the greatest anxiety
 to know how the new ministry is to be
 settled, and accounts are given every
 day of the new appointments, as if they
 had been made. A day or two ago,
 several persons, such as trades-people,
 said to me: *Et votre révolution?* (*And*
your revolution? meaning, *How does it*
get on?) and it has been a question
 put as a matter of course to every Eng-
 lishman, by all sorts of people.

TO THE AUTHOR OF "LA RE- VOLUTION," AT PARIS.

London, 24th Nov., 1830.

SIR,—I see that you, believing our
 London fundholder-newspapers, say,
 that my statement, that the Citizen-
 King, Louis-PHILIPPE had, on the 8th
 of November, 80,000*l.*, or 2,000,000*fr.* in
 the English Funds, is AN ERROR. I
 repeat the assertion, and pledge myself
 for its truth. If it be false, why does not
 an AUTHENTICATED contradiction
 come? Why is the fact denied by
 those *who have no names*? The fact is
 true, Sir; and you will never see it
 contradicted in an *authentic* manner.
 I thank you, Sir, for the information
 and pleasure I have derived from your
 able labours, and I remain

Your most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

PARLIAMENT.

Wednesday, Nov. 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. No-
 thing done but presenting petitions
 against slavery, by Lord DURHAM,
 amongst the rest. Now let us see what
 they will do with it, then! Lord DUN-
 HAM may now count on succeeding in
 abolishing slavery so far as our own
 colonies go, at any rate, if he and the
 Government to which he belongs
 choose. Let us see what they will do
 with it!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY. No less than sixty-six petitions this night for the abolition of slavery! Well done! It thickens the mists. Surely, then, slavery *must* be abolished. The very men who have made the stir about it; who have got up these petitions, are now in power. It must be abolished, then. They will bring in the bill immediately, to be sure!

SALARIES OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.—Mr. Alderman Wood gave notice that he would, after Christmas, move for a reduction of all public salaries, in proportion with the decrease in the price of provisions since the war.

Upon what ground will you move, Mr. Alderman? Why because they were all raised in consequence of the advanced price of provisions during the war, to be sure. How often have I mentioned this fact! But then they have been taking the war salaries ever since the war ended; about sixteen years longer than they should have done. How to come at this. This is so much *over-paid*, if it be proper now to lop off. Ah! Mr. Alderman, the thing presents so many difficulties, that I am afraid it cannot be dealt with by aldermanic hands.

ELECTION PETITIONS.—Sir M. W. RIDLEY moved a resolution to the effect, that the House should not, before Christmas, take into consideration any election petitions, except those fixed for the 25th and 30th of November. He moved this resolution on the ground that there must be an adjournment of the House for a considerable period to enable his Majesty to form an *administration*. Upon which

Mr. BROUGHAM was decidedly opposed to this motion. He thought it a matter of the utmost necessity that they should fill up their numbers; and entertaining such an opinion, he could not but be astonished both at the proposition itself, and still more at the reasons given in its favour. "What," said the hon. and learned Gentleman, "do we want with the presence of the Ministers on election petitions? What do we want with them? We can do as well (I speak it with all possible respect of any future Ministry) (a laugh); but I say we can do as well without them as with them. I have nothing to do with them except in the respect I bear them, and except as a Member of this House. I state this for the information of those who may feel any interest in the matter."

This is of no consequence, excepting as it relates to this piece of information. It was a piece of information that many

were curious to have; and, though most people seemed to think it extraordinary that a lawyer, and a Scotchman, should keep out of place when he could get in; still, having due regard to the above considerations under ordinary circumstances; still, there were here, to my eyes, so many and such glaring reasons why *this* lawyer should not take it, that I did not think the "information" at all unaccountable. But, good God! what could have induced him subsequently to give himself the lie, and run all the hazards too? He sees them; he *must* see them. He is too keen-eyed not to see that this **THING** must soon end; and can he think that Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, the Grants, and the rest of them, are going to guide it to and through the trial that awaits it?

DR. PHILLPOTTS.—Sir J. GRAHAM took that opportunity of putting a question to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department respecting a matter which affected a notice then on the Order Book, in his (Sir J. Graham's) name. He observed in *The Gazette* of last night that a *comgé d'élire* had passed the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to elect a Bishop of that See, and recommending them to elect Dr. Phillpotts. The question he wished to ask was, whether his Majesty's Ministers now confessedly holding office only *pro tempore*, would take upon themselves to advise his Majesty to grant permission to Dr. Phillpotts to hold the *valuable* Rectory of Stanhope *in commendam*, if that living should happen to become vacant before their successors were appointed?

Sir R. PERL answered, that his Majesty's pleasure with respect to the appointment to the See of Exeter, had been taken before the Members of the Administration had thought it their duty to resign their respective offices, and in like manner his Majesty's intention had been before that time signified that Dr. Phillpotts should hold the living of Stanhope *in commendam*.

I do not know who this Dr. Phillpotts is; but it seems that he is, by this time, Bishop of Exeter; and it would also seem that he has been Rector of Stanhope. By law, when a Bishop is consecrated, he forfeits all his other preferments; but the King may commend the care of a living to any clerical person, for a year, two years, or perpetually; and thus, holding *in commendam* is a kind of dispensation to avoid the law. I suppose the Dr. is

now Rector of the *valuable living* of Stanhope, and wishes to remain so, notwithstanding the Bishoprick of Exeter is just given to him. I see that *Stanhope* is a rectory in Durham, and that it is stated, in the "*Clerical Guide*," to be worth 67*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year! This is the *valuable living* that Sir James Graham talks of. Now, I should like to know from some one of the neighbourhood of this living, what it really is worth. When Sir J. Graham and Sir Robt. Peel had done talking upon this subject,

An hon. MEMBER, a *relative of Dr. Phillips*, expressed an anxious wish that he should be able soon to avail himself of the opportunity that the hon. Baronet's Motion would afford to vindicate the character of Dr. Phillips.

So, the Doctor has a *relative in Parliament*. I wondered *who* he was, as I went on reading, till I came down to this hon. Member, and then, of course, it was no matter any longer *who* or what he was.

Thursday, Nov. 18.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SLAVERY.—Thirteen petitions. LORD DURHAM presenting away again!

AMENDMENT OF LAW.—Lord Tenterden moved the second reading of five bills for the Amendment of the Common Law.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY. Eighteen or twenty petitions more against slavery.

MALT-TAX. "Mr. CURTIS postponed his motion for the repeal of the malt-tax until after Christmas, in consequence, he said, of the *unsettled state of parties*."

There is nothing so likely to *settle parties*, Mr. Curtis, as repealing the malt-tax. Therefore, yours was the worst of all grounds for postponing the motion.

IRISH CHURCH. "Mr. O'Connell presented a petition from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Galway, praying for equal rights."

"Mr. HUME denied the accuracy of the statement made by Lord Plunkett, that there were only twenty-five non-resident clergymen belonging to the

"Irish church, and gave notice that he would move to-morrow for a return of all the non-resident clergy. He declared that the whole establishment required revision, and that, whoever the Minister might be, he must grant it. It could not be borne, that clergymen, who had no parishioners, should receive large emoluments; or that such immense sums should be paid to churchmen. Whoever the new Minister might be, he should be subservient to the wishes of the people, and not attempt to rule them with a rod of iron."

If Mr. Hume should move for a return of the non-resident clergy of Ireland, it will puzzle the new Ministers to refuse the information; but it will go against them to give it, or I don't know them. This Irish church has been one of the grand outlets for the understrappers of boroughmongers. Indeed, all Ireland has been the same. The land itself is owned, in great part, by the English Aristocracy; they own it in whole districts; they tax it at their will, and they tie it by their underlings. It is a country devoted to boroughmongers, and, accordingly, its people are the most miserable on earth.

NEW POLICE. Sir ROBERT WILSON made his appearance (where was he when the Duke was voted out?) as a kind of sponsor for the New Police. He presented a very sensible and spirited petition against it from the parish of St. John's, Southwark. "He observed, that the petitioners did not cast any reflections on the conduct of the individuals of the New Police, for, if they did, he should certainly find himself compelled by his experience of the conduct of these men, to dissent from the petitioners, for, as far as he had had any opportunity of observing the conduct of the New Police, he believed that they generally performed their duty very well. The petitioners expressed an alarm at the establishment of the Police force, which they declared to be unconstitutional. *With that observation he did not concur.*"

No, to be sure you don't. I wonder what, in the way of drilling and dra-

grooming, a man, who has been all his life a hanger-on of the whiskered part of this thing, does think unconstitutional. I know one thing that is not *more* unconstitutional, to be sure, than a military body constantly prowling about under orders from the Secretary of State; but that is full as much so, and that is, a member of the House of Commons who eats his daily bread at the King's will; one who may be dismissed tomorrow, and restored again the day after. I know that *this* is repugnant to the English constitution, and not only in spirit but in practice, when borough-mongers had less power. Sir R. PEEL entered into particulars about this Police; hoped that a Committee would be appointed to examine the merits of it, and incidentally let out these words with respect to the expense of keeping up this force: "He would not say whether part of the charges of the establishment ought not to be borne by the country at large." What a brazen age we live in! So, bring sixty millions of money up *out of the country* every year in taxes; create a swarm of lazy, tax-devouring wretches, whose example breeds a corresponding swarm of thieves and housebreakers, and then tax the country again to keep down these! Well done, "Envy of surrounding nations"! But this hint from Peel seems to have been protested against *instantly* by some country members, not, however, before Mr. Hume had had time to say, that "he thought that the unpopularity under which the New Police laboured, was founded in error. As to what had been said about the force being unconstitutional, he did not agree with the statement; it was not an unconstitutional force, nor was a standing army." At these words there were, according to the report, "*loud cheers and laughter*" in the honourable House; and, to be sure, the laughter that has been directed towards that quarter during this session, has been enough to convince a man, that he who can do *nothing but tot-up*, should stick to totting up.

November, 19.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

After several petitions for the Abolition of Slavery had been presented, the Marquis of Anglesea presented one from Grange Gorman, Dublin, praying for a repeal of the Union. Lord Falkmouth postponed the second reading of the Earl of Winchelsea's Labourers' Wages-Bill to the 7th of December.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY. — Several petitions against.

REPEAL OF THE UNION. — Lord Geo. BERESFORD presented a petition from Carrickbeg, praying for a repeal of the Legislative Union between England and Ireland.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that he had been instructed by his constituents to support this petition. With the prayer of this petition he heartily concurred. There were facts connected with the town from which it came, that well illustrated the effects of the Legislative Union. In the year 1810, there were 7,800 persons supported in that town by the coarse woollen manufacture alone; while at present there were not seven persons maintained by it. This town was placed in the happiest situation for every species of commerce, both externally and internally. It was situate upon the estuary at three noble rivers, and the finest and richest plain in the world extended from it. Yet it was now in the most miserable state of decay, he would say, decrepitude. He was glad to say, that Protestants as well as Roman Catholics, of Carrickbeg, had united in signing the petition; and he trusted they would join hereafter in all other objects. He was of opinion that the repeal of the Union would be, at least, as advantageous to England as to Ireland. It would free England from the burden of Irish labourers; which, by depreciating the value of native labour, was, perhaps, the greatest cause of the disturbances in the English counties. Complaints were made in that House last Session as to the pressure of this burden, but they were not repeated this Session, for if they were, he (Mr. O'Connell) would have at once said that if the moneys of Irishmen were spent in Ireland, the income of England would not be taxed for the support of Irish labourers.

Lord GEORGE BERESFORD said he did not concur in the prayer of the petition. He denied that the Union had caused the decay of the woollen manufacture in Carrickbeg. The manufactures had been bad, and although admonished by their customers, the manufacturers continued to supply a bad article; and in consequence of this it was that Carrickbeg lost its woollen-trade.

If the manufacturers of Carrickbeg *did*, as Lord George Beresford very

elegantly expresses it, "continue to supply a *bad article*," why then they deserve to suffer; but it is so unlikely.

CRIMINAL LAW.—Mr. BARONHAM said he held in his hand a petition, which he felt highly honoured by having committed to his charge. It was upon the question of punishment of death for offences where violence had not been committed. It came from a body of men liable to serve upon Grand Juries in London; and amongst the names that stood forward on the list were those of seven gentlemen who had served as Foremen during the last year. The petition, he stated, was written with distinguished ability and great force, and he would fain have it read at length if he could venture to trespass upon the time of that House; he would content himself with reading the prayer of the petition, which was to the effect that the law which prescribed the punishment of death for offences in which violence had not been committed was detrimental to public justice. He considered this petition worthy the best attention of the House, from the high authority of the petitioners upon the subject to which they directed their attention. It was evident, from the statement, that great difficulty arose from the scruples of Jurors to convict, and that thus the guilty frequently escaped punishment altogether. He believed the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) agreed with him in the principle, though they, perhaps, differed in some matters of detail.

Mr. DENMAN also supported the prayer of the petition. He considered it most important, and that it required the best attention of the House. It clearly showed the painful alternative to which Jurors were exposed, that of unjustly and unrighteously condemning a man to death, or else that of violating their conscientious feelings, by deciding contrary to evidence. Laid on the Table.

This is plainly recoiling from the work of slaughter. It is telling the act-of-parliament makers, "Your orders are too bloody for us to obey"! And this is the greatest scandal that can light upon a nation's laws. I should like to know the number of men and women (for there are not a few women) that have been hanged for forgery in England since the setting up of the Bank of England.

THE LABOURING POOR.—Lord NORMAN rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to promote the employment of the labouring poor, by free hiring and fair wages. He explained, that the first clause was intended to grapple with that system, known to most who had turned their attention to the subject, which related to what were called roundsmen; and he was not over-stating the matter when he said that that system was calculated to

burden the rate-payer, and to degrade and depress the agricultural population. The remaining clauses were not mandatory, but merely permissive, to enable parishes disposed to establish a labour-rate to do so, by a majority of two-thirds of the vestry. He hoped by this measure to bring the labour of parishes to a fair and open competition. He would not trust himself with a description of the distress and misery which last year prevailed in the county in which he happened to live, and in some others where the price of labour was unnaturally low. He could not express half of what he felt and knew, and his object was to mitigate and not to exasperate any bitterness between the two parties. In several parishes in the county in which he lived, the rate of wages for single men had not exceeded 3s. 6d. per week, while the peck of flour, the lowest ratio of human sustenance for a week, cost not less than 3s. It was due to the agricultural labourers to state that, notwithstanding the severe distress to which he had referred, the calendar at the assizes and quarter sessions at the close of the winter, when labour was cheapest, presented a less number of criminals than for several preceding years. His Lordship concluded by moving for leave to bring in his bill.

Only one question. Will this bill, or will any of your bills, put money into the farmer's pocket, wherewith he can buy more labour than he can now? If "yes," then you are doing great good; for the farmers have work that wants to be done, and the labourers are ready to do it. If "no," you may just as well (better) be asleep.

Monday, Nov. 22.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

DECLARATIONS OF MINISTERS.—The Marquis of LANSDOWN addressed the House in a very low tone of voice. We understood him to state, that he was anxious to say a few words to their Lordships. He had been intrusted with several petitions, which he was accidentally prevented from presenting on a former evening, by the speech of the noble and learned Lord then on the Woolsack, respecting the introduction of the Regency Bill; and he trusted that even now, after having been raised to office, he might stand excused in presenting petitions, which expressed an anxiety more or less strong for parliamentary reform, if he stated the terms on which he would have previously promoted this measure. There was no noble Lord then present who could be more desirous to preserve our settled institutions; but with respect to these petitions he was bound to state, that so far he agreed with the sentiments they professed, as to be of opinion that some amendment was necessary in the representation of the people of this country; and he trusted that when they were called to the consideration of this most

important and anxious subject, they would take care that some supposed amendment was not made for the sake of change, but that the change made would be in fact an amendment. He felt that in stating some amendment on the representation was necessary, he was borne out by the present condition of the constitution of the country. When he looked to the great interests, commercial and manufacturing, consisting as they did of bodies of informed and enlightened persons which had been called into existence by the prosperity of the country, by the increased diffusion of wealth, and by the progress of science and discovery; when he recollected that those great and useful bodies were without direct connexion with the legislature (on which direct connexion for all classes of the people, he believed the safety, nay, even the existence of the Constitution depended), he could not bring himself to think reform was not necessary; and the more especially when he considered that there were parts of the country in which there was not the shadow of representation. He was, therefore, a friend to amendment in the representative system; but with all his feelings in its favour, he was prepared for one to say, that *there was no reform in Parliament which did not leave to the property and knowledge of the country, those two great elements of civilized society, a share, and he would even say, a preponderating share, in the representation; there was no such reform which, as an honest man he could recommend.* (Hear, hear.) But for the reasons he had stated, the subject would be one of anxious deliberation to Parliament; and perhaps he might be allowed to take that opportunity of declaring, that however flattered and honoured he might have felt himself by the gracious kindness of his Majesty in raising him to a place in his councils, yet he could not, in justice to himself, have availed himself of his Majesty's confidence and condescension, if he had not had reason to confide both in the inclination and the means of his noble Friend now at the head of the Government; if he had not reason to place entire confidence in the assurance that he would turn his powerful mind, not only to the question of parliamentary reform, but to many other considerations which now pressed upon the attention of the administration, at a time of great emergency. Having now stated what his feelings were, and the confidence he had in the intentions of his noble Friend, he had only to add, that he would turn his mind to this subject, and endeavour, as far as in him lay, *to do justice to the people and the legislature.* The noble Marquis then presented a petition from Glasgow, praying for parliamentary reform.

Earl GREY then spoke to the following effect:—"My Lords, I have heard, with much satisfaction, what has been just said by my noble Friend, and, my Lords, I feel inclined to take the occasion of what has fallen from him, to state very shortly what I hope will not be unbecoming in me on this occasion. I am

desirous to say a few words in explanation of the principles upon which I, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, have accepted the high office to which, in the most kind and gracious manner, he has been pleased to call me, and in which my best services are due. My Lords, on this most important subject it cannot be necessary for me to say much: my opinions on this question have been long made known to you, and on more than one occasion. It is not long since I felt called on to explain them at some length to your Lordships in the debate which took place on the first day of this Session. I then stated, and I now repeat my conviction of the necessity, that the Government (by whom alone the question can be satisfactorily taken up and settled) should take into their immediate consideration *the state of the Representation*, with a view to the corrections of those defects which have been occasioned in it by the operation of time, and the re-establishment of that confidence upon the part of the people, which I am afraid Parliament does not at present enjoy to the full extent that is necessary for the welfare and safety of the country. I said, too, my Lords, at the same time, and I now repeat it, that I will not support any of those fanciful and extensive plans which would lead, not to Reform, but to confusion. (Cheers.) I do not support universal suffrage, nor other of those very extensive changes which have been, I regret to say, too much promulgated in this country. (Cheers.) I wish to stand upon the true principle, some Reform being necessary, and I am sure your Lordships cannot fail to see that, to fix that principle on which we desire to regulate Reform, is no task of slight difficulty. But, my Lords, our principle would be to do as much as may be necessary to secure to the people their due influence in the great council in which they are more particularly represented, and by that means to restore satisfaction and confidence in that degree which every Government required prosperously to conduct the affairs of state, and this I would propose to do with (due and fitting regard to the settled institutions of the country. The earnest desire to embark in sudden change, which must inevitably produce disturbance, I do not share, on the contrary, I reject it utterly. My Lords, I do not know that it is necessary for me to say more. It is obviously impossible for me now to lay before your Lordships the details of any plan. Suffice it, therefore, for me to say, in general terms, I acknowledge the necessity of a Reform in the Representation, and that it is my anxious wish to regulate that Reform in such a manner as to restore confidence and satisfaction upon the part of the people without interfering with any thing that exists according to the established principles of the Constitution. (Cheers.) I am not disposed to meddle with the settled institutions of the country, and I am altogether averse to those fanciful alterations, which, if they could be carried into effect, would produce no result excepting that of occasioning a lamentable

collision between the several orders of the State, the firm union and mutual interests of which it will ever be my object to maintain. So much, my Lords, with regard to this subject, on which it will be only necessary for me to add, that before I endeavoured to unite all those, whom I consider most likely to advance the interests of the country, to myself, in his Majesty's Councils, *I had his most gracious sanction to be allowed*, at a proper period, to submit a measure of this nature and with this object, *for the approval of his Majesty*, and I am sure your Lordships will, at once, understand that, notwithstanding the most extensive industry upon our part, the question is one not lightly to be taken up, being, as it is, one requiring time and consideration, and that besides the load of official business to which we will be subjected, must be such that I could hardly be expected, at this moment, to have any specific motion to submit. My Lords, there are one or two other subjects on which I conceive it will be become

to say a few words. We have succeeded to the administration of affairs in a season of unparalleled difficulty. (Hear, hear, hear.) All I can say is, that on the subject of the motion for Monday next, I look with the utmost anxiety, in the reference it bears to the labouring classes, and the whole situation of the country. (Hear, hear.) It is only within the last three hours that we have been installed in our respective offices as Members of his Majesty's Government, and we have had no access to official documents, or no information respecting the measures which have been pursued by our predecessors. Under these circumstances, I can only promise that the state of the country shall be made the object of our immediate, our diligent and unceasing attention, of our first and most anxious attention; for what is there which can call upon us so imperatively for our most unceasing and diligent attention. (Hear, hear.) I have, therefore, my Lords, summoned a Council for this evening, to consider *what may be done with the greatest speed and effect*. To relieve the distress which now so unhappily exists in different parts of the country, will be the first and most anxious end of our deliberations; but I here declare for myself (and in doing so, I also speak for my colleagues), I declare that it is my *determined resolution*, wherever outrages are perpetrated, or excesses committed, to *suppress them with severity and vigour*. (Cheers.) Severity is, in the first instance, the only remedy which can be applied to such disorders with success; and, therefore, although we are most anxious to relieve the distress of the people who are suffering, let them be well assured *they shall find no want of firm resolution upon our part*. (Hear, hear.) I am desirous, then, my Lords, that the people, though God forbid I should say the people, or attribute to them such feelings and conduct; but that a portion of the people in some of the districts of England should be told the

effect of their proceedings is this, that while they complain of want of employment, they destroy the very means by which they would be benefited; and that the Government, although they commiserate their situation, are resolved not to connive at their excesses. (Hear, hear.) So far, my Lords, respecting our domestic concerns; but there is another subject closely, I might say intimately, connected with them, to which I will advert. My Lords, a *reduction of all unnecessary expense* is the firm resolution of myself and my colleagues, maintaining, however, all that is positively required for the support and service of the Government (hear, hear), while we cut off with an unsparing hand all that is not demanded for the interests, the honour, and the welfare of the country. (Hear.) We have, in our appointment to office, already cut off some places about which there has been a discussed elsewhere (hear); but do not suppose that we limit our views to that. No, my Lords, every part of the Government is open to consideration and revision, and I can assure your Lordships that future reductions will be made with all the care and diligence which we can apply to the subject. Connected with the question of economy and retrenchment is *doubtless that of maintaining the public credit*; and on this I will merely observe, that it is at once our interest and our duty, as it shall be our object, to support *public credit by all means in our power*. The only other point which it remains for me to explain is our resolution with respect to foreign powers. On this, as on the other branches into which I have divided my statement, I must say hitherto we have had no means of knowing what has been done upon this subject by our predecessors. But, my Lords, I now repeat in office what I before stated as my opinion, that the first object, interest and duty of the British Government should be to maintain, by all means consistent with the honour of the country, the preservation of peace. (Hear, hear.) The true policy of this country is *to maintain universal peace*, and therefore the first object of this country ought to be non-interference. (Hear, hear.) I cannot say more, not knowing what has been the course pursued by my predecessors; but in looking to the means by which peace may be preserved, we must also look to the maintenance of our connexion with the powers with whom we are in alliance. (Hear.) It must be the care of the new Government, as I have no doubt it was of the old, to maintain a proper connexion with our allies, for the purpose of keeping unbroken the peace of Europe. With France I trust we shall be able to hold the most friendly relations. Between two great and powerful nations, standing on the same principles of public liberty, the union arising from community of sentiment and feeling ought to be the closest and the most enduring; it should teach them to seek and to promote each the welfare and the happiness of the other, and cautiously to avoid all

views of aggrandizement and ambition, which might endanger the stability of empires and disturb the peace of the world. (Cheers.) My Lords, to sum up in a few words, the principles on which I stand will, I trust, be found to be these, amelioration of abuses, promotion of economy, and the endeavour to preserve peace consistently with the honour of the country. (Hear, hear.) Under these principles I have undertaken a task, to which I have not the affectation or presumption to consider myself equal. At my advanced age, retirement and repose would be more fitted to the circumstances under which I am placed, than that active and anxious exertion to which I shall be subjected in the high office to which my gracious Sovereign has been pleased to call me. But, my Lords, the fact that I am now here arises, from no merits of my own; it may rather be considered as founded upon accident. My Lords, I remembered my age and my limited capabilities, but I knew, that if I declined the task which had been allotted to me, there was reason to fear the attempt to form an Administration might have failed altogether. Urged, therefore, my Lords, by my public duty to attempt that to which I am not equal, my only trust is in the support of this House and of the public; and, above all, in the gracious kindness and confidence of his Majesty, which alone can carry me through. With this support I am ready to attempt all things for the service of the country; looking always to the principles on which I have demanded this support, and claiming now that indulgence which may be well and justly accorded to an administration formed under such circumstances, and so recently completed. If hereafter it shall be found that I cannot execute what I have undertaken—if I cannot conduct the public affairs in a manner satisfactory to those from whom I claim support—if it be proved that I am unable to bear the load I have essayed to carry, I shall be ready to resign into his Majesty's hands that power which he has so graciously, so kindly, and so confidently submitted to me. (Hear, hear.) It is not necessary for me to repeat my gratitude for the confidence of his most Gracious Majesty, which alone enabled me to form an administration so rapidly and under such peculiar circumstances. It is only this day week when I was listening on the other side of the House to the speech of the noble and learned Lord lately on the Woolsack, and little did I then suppose that such an event would come to pass. It is only by the gracious confidence of the Sovereign that I have been within this short space of time enabled to assemble around me, with no view to Parliamentary influence, and without any view except to the efficiency of the persons, the friends with whom I act. My Lords, the administration stands before you and the public. You know the persons—you have heard our principles; and for the maintenance of them we throw ourselves upon the confidence and support of our Sovereign, the House, and the country." (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of RADNOR was of opinion that the *limited declaration* made by the noble Lord would scatter *dismay and consternation through the country*. He contended that giving representatives to the great manufacturing towns was doing nothing, when they proposed to leave the most objectionable part of the system untouched.

Earl GARY—"I am surprised at the manner in which the noble Earl has received what I said. I stated, that I think the question of reform should be taken into consideration; and that I had the permission of his Majesty to bring before him, at a proper time, a plan for reforming the representation. What I said was, that looking with apprehension to the wild and fanciful theories which I regretted were too much promulgated, but feeling also that the defects which had been occasioned by time in the representation required correction, my object would be to propose, if the happy medium can be found, such a reform would in this respect satisfy the public expectation, without endangering, *here the limit*, and the only limit (cheers) by sudden change and violent disturbance, the *settled institutions of the country*. (Lord cheers.) Does my noble Friend mean to say, that a reform which rested on that statement would be at once rejected by the country? If so, I tell him that those who would thus reject it expect *revolution*, and not reform. (Lord cheers.) My great object is the desire of preventing that which, be it needed as it may, must always be the greatest of possible evils. The principle of my reform is to prevent the necessity for Revolution. And I must say, I do not think it fair of my noble Friend to look for a declaration less limited, or to wish for details. I trust the House will be satisfied with the principle of the limit I put, and which has been so much misrepresented. When did he find that I limited the reform to giving representatives to the large towns? The principle on which I mean to act is neither more nor less than that of reforming, to preserve and not to overthrow." (Cheers.)

The Marquis of LANDSDOWN also defended himself from *having limited the proposed reform to giving representatives to the large towns*. He contended it was impossible for them to enter into the details of a measure so difficult, and he trusted the House would not expect them to say more upon the subject, or themselves prejudice the measure by any observation, until it had ripened into a shape that it could be produced before their Lordships and the *sober and thinking part of the community* who wished to preserve and improve, *not to subvert, the institutions of the country*. (Cheers.)

The Earl of RADNOR observed, that if the noble Marquis did not talk of giving representatives to the large towns (no, no), at least, he appealed to the House if this was not the interpretation to be put on what he said?

Lord WHARCLIFFE felt satisfaction at the acknowledgment that reform was necessary. It was too late to shut the door entirely to re-

form. What, then, was to be done? That which the noble Earl had suggested, to reform the representation, while they at the same time preserved the Monarchy and the institutions of the country; and if he did so he should have his support, and, he trusted, that of every thinking man. There were other points of the noble Earl's speech which he had heard with great satisfaction. The declaration that peace was to be preserved, as long as it could be consistently with the honour of the country, gave him great pleasure, and retrenchment, so far as it could be carried *without injury to the public service*, should have his cordial support. But would the noble Earl permit him to offer him a word of advice? The party of which the noble Earl had long been the leader, had always been too prone to give way to popular clamour; but he trusted the noble Earl would not suffer himself to be led away by it. The people were now persuaded that the most *excellent* benefits would result from parliamentary reform, but even were it granted in the fullest extent, they might find that their distress would not only remain, but perhaps, that they had been following a false light, which would guide them to their ruin. He assured the noble Earl, he was desirous to give him his full support. He would certainly watch the proceedings of his Administration anxiously, but from him he should never meet unnecessary opposition.

The Earl of CHERBURY complained that there were no details of the noble Earl's measure to be gathered, except by a vague surmise. He had always believed that some reform was necessary, and that the refusal of all reform must have occasioned the *destruction of the country*; but he could not believe that reform, radical or moderate, would be found to be a sovereign remedy for the public distress of the people. The noble Earl would find that there was no safety for his Government and the country in yielding to popular clamour; when the people found that their distress was increased after the attainment of their present object, this disappointment would bring the danger of the country to its climax. He trusted Government would not leave to individuals in the other House the task of inquiring into the state of the peasantry. They should look to the causes which had for the last fifteen years tended to create that distress, and they should consider the progress of that system by which the peasantry of whole districts, some reduced to receive their miserable subsistence from the poor-rates, and four or five families were compelled to seek shelter under the same roof, a system which made the poor of England worse than any poor in the world. He thought however, that something might be yet done to restore comfort to the peasant and competence to the farmer; but he suggested that any bill to alter the poor-laws being in the nature of a money bill, should originate in another place. It was well known, that during the last twelve months, agricultural capital had greatly diminished. There could be little doubt that it

had been reduced a half. What were the best means of remedying that evil the present was not the proper time to inquire; but he hoped that the subject would very speedily attract the notice of his Majesty's Government and of Parliament. He trusted that that subject, like the subject of parliamentary reform, would be taken up by his Majesty's Government, and would be brought by them before Parliament. The only course was to look the danger in the face. If, doing so, they adopted wise and prudent measures, they would eventually reap the fruit of the decision.

EARL GREY observed, that after he had stated that the principle of parliamentary reform was recognised by his Majesty's Government, he should have thought that the nearest friend to reform would have abstained at the present moment from entering at any length upon the subject. It was probable that, on the principle of the measure which it might be desirable to adopt, there was not much difference between his noble Friend and himself; but at present it was impossible for him to go into any details. The only purpose, however, for which he rose, was to correct what appeared to be a misconception. In the observations which he had addressed to their Lordships, he did not connect the question of reform with the question respecting the distresses of the country. He had treated the two subjects separately and distinctly. So far, indeed, had he been from connecting them, that he had undertaken the first subject which pressed itself on the consideration of his Majesty's new Ministers was the state of the country; that their first object would be to examine into the nature of the existing distress, and then into the disturbances consequent upon that distress, and, as there was every reason to believe, upon the instigation of persons whom that distress did not affect. That, he had observed, was the first object which his Majesty's Ministers had in view; and, with reference to that object, a Privy Council was to be that evening held. It was absurd to think of giving Parliamentary reform the priority of such a question. The danger with which the country was threatened was to be the first subject of consideration, and must be met with a prompt and determined hand. (Hear, hear, hear.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DR. PHILLPOTTS.—I forget what was Sir James Graham's notice of motion; but here is an ex-parte explanation in anticipation, I suppose, of it. I put it on record because it throws a little light on church revenues. Contrast the admission of Mr. Phillpotts, as to the value of the living, with the sum stated in the only book that we have professing to give an account of the value of church livings!

Mr. RICE moved that a New Writ be issued for the election of a member for the county of Cumberland, in the room of Sir James Graham, who had accepted the office of First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Mr. PHILPOTTS, on this question being put, said that a motion respecting the living of Stanhope had been put upon the books by the honourable Member who had now vacated his seat, and as that motion could not now come on, for a short time at least, and, in the mean time, the Right Rev. Prelate, referred to in that motion was subjected to the effect of those mistakes that had been circulated respecting him, he (Mr. Philpotts) trusted that the House would indulge him while he made a short statement of the real circumstances of the case:—The petition from the inhabitants of Stanhope to his Majesty, praying that the rectory of that parish might not be held in *commendam* with the see of Exeter, contained three allegations—and only three of any moment. They were as follows:—1st. That “the population of which the rector has the spiritual care, consists of 12,000 inhabitants.”—2d. That “he delegates the spiritual care of these 12,000 souls to a hireling.”—3d. That “the parish pays him a tithe of 4000*l.* a year, and therefore may claim the advantages of a resident rector.” Every one of these allegations was substantially untrue. First, it was alleged that the population consisted of 12,000; whereas, at the last census, under the most extended description which could be given to that district, the numbers were no more than 7341. But of these 7341, the far greater part, no less than 4994, were not placed under the spiritual care of the rector. They belonged to an ancient chapelry, locally situate, indeed, within the limits of the parish of Stanhope, but placed from the earliest times under a distinct minister, with a distinct endowment; and for many years past an entirely independent benefice. Within that chapelry a second independent benefice had recently been erected. Over the incumbents of these two benefices, which were, indeed in his patronage, he had no control whatever. In short, instead of 12,000 souls, as was asserted in the petition, 2341 only were under the spiritual care of the rector of Stanhope. The second allegation of the petition was that the rector “delegates the spiritual care of 12,000 inhabitants to a hireling.” It had just been shown that the care of 2341 only could be delegated by him at all. It was delegated during the time of his necessary absence to two resident curates, both of whom were men of education and high character; one of them a man of independent fortune, who had resigned a small living of which he was incumbent, in order to become curate at Stanhope. These curates were not dependents; for when they were licensed, as they were bound to be, they were irremovable, except for some fault of which the Bishop was the judge; and from his sentence they had an

appeal to the Metropolitan.—In short, therefore, instead of “the spiritual care of 12,000 inhabitants being delegated to one hireling,” as was asserted in the petition, the truth was, that 2347 are placed, during the absence of the rector, under the charge of two licensed and responsible curates. The third allegation was, that “the parish pays to the Rector a tithe of 4000*l.* per annum, and, therefore, has a right to the advantages of a resident rector;” whereas, in truth, the whole amount of what was paid to him by the parishioners was something between 500*l.* and 600*l.* per annum, hardly a shilling in the pound on the rental. The great bulk of the emoluments of the living arose from a payment not made by any inhabitants of the parish of Stanhope, nor by persons who could in any sense be called parishioners. It was, in effect, an ancient donation from the See of Durham, made long before the restraining statutes prohibited such an alienation of its funds. That donation conferred on the rector of Stanhope a portion, nominally a tenth, of the ore raised from the lead mines of the See situate within the parish, which portion, amounting in value at present to about three thousand pounds per annum, was paid by the lessees of the Bishop’s mines, who lived at a great distance from Stanhope. There are other considerable mines within the parish, especially those of the Chairman of the Meeting at which the Petition was voted, but neither he nor any other proprietor, except the Bishop, paid anything whatever to the Rector on account of his mines. That payment, therefore, being the bulk of the income of the living of Stanhope, was taken from the revenues of the See of Durham; and thus that opulent See, so often as the Rectory of Stanhope was held in *commendam*, contributes to supply the defective endowment of some poorer bishopric; an appropriation so fitting, that this Rectory has repeatedly been made the subject of a *commendam*.

REFORM: THE BALLOT. —Mr. DENMAN presented a Petition from the town of Nottingham and its vicinity. He said that it bore the signature of more than half the adult inhabitants of that town. It was drawn up in a moderate and respectful manner, and stated opinions which seemed to him to merit the consideration of the House. The Petitioners believed that the granting of representation to the great towns at present unrepresented would not effect any real improvement in the constitution of that House. They believed that no measure of Reform would give satisfaction to the country unless it were accompanied by the protection of the ballot. He said that he fully concurred in the prayer of the Petition; but that with respect to the vote by ballot, it was his opinion that the adoption of that mode of voting was not expedient in this country. At the same time, he considered that feeling in favour of the ballot was so general, and the arguments offered in support of it so plausible,

sible, as to render it imperative on the House to take the subject into consideration.

Sir R. FERGUSON, in rising to support the petition, thought it right to say, that he concurred in the sentiments expressed by the petitioners. Formerly he had doubts as to the expediency of taking the vote at elections for Members of that House by Ballot; *but facts had come to his knowledge, since the last election, which convinced him, that without the protection which that mode of taking the vote afforded to the voter, there could be no freedom of election.* (Hear.) He felt it his duty to own himself a convert to the ballot. He hoped that the time was arrived when the prayers of the people would be listened to in that House. He trusted that the new ministry would bring forward some measure of effectual Reform.

Mr. O'CONNELL, in presenting a petition from Armagh, in favour of Reform, said, that any measure professing to effect a Reform of Parliament without making a provision for the independence of the electors, by means of the ballot, would be delusive.

I am glad to see converts to the ballot. This petition is deserving of great attention. It is signed, observe, by *more than half the adult inhabitants* of that public-spirited town, Nottingham; and the petitioners declare their repugnance to any Reform without the ballot. Mr. Denman is compelled to confess that the reasons in favour of it are plausible; and, to be sure, it would take a front of brass to deny this. My real opinion is, that the ballot now granted would, of itself, be a sufficient Reform; that is, I think it would be a reformer itself, and would work all that we want, and that, too, in a very short time.

SLAVERY. Twenty-six petitions against.

OFFICIAL SALARIES.—Mr. Home withdrew his notice of a motion on the subject of reducing the salaries of men in office to the allowance of 1796. He did so in order to give the new ministry a trial, saying, that “he viewed the change which had taken place as to the members of his Majesty’s Government with great satisfaction. It would afford the country hopes of a radical change in the conduct of the public business. The new ministers were pledged to promote Reform, and he was therefore glad to see them in the places of those who were pledged to resist every attempt to

Reform. The new ministry was also pledged to retrenchment, and therefore he, as an advocate for retrenchment, was glad to see such a prospect for the country of its burdens being diminished as the pledge of the ministers afforded. But, if they did not redeem their pledge, they would find him as steady and determined an opponent as he had been to those gentlemen whom they had just succeeded in office. In the mean time, he did not think he would be guilty of neglect of duty in giving them a trial.” (Hear, hear.)

STATE OF THE COUNTRY. On the question of putting off the consideration of Election petitions, in order that members might remain in their districts for the purpose of trying to quell disturbances, Baring said:—“It was far from his wish to spread unnecessary alarm, but he thought that the presence of many Gentlemen was, under existing circumstances, required in their own districts. He believed, however that the disturbances might have been put a stop to long ago, and he hoped they would soon be put a stop to. If any measure could be proposed in that House to enable Gentlemen to go to their districts, when that might be necessary, he would support it; for he considered that no necessity was so pressing, as that of putting an end to the present state of things.”

Upon this, Sir Robert Peel, in plain terms, tells the House that the disturbances must be put down by the *local authorities*, that is, the magistrates and their constables, for that every soldier that can be spared is now off on duty; and he throws the blame of want of sufficient military force on the *House itself*. What economy, then; what retrenchment can be effected by this new ministry? The country cannot bear its load, with the retrenchment that has already been made, and that is found to be *too much retrenchment*.

Sir R. Peel considered, that by a great and united effort amongst the local authorities, the disturbances might be suppressed. He could undertake to say that every possible aid from the military had been afforded in every quarter, where such aid could be of service.

Every man that could possibly be spared was sent to the disturbed districts, and from the information which he received, he was enabled to state, that wherever any attempt at resistance was made, such resistance proved successful. There was no instance wherein persons refused to sign papers brought to them with the view of procuring reductions of rent, or abolition of tithes, in which such refusal did not lead to an abandonment of the demand. In every case where a steady refusal was given, the disturbers of the public peace were daunted, and nothing like violence was offered; on the contrary, they merely retired with vague threats of returning on some future occasion. It was alleged that in some places there was not a sufficient military or local force to suppress disturbance: supposing the fact to be so, he must take leave to state, that that House was as much responsible for such a state of things as his Majesty's Government, the reduction of the force was merely the work of the legislature, not of the Government. From the moment the country became disturbed, every one of the metropolitan police that could be spared, was sent; and let it be recollected, that their duty did not call upon them to go to the country, their duty merely required their attendance in town; every civil aid was afforded, every military assistance given, even legal advisers were sent down to the local authorities.

Mr. BARING considered that at the outset it would not have been difficult to put down the spirit of outrage that was now unhappily abroad. When it first appeared in Kent, there would have been no great difficulty in suppressing it, when it spread to Sussex it would have been not so easy to put it down; but still not very difficult; when they spread into Hampshire, the difficulty naturally increased; but now that they had reached Wiltshire, the matter had become serious indeed; and were they to continue for three or four days longer, they might prove completely beyond the power of the Government to suppress. Now, if the executive authority had not sufficient force to repress disturbances in one county, how could they be expected to put it down, after it had extended over a dozen counties? It was not for a moment to be doubted, that a little exertion might have put it down at first; whereas it was now spreading from county to county, and from district to district, with a rapidity and a force which the Government might find themselves unable to resist.

November 23.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

LORD BROUGHAM. The Duke of Gloucester informed the Lords, that his Majesty had been pleased to raise Henry Brougham, Esq. to the Peerage, under the titles of Baron Brougham of Brougham Hall, in the County of West-

moreland, and Winnesley, in the County of York. Lord Brougham took the oaths, and his seat on the Woolsack.—Some petitions against Slavery were presented, when the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LORD BROUGHAM. Upon Mr. Rice moving for a new writ of election for the County of York, Mr. Brougham having been made a Peer,

Mr. CROKER said, it was impossible to permit that motion, which, considering all the circumstances connected with it, was one of the most important that had ever been made in that House, to pass without making a few observations upon it. It was but one week ago since they had heard in that House the eminent individual referred to, declare that he could not by any possibility form any part of that Government, the creation of which he knew at the time to be inevitable. (Hear, hear! from the new Opposition.) That declaration was a voluntary declaration on the part of the hon and learned Gentleman, who, however, not content with having made that declaration so positively and so publicly, repeated it voluntarily on the next public occasion that offered itself. He had heard that hon. and learned Gentleman assert, that the character of public men was part of the wealth of England. If that was true at any time, and with respect to any Gentleman, how much more true was it at this moment, and with respect to the character of that man who occupied the station described in the almost sacred terms of the keeper of the King's conscience, and who was invested with the most transcendent powers of the State? If there was any man's character that above all others required to be clear from shuffling and intrigue, it was the character of the Lord High Chancellor of England. He should therefore make no apology for calling the attention of the House to that remarkable declaration to which he had already alluded. He was ready to believe that it was capable of explanation—for explanation it certainly did require. He did not understand why this motion had not been made yesterday. Was it respectful to that House, with two notices of motions on their Order-book—was it respectful, he asked, that that House should not have been informed that that eminent person no longer formed part of their body? Perhaps it might be said, that an explanation could be afforded to this last question. Perhaps it was because the patent of Peerage had not then been made out. But that was no excuse—he had occupied the Great Seal—he occupied the place of Lord Keeper, he sat in the other house of Parliament, exercising the dignity of that high situation, and if, with the breathless haste with which he had taken possession of that office, so that even some technical difficulties in matters of order had

been set aside, in order that he might show himself in his new and splendid character, he had almost said *domino*, it would at least have been but respectful to that House, that they should have been put in possession of the circumstance as soon as the other House of Parliament. I state this to show what impression has been made on the country by this matter, and to show that some explanation is absolutely necessary. The impressions made on the country were easily observable. By those means of cheap and extensive diffusion of opinion, that opinion could be discovered. The hon. Member then read a paragraph from a country newspaper, which appeared after the declarations, the voluntary declarations, made by the hon. and learned Gentleman. (Hear, hear.) What was the meaning of these declarations? Were they menaces, had been neglected, or worse than neglected, had he been offered something not worthy his talents and station? If they were so, if they were intended as a spur, as a stimulus, to the lazy gratitude of the First Lord of the Treasury, he asked what confidence could be placed in a Government which was capable of being influenced by such motives? If these declarations were not menaces—if they were uttered in sincerity, it imported much to the country to know what it was that had made so sudden, so decided a change in the honourable and learned Member's opinion. Till it was explained, the character of the noble and learned Lord would be under a cloud, which it behoved those who were able to do, if any were able, to disperse.

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH rose—not for the purpose of offering any explanation, for to none was the honourable Member entitled. The character of the noble and learned Lord did not need vindication in an assembly of which he had so long been the chief ornament—of which, indeed, it had often been the highest boast and the greatest honour that he had been among the number of its Members. (Hear, hear.) He left the eloquence, the unwearied industry, the undoubted ability, the well-known and well-remembered powers of the honourable and learned Gentleman to answer for him; and in what he should say on this subject, he should but give vent to those feelings which rose within him at this—the most extravagant speech that had ever been heard in either House of Parliament since the very first existence of that body. (Hear, hear.) The honourable Member had said that this matter was probably capable of explanation. It was so. But that explanation had not been properly required. It had been demanded in a violent and disorderly speech—a speech unparalleled in the annals of Parliament, composed of nothing but violations of the orders of that House. He maintained that if any other fit opportunity of asking for the explanation had been likely to occur, occasion should not now have been taken to make a speech full of insinuations of a most serious

kind, coloured, indeed, with a little paltry admission at the end of the sentence that the time for explanation might come, and that explanation might possibly be capable of being afforded. If the matter was capable of explanation, that time was chosen in a manner to make any one believe that it had been expressly selected in order to defy any man making it there. From whom could come the explanation? From the colleagues of the noble and learned Lord, not one of whom was now present. If the hon. Gentleman thought that these circumstances were capable of explanation—if he allowed that there were fit opportunities for demanding it, how came he to choose this most unfit of all opportunities, in the absence of all those who could possibly have given him the explanation he required. He (Sir J. M.) denied that the explanation was due or could be due under any circumstances. Was the House, he would ask, prepared to call for the particulars of the negotiations between the Crown and the persons who now formed his Majesty's Government (hear)—of negotiations which must necessarily be secret? The members of the late ministry—they who had resigned in consequence of the expressed displeasure of that House—would surely not be prepared to make such a call for explanation. There might have been circumstances which, within less than one week after the declarations referred to, had made it necessary for the noble Lord to accept that office, which he at first had not contemplated undertaking. The assertion of the existence of that necessity might have been made had any of that noble Lord's Colleagues been in the House, though the details of it could not be given without an actual breach of duty. But nobody was there to make such an assertion, and the time for demanding an explanation, seemed to him expressly chosen at the very moment when it would be utterly impossible to make any sort of explanation. Nothing but a very strong case of imputation on the character of the noble and learned Lord could justify the speech which the hon. Member had thus, in violation of all order, made respecting him. The words which that hon. Member has quoted were not those which had been uttered by the noble and learned Lord while a Member of that House. Those quoted by the hon. Member were certainly not the same, nor any thing like the same, with the words, as recorded in the authorities from which the hon. Member had, with reference to another matter, been pleased to make his quotations. He did not believe they were the same as those uttered—he would swear to his own understanding of them to be very different. He was not called on to state what was the defence of the noble and learned Lord against these imputations of the hon. Member; but the hon. Member's conduct, to-night had shown the expediency of strictly observing that rule which forbade the words of a Member in one debate being afterwards quoted against him in another.

To say that the hon. Member's speech was disorderly was a great deal; but little; it was a con- siderable violation of order. The first viola- tion of order was in his quoting the speech of another Member on a former debate; the second was in bringing an anonymous York- shire newspaper as authority for his state- ment; and, among the rest, as authority for the gossip of the robing-room; the third was, that not content with his own breach of order, he quoted the words of the editor of the paper, and his statement of words uttered by an hon. Member in that House; a statement that could only have been made through a breach of the orders of that House. He was the last person in that House who would wish to natu- rally the liberty, by the exercise of which the statement of those words had been ob- tained; but he did object to making use of such statement to cast imputations on the character of the Lord Chancellor of England; it was a practice that he never knew to have been adopted by any man, even engaged in the hottest opposition. No explanation was necessary to be given; but if it was required, and was really meant to be obtained, the hon. Member ought to have waited till the proper time had come for asking it, and ought not this, irregularly and improperly, to have made an attack on the first Magistrate of the kingdom on the very day when he was about to begin the discharge of his most important duties. (Hear, hear.)

Now, as to the matter of his taking the office of Chancellor, when he had, only a day or two before, declared that he should not belong to the ministry, it is certainly a rapid change of purpose; but, as we do not know all the secret workings and intrigues that were going on, we must be slow to attribute the bare circumstance to a dishonest motive; and I confess that I cannot see any-thing at all unnatural in the fact of the head whig lawyer becoming Chancellor when the whigs come into place. It would have been most unnatural in them not to desire to have him in the ministry, and he would have cast a slur and sus- picion on them if he had kept aloof. Every-body could see that. Therefore, why should he not be their Chancellor? There are these reasons: *first*, the crazy THING cannot hold together long; to come in, then, is to cast his die; so long as he remains Chancellor, he is high, but, let this ministry be tumbled out, and there he is on the shelf for life. *Second* (and here is the thing, really, closely affecting him, and affecting him deeply), he has lately insisted on calling

himself the "Champion of Reform;" he has bawled so loud, has made pro- fessions so totally unqualified, has made them so directly in the people's own ear, that to abandon Reform now would sink him in the mind of every man pretending to common honesty. But I will quote his words spoken at a din- ner given him at Leeds, to celebrate his return for the County of York. "After contrasting the state of Leeds, popu- lous and unrepresented, with Old Sarum, represented and unpeopled, the Hon. Gentleman declared that as he was now Member for Yorkshire, he would leave in no other man's hands the great cause of Parliamentary Reform. He said I have helped, I have assisted others, hitherto, but I shall now stand forward as the cham- pion of that cause. And, as I have rallied round them for the last twenty years, I expect them now to rally round me, and to strengthen to the utmost those hands into which you have already placed sufficient confi- dence." In the face of this, indeed,

I can understand his dislike to enter a Ministry before he had ascertained that it would not frustrate him in his cham- pionship. He is now in a place where he has ten times the power that he had before: will he now, then, exert that power towards obtaining the Reform that he has been "twenty years assist- ing others" to obtain, and which he will not "now" (August last) "leave in any other man's hands," but, on the contrary, of which he will now be "the Champion?" If he will, he has only become a peer in order to push his principles on with the greater vigour; but, if he will not, then he is on the shelf already; then he has trucked principle for place. The Mr. CROKER who brought on this question of Broug- ham, is that same gentleman, from the sister Island, who has been for twenty years the Secretary to the Admiralty. The fury of a bull-dog, just choked off, does not exceed that of a bundled-out placeman!

SLAVERY.—Many petitions against. On one being presented from Leeds, a little hoisting of the bristles took place.

A MEMBER (whose name we could not learn) contended that the real condition of the slave was not at all known in this country, and that he was, in fact, in a better situation than the greater part of the labouring population in this country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRISCOE, although he admitted that he was not a statesman, felt competent to decide, in the abstract, that slavery was a crime, and a foul stain on the character and honour of Great Britain. He had little expected, when he took his seat in the House of Commons, that he should see the day when such an assertion was made, as that the condition of the slave in the West Indies was preferable to that of the English peasant. He challenged the honour of the Gentleman who made this statement to submit the proposal to the most wretched and hopeless of the peasantry, and to be governed by the answer he should receive. As to the rights of the West-India Proprietors, he was ready to give compensation whenever a case of loss could be established.

Have we not seen the confessed falsehoods that have been propagated about the treatment of slaves? and will the members answer me this one question:—*Have you ever found a dead Negro with nothing in his belly but sour-suet?*—Answer me that!

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

THE fires are blazing, more or less, in SIXTEEN of the counties of England; and the farmers appear, in a far greater part of these counties, to make common cause with the labourers. But I have no room for particulars this week.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1830.

INSOLVENT.

Nov. 19.—EVANS, G., Liverpool, provision-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED,

CROSBY, J., Spofforth, Yorkshire, joiner.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDREW, M., Crown-court, Threadneedle-street, insurance-broker.

ARMSTRONG, H., Castle-street, Leicester-square, glazier.

ARKINSTALL, T., Knighton, Staffordshire, farmer.

CLARK, G., Bowyer-lane, Camberwell, baker.

CLARK, T., Bristol, woollen-draper.

COCKING, T., Nottingham, victualler.

DAYKIN, S., Nuttall, Nottinghamshire, shop-keeper.

DIXON, H., Leadenhall-street, trunk-maker.

FOWLES, J., sen., Avening, Gloucestershire, stone-mason.

GRANT, W., Richmond, linen-draper.

HARDWICK, T., and W. Brown, Leeds, bricklayer.

JOHNSON, V. M., Sheffield, wine-merchant.

LARGE, W., Kingsbury, Middlesex, tallow-chandler.

RIDGE, F., Taunton, Somersetshire, tailor.

RILEY, J., Almondsbury, Yorkshire, cassinet-manufacturer.

SIMPSON, J., Nottingham, wharfinger.

TURTILL, J., Regent-street, fancy-ware-houseman.

WHITELEY, W. H., Rosoman-street, Clerkenwell, stove-grate-manufacturer.

WILLIAMS, W., Manchester, merchant.

WOODHEAD, A., Salford, Lancashire, common brewer.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

Nov. 22.—ALEWYN, J., 123, Fenchurch-street, merchant.

Nov. 20.—BLINMAN, T., Bristol, brazier, brassfounder and copper-smith.

Nov. 22.—PHONCKERT, C. P., 22, Jewry-street, Aldgate, ironfounder.

Nov. 23.—WHITBOURN, D., Darlhouse lane, Lower Thames-street, fishmonger.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LEE, J., Hanover Arms, Brixthelm-stone, Sussex, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

ADRON W., and C. Adron, New-road, St. Pancras, and of Buckingham-street, Fitzroy-square, marble and stone-masons.

ANDREWS, J. N., late of Northampton, victualler and corn-dealer.

CLARKSON, J., late of Kingston-upon-Hull, and of Goole, general agent and commission-broker, and now of Sculcoats, Yorkshire, victualler.

COLSON, H., Clapton, Middlesex, coach-proprietor.

CULLINGFORD, R., late of Mary-la-bonne-lane, victualler.

EMDEN, S., Bucklersbury, merchant and commission-agent.

FIELDING, J., and Jeremiah Fielding, Catterall and Manchester, calico-printers.

HARRISON, H., Manchester, merchant.

HEBERT, H., late of No. 74, Leman-street, Goodman's-fields, and now of the Retreat, South Lambeth, wine-merchant.

HODSOLL, W., jun., South A-b, and St. Mary's Cray, Kent, paper-maker.

HOLLAND, T., Birmingham, japanner.

PARKIN, J., Sheffield, feeder and Britannia-metal manufacturer.

PONGERARD, F., late of Fenchurch-street, merchant.

PREECE, T., Lye-court, Sarnesfield, Herefordshire, farmer.

SHACKLEFORD, F., Andover, Hampshire, draper.

WHARE, J., Leeds, hatter and furrier.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, NOV. 22.—The supply of fine English Wheat being so very small, and the demand rather brisk, have caused an advance in that quality of 2s. per quarter. Foreign and inferior sorts have not felt the rise. Barley does not meet with ready sales, and those few which have been effected are at a reduction of 1s. per quarter. The Oat trade is very heavy, and the prices inclining lower. Fine White Peas are considerably advanced, probably owing to Government wishing to contract for a quantity of them. Beans are 1s. to 2s. higher. The arrivals in the last week of Grain and Flour have been very deficient, the latter continuing without alteration in price.

Wheat	64s. to 74s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	32s. to 40s.
— fine	40s. to 42s.
Peas, White	54s. to 56s.
— Boilers	52s. to 60s.
— Grey	38s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Potatoes	28s. to 30s.
— Poland	21s. to 27s.
— Feed	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last	42l. to 44l.

SMITHFIELD—Nov. 22.

The supply of Beasts is very small, and we have not so many Sheep as on Monday last. The only alteration in the prices of Meat are an advance of 2d. in Mutton and Pork from Thursday's prices. Clover is 5s. lower, Straw, 2s. cheaper.

Beef	3s. 6d. to 4s. 0d.
Mutton	4s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.
Veal	4s. 4d. to 5s. 0d.
Pork	4s. 0d. to 4s. 8d.

SMITHFIELD, Thursday.—This day's supply was, throughout, very limited; and in great part of middling and inferior quality. A few prime small Calves, and the primest Sheep and Beasts sold with some degree of briskness; the former at an advance of about 2d. per lb.; the two latter at Monday's current; at which the trade was otherwise very

doing.—P Beef, from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 10d.; middling Beef, 4d. to 2s. 8d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 4d. to 4s. 4d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. 4d. to 5s. 2d.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8lbs., to sink the offal.—Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 12s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each.—Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 432; Sheep 3,230; Calves, 169; Pigs, 110.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, old	34s. to 32s. per cwt.
— new	46s. to 47s.
Sides, old	35s. to 32s.

Bacon, Middles, new	46s. to 48s.
Beef, India, new	160s. to 102s. 6d. per tr.
— Mess, new	60s. to —s. per barrel.
Pork, India, new	100s. to 105s.
— Mess, new	52s. to 60s. per barrel.
— old	55s. to 57s. 6d.
— India, old	110s. per tierce.
Butter, Belfast	102s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	100s. to 105s.
Cork	102s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire, new	42s. to 66s.
Lard	68s. to 70s.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 26.

The supply of Wheat being small, rather more money is obtained for the best samples. There are good supplies of Barley and Oats, and the prices have given way 1s. per quarter. Beans and Peas without any alteration in price.

	rivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour ..	7,100		
Wheat ..	1,500	290	
Barley ..	8,020		
Oats ..	4,900	250	1,350

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83½	82½	82½	83½	82½	83½

CHEAP CLOTHING!—SWAIN and CO., CLOTHIERS, TAILORS, AND DRAPERS, No. 93, Fleet Street, (a few doors below the new entrance to St. Bride's Church,) beg to inform the Public, that they (manufacturing their own Woollen Goods) are enabled to make a SUIT of SAXONY CLOTH CLOTHES for £4 10s., and every other Article of Clothing proportionably Cheap, which has rendered them at once the "envy of surrounding TAILORS, and the admiration of the Town"! **N.B. Their Shop is 93, Fleet Street.**

USEFUL ARTS.—MR. PROSPER (Author of a Treatise on Steam), after great labour and numerous experiments, which have occupied the last ten years of his life, has discovered many Improvements in various Branches of the USEFUL ARTS, which he intends Publishing by Subscription, in detached Volumes; one to appear every Two Months: the First Volume, price 20s., will contain a Method for considerably augmenting the Product of Grain and all Vegetable Productions, improving their quality, and doing great service to the soil without any additional expense. Subscribers are requested to forward their names (by letter, post paid) to Mr. Prosper, 21, Gloucester-street, Queen-square, without delay, as, to prevent plagiarism, it is not intended to be circulated until a sufficient number of applications are received for copies.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 70.—No. 23.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4th. 1830.

[Price 1s.]



RURAL WAR.

London, 2nd Dec., 1830.

THIS war continues with unabated fury. The *parsons*, during the war against the republicans of France, used to cry out incessantly for a VIGOROUS prosecution of the war. They have got a pretty vigorous one now! This war will be attended with one benefit, at any rate; it will open the eyes of the brave French nation with regard to the real state of England; it will show them what are the effects of national debts and funding systems. I shall begin this week in my account of, or remarks on, this war by addressing myself to the spirited editor of LA REVOLUTION Paris newspaper, who has lately had his paper suspended under a law of the tyrant Charles X., which has been rigorously executed by the "Citizen-King of the best possible Republic." My English readers will see what I say to the French with regard to this war. I have often used this manner of speaking to my own countrymen; and it is a very good one, because it renders proper a fullness of explanation, which, though necessary, would appear impertinent, if addressed directly to Englishmen. In three short Letters to the editor of LA REVOLUTION, I have, and I hope clearly, explained the causes of this RURAL WAR; and when the reader has gone through them, I shall have to beg his attention to some remarks on the recent events of this "vigorous war," as the *parsons* used to call the war that they prayed for during twenty-two years.

P.S. I will, in the course of next week, give a petition to some *peer*, with a request that he will present it to the House of Lords. This petition shall contain my prayer for measures to be now adopted, to prevent general anarchy and ruin. I have, many times, petitioned both Houses for the same purpose; but I will now repeat my prayers, that they may be fresh in people's minds. Men now begin to talk familiarly of the very things which I have been, for twenty years, strenuously recommending, and, happen what may, I am resolved to be known to have been right.

STATE OF ENGLAND A WARNING TO FRANCE.

LETTER I.

To the Editor of LA REVOLUTION, at Paris.

London, 25th Nov., 1830.

SIR,

THE state of this country ought to be made known to the people of France; and the way to do this, is to give a description of it under the name of some person well known to the public, and who thereby makes himself answerable for that which he says. It is further necessary, that the description, published by you, be also published in England, in order to avoid the charge of *libel*, and to adhere to a maxim which all honest men observe, namely, to say nothing behind a man's back that you dare not say to his face. This has been the rule of my life; and this rule I will now follow, in a series of letters, which I propose to address to you, on the state of England; which it is of the greatest importance that the people of France clearly understand; because it will show them how this powerful nation has been made feeble, and how this happy people has been made miserable, by the means of TAXATION; it will show them that this tax-

ation has been caused by the PUBLIC DEBT, by a STANDING ARMY, and by PENSIONS and SINECURES, and it will show that these have been occasioned by laws made by an *hereditary aristocracy*, and by a *House of Commons not chosen by the people at large*, but chosen by the aristocracy and the rich. By showing these things to the people of France, you will enable them to judge correctly with respect to what *they ought to do* with regard to these three great matters, the PUBLIC DEBT, the HEREDITARY ARISTOCRACY, and the MANNER OF CHOOSING REPRESENTATIVES.

Before I proceed to give you a description of the *present state of England*, I ought to observe to you, that *England* is, in fact, the *whole* kingdom in *point of real importance*; for that, though a considerable part of IRELAND is rich in soil, and though it contains half as many people as England, it is so stripped of its products, its people have so long been accustomed to a degraded existence, and the political factions have contrived to make the people so hostile in feeling towards the English, that that miserable country is, in a political point of view, of no weight whatever; and, as to SCOTLAND, it is worth less, and pays a less clear amount of taxes, than the *single county of York*; nay, my belief is, that, as a source of *national power*, either of the counties of Kent, Devon, Norfolk or Lincoln, is of more value than the whole of Scotland, which is, besides, a land for the breeding of government dependents and servile tools of tyranny. What, as to the political state and weight of these two countries, do you want more than these two facts; that, while every county, town and village, in *England* was sending addresses to the late persecuted Queen CAROLINE; while, in fact, all England expressed its resolution to defend her, and made that resolution good; not one single address, not one single demonstration of compassion, did she receive from either of those countries. And now, with regard to the *brave men of Paris*; while there is no county in *England* which has not produced several sub-

scriptions; while even the working people of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and, indeed, of every county, while even the *villages* in the counties of Kent and of Sussex have sent their mites, not one single sous has been sent from Ireland or from Scotland. It is not that the mass of the people in those countries are not good in their nature; but they are so completely kept down by selfish faction in the one country and by greedy place-hunters in the other, that they are rendered of no avail with regard to political influence. It is, therefore, from the state of *England alone* that you have to judge, and that state I will describe to you in my next letter.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

STATE OF ENGLAND A WARNING TO FRANCE.

LETTER II.

To the Editor of LA REVOLUTION, at Paris.

PRESENT STATE OF ENGLAND.

London, 26th Nov., 1830.

SIR,

You hear of great commotion in England, and particularly of the *fires* which are now blazing in *twenty-six counties* out of forty that England contains. These fires consume barns and other farm-buildings, and stacks, or ricks, of wheat, barley, oats, beans, peas, and hay; and sometimes the value of these, in one single farm-yard, amounts to a hundred thousand francs or more. The country *working people* are causing this destruction, which is spreading into every part of England. You will be sure that this terrible state of things has not taken place without A CAUSE; this cause I will explain to you, and in that explanation you will see the REAL STATE OF ENGLAND, all the causes of her feebleness, and of the slavery and misery of her once free and happy people.

The working people of England were, in all former times, better off, better fed,

clothed and lodged, than any other working people in the world. Their rights and their happiness seem to have been the chief object of the laws of England in all former times. During the predominance of the Roman Catholic religion, the municipal laws so far interfered with the property of the church as to make it conducive to the relief of the indigent. When that religion was put down, and the property of the church grasped by the aristocracy, a law was passed to cause provision to be made for all indigent persons. This famous law, passed in the 43rd year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, appointed officers for each parish, to impose a tax on land and house, and thus to raise, *without any limit*, whatever money might be wanted for the relief and support of persons unable to provide a sufficiency for themselves. So that there can, if this law be duly enforced, *be no person in England to suffer for want*. This law is called the POOR-LAW; and I beg you to bear in mind the description that I have given of it.

The working people, especially the country working people, lived in the happiest state that can be imagined

until the reign of George III. His war against our brethren in America, which *added greatly to the taxes of the nation*, made a great change for the worse; it made the people *poorer* than they had ever been before, but still they lived tolerably well; much better than the working people of any other country in Europe. It was the long and expensive war against the republic of France that brought them down to real poverty. Before the American war began, it was a *rare thing* that any one, even amongst the aged and the widows, had occasion to apply for aid from the *poor-taxes*; that war made this mark of wretchedness less rare: but *now* the rare thing is to know of a working man, single or married, who is not compelled to resort to the *poor-taxes* to keep himself from perishing with hunger. That the Debt and Government taxes have been the cause, and the sole cause, of the misery, is evident from the increase of the *poor-taxes* having kept an exact pace with the increase of the Debt and the Government taxes. Nothing can controvert this conclusion: the facts are undeniable, and the conclusion is equally undeniable.

PERIODS.

	Amount of a year's Government taxes for all England.	Amount of a year's Interest of the Debt.	Amount of a year's poor-taxes
In peace, soon after Geo. III. came to the throne	7,500,000	4,200,000	1,100,000
In peace after the American War.....	15,500,000	9,300,000	2,200,000
In peace, in 1830	60,000,000	30,500,000	7,500,000

Thus you see, Sir, how regularly the miseries of the working people have gone on increasing with the increase of the Government taxes and the increase of the Debt. The amount of the poor-taxes is the *measure* of the miseries of the people; and here you see that they are *seven times* as miserable as their grandfathers were. Taxes make the people of the nation *poor*; poverty is the parent of *crime*; and accordingly

the jails are *seven times* as capacious as they were when Geo. III. mounted the throne. Let France take care, then; for, similar causes produce similar effects; and, if the funding system of France be suffered to exist for any length of time, misery will spread itself over France as it has done over England. When taxes are raised to be paid to fundholders, they create idle people; they cause a constant accumulation of

the wealth of a country in few hands; they create monopolies of all sorts; they enslave Jews and loan-jobbers to live in palaces; and beggar all the industrious part of the community. Taxes, however applied, have naturally this tendency; but particularly when applied to create *usurers* (now politely called "*capitalists*"), who quickly absorb the whole of the fruits of a nation's industry.

As the working people have gone on getting poorer and poorer, they have become more and more immoral; and, indeed, it has been proved by witnesses before the committees of the House of Commons, that in innumerable instances men have committed crimes *for the purpose of getting into jail*; because the felons in the jails are *better fed and better clad than the honest working people*. As the working people have become poor, the laws relating to them have been made *more and more severe*; and the *poor-law*, that famous law of Elizabeth, which was the greatest glory of England for ages, has by degrees been so much mutilated and nullified, that, at last, it is so far from being a protection to the working people, that it has, by its perversions, been made the means of reducing them to a state of wretchedness not to be described. The *sole* food of the greater part of them has been, for many years, *bread*, or *potatoes*, and not half enough of these. They have eaten sheep or cattle that have *died from illness*; they have eaten garbage such as a lord or a loan-jobber would not give to his dogs; children have been seen *stealing* the food out of hog-troughs; thousands of them have died for want of food; three men were found dead last May, lying under a hedge, and when opened by the surgeons nothing but *sour sorrel* (*oseille sauvage*) was found in their stomachs, and this was within a few miles of a *palace*, which had cost millions of pounds sterling of the public money! The spot on which these poor creatures expired was surrounded with villas of Jews and fund-jobbers, living in luxury, and in the midst of pleasure-gardens, all the means of which living they derived

from the burdens laid on the working people!

Besides sufferings from want, the working people have been made to endure insults and indignities such as even Negroes never were exposed to. They have been harnessed like horses or asses, and made to draw carts and wagons; they have been shut up in the pounds made to hold stray cattle; they have been made to work with bells round their necks, like cows put out to graze; they have been made to carry heavy stones backward and forward in fields, or on the roads; and they have, in these cases, had drivers set over them, just as if they had been galley-slaves; they have been *sold by auction* for certain times, as the Negroes are sold in the West Indies; the married men have been kept separated from their wives by force, to prevent them from breeding; and, in short, no human beings were ever before treated so unjustly, with so much insolence, and with such damnable barbarity, as the working people of England have been within the sixteen, and particularly within the last ten, years.

Such, Sir, are the fruits of *public debts and funds*! Without this vile system, this industrious and moral and brave nation never could have been brought into this degraded state; but as every evil, if not cured from other causes, has its cure in its own excess, so, at last, the cure will assuredly come, and it is, indeed, come, and in a manner which I shall endeavour to describe in my next Letter.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

STATE OF ENGLAND A WARNING TO FRANCE.

LETTER III.

To the Editor of LA REVOLUTION at Paris.

London, 1st Dec., 1830.

SIR,

THE working people in almost all, if not all, of the counties of England, are, in part at least, in a state of commotion; for since

the date of my first Letter, the commotion has extended very widely. All across the south, from Kent to Cornwall, and from Sussex to Lincolnshire, the commotion extends. It began by the labourers in Kent entering the buildings of the great farmers, and breaking their *thrashing-machines*; for, please to observe, one effect of *heavy taxation* is to cause the invention of *machinery*. The farmer or manufacturer is so pressed for money by the Government, that he resorts to all possible means of *saving the expense of labour*; and as machines will work *cheaper than men*, the machines are preferred. As to the *good or evil* of machinery, speaking of it *generally*, there may be some ground for dispute; but it is very certain that it may be carried to *excess*; for, suppose that the land could be ploughed, and the corn cut and carted as well as thrashed by machinery, there would be a country *with crops, but without people*. There can be no doubt that our forefathers, who built the cathedrals, could have invented spinning-jennies and thrashing-machines, if their minds had been turned that way; but they knew what our modern lawgivers seem not to know; that is to say, that it is *men*, and not *machines*, that constitute a nation.

The labourers of England see, at any rate, that the *thrashing-machines* rob them of the wages that they ought to receive. They, therefore, began by demolishing these machines. This was a *crime*; the magistrates and jailors were ready with punishments; soldiers, well fed and well clothed out of the taxes, were ready to shoot or cut down the offenders. Unable to resist these united forces, the labourers resorted to the use of *fire*, secretly put to the barns and stacks of those who had the machines, or whom they deemed the cause of their poverty and misery. The mischief and the alarm that they have caused by this means are beyond all calculation. They go in bands of from 100 to 1,000 men, and summon the farmers to come forth, and then they demand that they shall agree to pay them such wages as they think right; and you will please to observe, that even the wages that they

demand are not so high by one-third as their grandfathers received, taking into consideration the taxes that they have now to pay.

The farmers, in their defence, say, that they cannot pay the wages that are demanded, because they have so much to pay in rent, in taxes and in *tithes*. The labourers have, therefore, in many instances, gone to the parsons, and compelled them to reduce their *tithes*; and in one parish, in Sussex, they have ordered the collector of the taxes not to take the money out of the parish, as it was, they said, wanted there! These proceedings would have been put an end to long ago, had it not been for the FIRES. The military force, backed by all the great farmers, the land-owners, and especially by the parsons and the innumerable swarms of Jews and fund-jobbers and pensioners and state-dependents, would long ago have subdued these half-starved machine-breakers; but the FIRES! No power on earth could prevent them, if the millions of labourers were resolved to resort to them.

The farmers, therefore, seeing that there was more danger to be dreaded from the labourers than from the aristocracy, the stock-jobbers and parsons have generally made, and are making, *common cause* with the labourers; and are demanding a reduction of *rents, tithes and taxes*. You will please to observe, that it is impossible for the farmers to pay the wages which they are, every-where, agreeing to pay; it is impossible for them to do this, and to pay the present rents, tithes and taxes; and, as they would be out of danger if the labourers were well paid, they wish to obtain a diminution of those burdens, and thus to be able to pay the labourers well. The tradesmen (*la bourgeoisie*), in the country-towns, have the same interest in this matter as the farmers. They know that it is better for them also that the fruit of the land should be given to the labourers, who would then be their customers, which the aristocracy, the Jews, the stock-jobbers and the parsons, are not. In short, all the *industrious classes* have a common interest

with the labourers; and, let the Government do what it can, the wages of labour *must be raised*; and, if they be raised, one of two things must take place; namely, *the aristocracy and the Church must lose their estates, or, the fund-holders must lose their funds.*

Such, Sir, is the present state of England, and such are the causes which have produced that state. Here you see, then, how a people, inhabiting the most productive land in the world, a people to whom God has given a large portion of *all* his choicest blessings, safety from foreign foes, climate, soil, mines, woods, downs, flocks and herds, and, above all, *industry* perfectly unparalleled; a people, too, whose forefathers gave them the best laws that ever existed in the world; here you see this people, who were famed throughout the world for their willing obedience to the laws, and whose forefathers scorned the thought of maintaining even a single soldier, except in case of war; here you see this people, whose *laws* say that no man shall be taxed without his own consent; here you see this people first reduced to a state of half-starvation; next setting the laws at defiance; and then attacked by a standing army, sent against them to capture them and to put them in prison! Such, Sir, are the effects of heavy taxes, and particularly when raised for the purpose of upholding a *funding system*, which is a system of *usury* and *monopoly* added to that of grinding taxation. *Let the people of France beware* of the encroachments of this infernal system: no open despotism is half so cruel; nothing like liberty can co-exist with such a system: this system has taken away our so much boasted *trial by jury* in nine cases out of ten where the property and personal liberty of the common people are concerned: this system has, in fact, in many cases, made our laws to insure the independence of the Judges of no avail: this hellish system has plunged us into all our present dangers; and yet it is hugged and cherished by the Government, as was "the accursed thing" in the camp of the Israelites. Let the people of France beware of the crafty and silently-

approaching curses! War! Is France afraid of war! What is war, what is pestilence, what is famine? An accursed funding system is *all these in one*. It is silent, fraudulent, inexorable tyranny: age, infancy, beauty, may have softened the heart of a Dey of Algiers; but never the hearts of the damnable bands that congregate at the 'Change and the Bourse.

In the anxious hope that the brave French nation will get rid of all degrading curses, I remain, Sir,

Your most humble and
obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

RECENT EVENTS OF RURAL WAR.

WAR, 'tis a war; for, if the newspaper accounts be true, *thousands of prisoners* have been taken. Two members of parliament, BARING (I mean *Alexander*, for there are no less than four of them in the great, big, omnipotent House that "*works well*" said, just after the meeting of the big affair, which is as pure as it is big, that the working people were *as well off now as they ever were*, and that there was *no distress in his neighbourhood*. The newspapers tell us, that *his house in Hampshire has been attacked by his poor neighbours*, and that *one Baring* (I do not know which) has been nearly killed by them! BENNETT, one of the members for Wiltshire, said, about a fortnight ago, that the labourers in that county were *very well contented*, and that, "so far from being tempted by "bad example, and committing outrages, they would be active in putting "down those who might commit "them." Mr. BENNETT said this in Parliament, in the big, mighty, honourable, and pure (above all things *pure*) House, on the 12th of Nov. On the 27th of that same month, the labourers (see the account) *pelted him with flint-stones before the door of his great mansion in that same Wiltshire*. He was rescued by a troop of horsemen, called *yeomanry*, who, it appeared, chopped

down and captured some of the rural army. When BENETT said the above, I remarked upon it (*Register*, 20th Nov., p. 577): "Pity Mr. Bennett took upon him to vouch *so very positively*; 'because there is a long winter coming. The best way is to *raise the wages at once*: do that *now*, before there are any people coming in *post-chaises* to set fire to homesteads." How much better it would have been if Mr. BENETT had *followed my advice*! No! They will *never* do it! They will perish first. Well! it is their affair, and not mine. But, *apropos* of this BENETT. I remember him well, from the evidence he gave before a Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1813. The notice of him will be found in the *Register* of Nov. 19, 1814. I was addressing a letter to a friend in America, on the state and prospects of England; and, in order to show him what sort of lives our working people led, I gave him, in the following words, an account of this evidence of BENETT: "There is now before me a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, on the subject of the Corn Laws. This Committee report the evidence of certain persons examined by them; and, amongst the rest, of a great landholder, in Wiltshire, named BENETT, who, upon being asked how much a labourer and his family *ought to have to live upon*, answered, 'We calculate, that every person in a labourer's family should have, *per week*, the price of a gallon loaf, and three-pence over for *feeding* and *clothing*, exclusive of house-rent, sickness, and casual expenses.' This Report was ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed on the 26th July last. [1813.] Now, 'a gallon loaf' weighs, according to law, 8lb. 10oz., avoirdupois weight. This is the allotment, for seven days, for one person; but then, as you will perceive, Mr. BENETT and his neighbours are so generous, as to allow *three-pence, or five cents, a week* more, or, suppose, *a cent per day* more, for *feeding and clothing*." Mark! pray mark! a gallon loaf;

that is to say, not quite a *pound and a quarter of dry bread* and a *halfpenny a-day* for *FOOD* and *CLOTHING*! And a *SPECIAL COMMISSION* is gone into Wiltshire! There is a God of justice, to be sure! That God will do justice, in the end, to be sure! Talk of blasphemy, indeed! Talk of Atheism! Who is not to be an Atheist, if he believe that there is no God to show displeasure at human creatures (and those, too, who make all the food and all the raiment to come) being doomed to exist on a pound and a quarter of bread a-day, and a halfpenny for clothing, and nothing for *drink*, and nothing for *fuel*, and nothing for *bedding, washing, or light*! And, what are we to think of the *Parliament* that received this evidence, and that never bestowed so much as one moment on the subject? What are we to think of that *Parliament*! Why, just what the people did think of it, to be sure. The *Morning Chronicle* of to-day (2d Dec.) says, "The disturbances throughout the country continue, but the tumultuous assemblages are less frequent. The prisons are full. We understand in those of Hampshire there are above two hundred individuals, against many of whom acts of great criminality can be substantiated. In *Wiltshire* the outrages have been very barbarous in many places. Our readers will see, from an extract from a private letter from Cricklade in our columns, that the mob everywhere plundered as well as broke machines, destroyed furniture, nay, even carried off plate. Hardly a village has escaped. In the prison of Devizes there are above one hundred prisoners." Look at the *gallon-loaf* and the *three-pence a-week*, and all this sinks out of sight! Every one must lament to behold such a state of things; but yet every one must, when he looks at the cause wonder that it did not come before. The important feature in the affair now, however, is, that the *middle class*, who always, heretofore, were arrayed, generally speaking, against the *working class*, are now with them in heart and mind, though not always in

act. It will frighten Lord Grey, but he ought to know it, that, amongst the tradesmen, even of the metropolis, *ninety-nine out of a hundred are on the side of the labourers.* It is not that they approve of the destruction of property; but they think that these means, desperate and wicked^{as} they are *in their nature*, will tend to produce **THAT GREAT CHANGE** which all, who do not live on the taxes, are wishing for. Lord Grey may be assured, that, except amongst those who live on the taxes, all hearts are filled with compassion for the labourers. Let him look at the following three documents, all from the great county of Norfolk. Let him read these; and then he will see how vain are all the hopes, if he entertain such, of putting down this commotion by *Special Commissions*.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Farmers of the Parish of Wood Dalling, in the county of Norfolk.

Sheweth,

That your petitioners are on the verge of absolutely being ruined; that the destruction of their property is hourly menaced, unless they pay wages which must reduce them to beggary; that the burdons of tithes and taxes have compelled them to reduce the wages of their labourers so much, that they and their families have been reduced to a state of perfect wretchedness, that they have hitherto borne their sufferings with deep complaint, but without violence; but that now they will endure their suffering no longer; that they have risen to demand that which we know to be their right, but which we are, on account of the tithes and taxes, unable to give without utter ruin to ourselves. That your humble petitioners see clearly, that they are placed in a state that must cause their total ruin, unless protected by your honourable House; for, on the one side, the labourers have the power of destroying our property, or of taking from us our last shilling; and that on the other side, the clergy and the tax-gatherer take from us the means of paying due wages, so as to save ourselves from destructive fires, that, in short, placed between fire, and clerical, and taxing extortion, we implore your honourable House to come to our protection, and to repeal and abolish the taxes on the necessities of life, particularly on malt and hops, and reduce the tithes, leaving only a competence for the clergy who actually do the duties of the church.

And your petitioners will ever pray:

James B. Rush	Jas. Bussens, his mark X
George J. Barber	Ham. Norton, his mark X
John B. Goldsmith	James Hook, his mark X
Anthony Fisher	John Kemp, his mark X
Benjamin Howlett	Jos. Reynolds, his mark X
John Bacon	Hen. Howard, his mark X
John Burton	William Laskey
Richard Vountt.	A. W. Ireland
Paul Pegg.	Jacob Broadfield

To the Magistrates of the Hundred of Holt, in the county of Norfolk.

The undersigned inhabitants of the town of Holt, having been called upon by the Magistrates to be sworn in as special constables, to act in aid of the civil power in case of riot or tumult in the said town, beg leave to state, that they have every reason to believe that the best feeling exists among the labouring classes towards their employers and the inhabitants in general, and that they have no reason to apprehend either tumult or violence of any description. They therefore respectfully submit, that it would be unwise to do any act, which would seem to imply that they entertain any distrust of their poorer neighbours; but if any violence should occur, they pledge themselves to stand by each other, to preserve the peace and prevent the destruction of property, *except thrashing machines.* Their opinion is, that, in the present state of the country, *conciliatory and not coercive measures should, in the first place, be resorted to; that the wages of the labourers should be increased; and that, to enable their employers to meet this increased demand, rents and tithes should be reduced, as the best and only means of insuring permanent tranquility.*

Thos. Norton, Guard.	Joseph Fuller
John Carr, Churchw.	Charles Blade
Jas. Shalders, Church.	John Athill
Geo. Dawson, Overs.	Francis Dugate
James Carr, Overseer	Francis Sharpin
William Withers	Samuel Spencer
William Dawson	James Creanfield
James Frankland	John Randall
William Allen	Mark Massingham
Thomas Mays	Thomas Lupton
John Baker	James Dye
Philip Harold	John Blade
William Muskett	John Brothill
Joseph Muskett	James Scott
Edward Younge, jun.	William Mindham
Robert Stoker	Daniel Leggett
John Bloy	William Eggett
Richard Johnson	William Nurse
Wm. W. Withers	Simon Jn. Bunnett
Andrew Young	John Clark
Thomas Heywood	Wm. W. Mindham]
William Norton	Rt. Brown Adcock
John Gowen	Charles Hull
Thomas Gayton	Robert Burton
Joseph Loynes	Wm. Cheate Paul.

Holt, November 27, 1830.

Stoke Holy Cross, Norfolk, 30th Nov., 1830.

SIR,—If you think it worth while to insert the following account in your *Register*, and to

send it to the *Morning Chronicle* or any other paper, you may rely on its correctness. We have had several hits since I saw you, and a great many tumultuous meetings. The popular indignation is directed more against the tithes than any other grievance; the labourers apply to the farmers for an advance of wages, but say, "We know you cannot pay us more, unless the taxes, tithes, and rents are considerably reduced." A meeting was held in the parish of Stoke Holy Cross, in the county of Norfolk, on the 24th Nov. inst., to consider the best means of relieving the distresses of the labourers, when it was agreed to advance their wages one-fifth, provided tithes and rents were reduced in proportion, viz., rents one-sixth, and tithes one-fourth. These propositions were submitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert John Harvey, Knight, the proprietor of the tithes, and a large landowner in the parish, who refused to accede to them, or reduce one farthing. On the following day a meeting was held by the magistrates, in the same parish, for the purpose of swearing in special constables, when no person residing in that parish would be sworn in, alleging that they were at peace one with another, and did not choose to interfere with other parishes. Sir R. J. Harvey, as a magistrate, was present, and was called upon to enable his tenants, by a reduction of his rents and tithes, to advance their labourers' wages; this, as on the preceding day, he refused, stating that those who held under him might turn out of their farms, and he would occupy his estate himself, which so incensed the labourers that they attacked him, and had it not been for the assistance of the farmers and others, most likely he would have been killed; as it was, his clothes were torn from his back, and he suffered considerable violence before he could gain the magistrates' room, from whence, after attempting to escape by the windows, he sent a message that he would comply with their request, and suffer his tithes to be set by arbitration. The labourers, joined by those of other parishes, then went away, declaring that they would visit the Rev. — Steward, of Saxlingham, and compel him to reduce his tithes.

Thus, then, we have the whole affair before us. Retrograde movements are impossible. The millions have, at last, broken forth; hunger has, at last, set stone walls at defiance, and braved the fetters and the gallows; nature has, at last, commanded the famishing man to get food. All the base and foolish endeavours to cause it to be believed, that the fires are the work of *foreigners*, or of a *conspiracy*, or of *insurrection* from others than labourers, only show that those who make these endeavours are conscious that they share, in some way or other, in the

guilt of having been the real cause of the mischief. But, if any could surpass, in point of baseness and folly, these endeavours to cast the blame on foreigners, it would be the monstrous baseness and folly of imputing the risings of the labourers and the fires TO ME! This has been done, in one shape or another, in almost every newspaper in England; and, if I were not regarded by these miscreant writers as a man for whom there is no protection from the law, the base wretches would tremble for the consequences. I despise the miscreants and their efforts more than anything on earth, except their baser employers. I will say this, however, that, if I were possessed of the power of, while sitting here in London, causing the destruction that is now going on, and if I deemed it right to render evil for evil, I should be fully justified in exercising that power. For what injury, what evil, what destruction, have not this ARISTOCRACY and this CLERGY inflicted, or endeavoured to inflict, on me! And, when I recollect what I have suffered at their hands, and in consequence of their machinations, I must be a hypocrite indeed to say, that I do not rejoice at their troubles. When they thought they had me down for ever, their exultation was boundless; and, oh! how shameless it was! For twenty long years have I warned them of this very danger; and, when I met with scorn and punishment where I ought to have found attention and marks of gratitude, more than once I have said, and particularly to the parsons of Hampshire, "Ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh."

WM. COBBETT.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER VI.

SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

Paris, 23rd Nov., 1830.

SIR,

1. WITH regard to the budget, and

to the actual taxation in France, in the intention of informing you with regard to which I commenced this letter, I must be content with begging you to rest assured, that all those *modifications* which you may hear of as intended by M. Lafitte, are against the people. The indirect tax on wine is foremost amongst the impositions which are complained of, and especially *resisted*; and, on the latter ground alone, it will be greatly lightened: but, to meet the deficiency which will arise from this (one of the favourite taxes, as are all those of the nature of *excise*), more is to be collected by *direct* tax. Now, it is very important to remark how this will be managed; and you will perceive that the mode devised by M. Lafitte is one which will throw the increase which he expects almost exclusively upon the poor, and that it will *increase their portion of the tax nearly twofold*, leaving the rich hardly touched! This mode or device is, to collect the *personal* and *moveable* tax, to which every individual is subject who is in the full exercise of his or her rights, in *quotas* or in fixed sum for each individual, according to the same scale for the whole kingdom, and by the immediate agent of the government. Hitherto, the government have *compounded* with the different departments, which have divided the amount of taxation apportioned to them, under the different heads of *foncière* (land and house-tax), *personnel et mobilier* (personal and moveable or in proportion to the value of the lodging of the person), doors and windows. The other direct tax, that of *patents*, is necessarily fixed. These apportionments have been regulated by the councils of the departments, after them of the *arrondissements* and lastly of the *communes*, and considerable *discretion* has always been exercised by these local authorities in this apportionment and also in the collective; and it has savoured much more of graciousness on the part of the government and of liberty in the departments and even *communes*, that the collection and assessments should be, in great measure, left to the latter. The consequence is,

in fact, that in this mode, much less is collected or received by the Minister of Finance; the money has a greater chance of staying a little longer in the pockets of the people, and the generality have a greater chance of putting a *foot into their pot every Sunday*, which was the saying and good wish of HENRI IV., and not originally of that ephemeral financier, CANNING. The proof that this is the consequence is, the partiality which the people or payers have for this mode (which is called of *repartition*), and the partiality which the Minister has for the mode now proposed, which is precisely that of the Pitt system, by which the circumstances of every individual who has not a fortune is known to the Government better than he knows them himself, because the Government have the keeping and laying out of his money. To know what a man is worth in England, that is to say, what his profession or business or labour procure him, you must look at his tax-collector's receipts, for he has nothing else to show. Now, this is precisely the state of things admired by your financiers bred in banking-houses, and by the cormorants who live upon the funds: they think that without this convertibility of the toil of the millions into the treasure at the disposal of the Government, there is neither national wealth nor power, and that there can be neither security for persons nor glory for the nation!

2. The mode of assessment of this tax on the *person* and on the *rent which he pays for his lodging*, is not to be changed; but, the mode of collection: but by this change in the mode of collection, the assessment will be *strictly acted upon*, and more to be compared to one upon a *rack-rent*. The same is to be done in the tax on *doors and windows*, and, thus, doors and windows which have *never been seen* by the local administrators, will be espied and noted down by the King's. The crease calculated by M. Lafitte is *twenty-seven millions*, and I beg you to observe, that this increase is to be upon about *forty-five millions* which has been the produce of the personal and moveable

and about *twenty-five millions* that of the doors and windows; an increase of *one-third*: so that, a rustic, who has hitherto paid three shillings a-year for his personal tax, and eighteen-pence upon the rent of his lodging, will now pay six shilling altogether: or, should a rustic here and there find means to persuade the collector that he has been charged to the full in the four-and-six-pence, the collector will probably make the discovery of another who may hitherto have paid but half-a-crown, whom he would certainly raise to four-and-sixpence; and he may also find another who has never paid any thing, and to whom he would certainly do the honour of rating him amongst the contributors to the country.

3. The most curious part of the story is to come, unless you have anticipated that the LAND-OWNERS and HOUSE-OWNERS are not included in this re-modification for contributors: though, you will observe, that the produce of the *foncière*, corresponding with the two amounts I have stated, is no less than *two hundred and sixty millions*. If upon *seventy millions* a different mode of collection would increase the revenue *twenty-seven millions*, the increase upon the land and house-tax ought to be at least *ninety-six millions*. And there is no difference between the three cases, though M. Lafitte seems to have felt it absolutely necessary to assert, or pretend to believe, what is notoriously untrue, namely; that the repartition, or division amongst the departments, is more equal with regard to the land and house-tax than with regard to the others to bolster his assertion by insinuating that it will become still more equal without altering the system of collection. M. Lafitte states, as the great reason for the new mode as to personal and moveable, that in some departments an individual pays less than a franc; while in others an individual in the same situation pays nearly two francs: and while stating this ground for the change with regard to this tax, falsely pretends that the same ground does not exist with regard to the *foncière*, though it is notorious

that there is a difference in different departments in the rating of property-tax greater than that which he has stated to exist in rating of the personal, and though it was stated in a report of the commission of ways and means in 1820, that that difference was as great as from a *fifth* to a *fifteenth*, with intermediate gradations! Since 1820 the inequality has been a little rectified, which was effected during the ministry of M. Villèle, but that rectification was by *reducing the higher rates*, causing a reduction of the taxation from this source of forty millions, and *narrowing thereby the circle of those qualified to vote for deputies!*

4. Another reason, which is more particularly applicable to the tax on lodgings, and on the doors and windows, is the increase of buildings and of the value of lodgings or apartments; and it appears to be calculated that the amount of rent for habitations had increased in 1829 *eighty-six millions* above what it was in 1823. And yet this is not taken as an argument for adding to the burden upon the *real property*.

5. The truth is, M. Lafitte has known how to procure the applause and unanimity of the deputies, who are elected, in fact, by those who pay the land-tax, not only for the major part almost entirely. It never can happen that the two taxes I have spoken of as being raised should amount to a qualification to vote, with regard to the *patentees*; none of these pay a sufficient sum under this head, or in virtue of their trade, except *bankers* and the *very great manufacturers*; which trades form the *corps d'élites* of monopolists, of stern and crafty enemies of the liberty of the mass of the people, and of destroyers of their happiness.

6. Having alluded to the *right of election*, I have the pleasure to observe that the re-modification which the universal voice of the nation demands, cannot be long procrastinated; but differences of opinion exist. Precisely the same as in England, an extension might very likely be willingly granted by many in power, if they thought that that extension, would not produce a

further extension, until it embraced the only limit to which men of calm reflection, and entirely free of corruption, can allow to be just and rational, namely, *universal suffrage*. However, *here the thing must march*, let the ulterior consequences be as good as they may; for there is no power to prevent the influence of the public mind to *some extension* immediately; and I should apprehend that the government will not attempt to oppose it.

7. Upon this subject, the *Constitutionnel* of this day has gone into an elaborate and able examination, which is evidently dictated by the sound views which are always recognised in that journal; yet, it appears to me, that unnecessary caution is observed by the editor of this journal in lowering the qualification in point of property. He proposes, 1. That for *deputies* no qualification be required whatever. 2. That the amount of taxation to give the right of voting be reduced from 300 to 200 francs; and that in those departments where even to this amount the payers are not numerous, that the number should be added to from amongst those who are taxed in the next degree, making the proportion of the population as about one to a hundred. 3. Not to exclude talent and learning from a right to vote, the acquirement of them being at least as much the fruit of labour as gold, that every member of a learned society recognised by the government be admitted to vote. This, I think, for the people who produced the most unparaleled proof of the possession of excellence in all the moral qualities which this people have, is not according to them one-half, nor quarter, nor twentieth-part, of their rights: but the *Constitutionnel*, which I have quoted, is the most generally read of any journal in the world; it has, I believe, twenty thousand subscribers, and I have thought it necessary to give you *its opinion*, which I have observed also to have great influence upon those of its readers; which are, however, very much amongst the classes *rather exalted*.

Paris, 30th November.

In the Chamber of Deputies several remarkable incidents have arisen, particularly with regard to *pensions, peers, and bishops*. 1. A law for the revision of the pensions granted under the law of 1807, since the 1st of January, 1828, had been passed, but was rejected by the Peers. On the formal communication of this to the Deputies the other day, *M. de Cormenai* made a motion for a law to revise the whole of the pensions ever granted under the said law; and it was carried by a considerable majority. 2. The *peers*, who have been great receivers of pensions, in consequence of a law of May, 1829, are in very great danger of all the provisions in their favour made by that law being taken away from them. 3. But the bishops are in still greater danger. *M. Philippe Dupin* introduced a motion the other day, which he afterwards withdrew until the consideration of the budget, in the following words: "The pensions granted (by the law of May, 1829) to the ecclesiastical peers shall cease to be paid from the 1st of January, 1831; and such pensions shall not be created in future." The bishops who were made peers received pensions of 120,000 francs a year; and these pensions, *M. Dupin* argued were given up by the bishops, having without exception refused to take the oath, and having resigned their prerogative in the House of Peers. Further, he maintained that it was more becoming their character to "quit the subaltern part of paid functionaries, to take the more proud and elevated one of emissaries from heaven," and that unnecessary opulence and that luxury should be left by them to the people of this world: in which the orator was echoed by the mirth of his audience. He also maintained that the proper place of ecclesiastics is with their flocks, and not in a political assembly: in which he was again unanimously applauded. He cited *Philippe-le-Long* (1320), who had not allowed the clergy to assemble in the States-General, saying that *he made it a point of conscience not to tear them away from their spiritual cares*; and

concluded his speech by hoping that PHILIPPE THE FIRST would have the same scruples as Philippe-le-Long. His speech was followed by *bravos* from all parts of the Chamber. Lord KING, I should think, would have been pleased with it; but these opinions, with regard to the clergy, are universal now.

Next to the universality of opinion which exists upon the subject of the *hierarchy* is that upon *aristocracy*, which is now understood to as-sume many different forms. Not only hereditary peerage, which is certainly, at least I hope I may say so, more than will be tolerated after the subject becomes to be thoroughly agitated; but the elevation and the pretensions acquired with wealth, are the object of general impatience. The proposition of M. de COHENUT before mentioned, for the total revision of pensions, has thrown alarm into certain ranks, who cry out that the old soldier, in his cottage, is to be deprived of the subsistence earned by his blood; the old soldiers, however, who are in *their cottages*, are not at all afraid of any revision, though it may be different with those who are in their *chateaux*. To define this said thing which we call *aristocracy*, I will conclude on this subject with a remarkable prophecy of the late General FOY, made in the Chamber of Deputies in 1821, and the fulfilment of which is begun:—"The keeper of seals complains that the denominations *aristocrat* and *aristocracy* re-appear in our discourses: yes, the words do re-appear, because the *things* re-appear also. Is not your criminal-law aristocratic? The law of election is the privilege of aristocrats.—

A Member.—"What are aristocrats?"

General FOY.—"I will tell you: aristocracy, in the nineteenth century, is a league, a coalition of those who would consume without producing, live without working, occupy all the places which are well paid by favour, engross all honours by right of birth, without having merited them:—that is aristocracy. It is said that it will remain in France; I SAY THAT IT WILL NOT REMAIN: there is no power

"in France to cause it to remain; because public opinion is clear, positive, and declared, upon every occasion, against it; and because it is not possible for five hundred thousand men to contest eternally against thirty millions."

The "*Revolution*" has not yet recommenced. Since I wrote my last letter, on that subject, I have seen a circular from the managers, in which the public are invited to become *shareholders*. The shares are of 300 francs; the interest upon which is six per cent., and one copy of the journal gratis in virtue of each share. The price of subscription is, as for all daily papers printed in Paris, 80 francs per year, and proportionally less for shorter periods, the least of which is one month. The time of the re-commencement of the "*Revolution*" was fixed for last week, as the managers had determined to give even the enormous security of the old government. However, if even the established journals gain very little, if any thing, with the present taxes of stamp and postage to which they are subject, what can a new one gain, and what inducement can it have to buy into the funds at an unfavourable moment? The affair of *profit and loss* of the journalists has now been referred to a committee of the Peers, who it is expected may not pass the law as decided by the Deputies. At all events, for some days, the eventual condition of the newspapers is in suspense; and, I imagine, waiting for the issue, the "*Revolution*" may not be re-established till it is known what newspaper proprietors have to depend upon. If it be re-established, there is no doubt of its becoming very popular; for the press, conducted in the manner of this journal, is left to supply the place of *meetings* and *political societies*.

WM. COBBETT.

Paris, 1st Dec.

I have no time but for a few words. War is expected by many; the people are eager to be in *Belgium*; and this will be the end of the affair, whether we have war now, or not. The stock-

jobbing ministry tremble every joint of them; for it will, in case of war, become a simple question: "Shall France again submit to Charles X., or shall the Debt be swept away?" The thousands of loan-jobbers and fundholders are for the former, and the millions of people are for the latter.

PARLIAMENT.

Friday, 26th November.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SLAVERY. Several petitions against. **LORD BROUGHTON**, Lord Grosvenor, in presenting petitions on Slavery and Parliamentary Reform, "could not help giving his noble and learned friend an opportunity for declaring his opinions upon those two questions, and for setting right some misrepresentations of them which had taken place elsewhere."

Accordingly, the Lord Chancellor quitted the Woolsack, and gave the explanation out of which I stick the most pithy part on record. Alluding to Croker's attack upon him in the House of Commons, he says: "That person and his friends could not be more astonished—and he understood that the observations in question were offered in the shape of astonishment, whether they were intended or not as attacks,—they could not, he said, be more astonished at his elevation in his Majesty's service than he was himself. At their astonishment he was not surprised; he shared it with themselves. They were not more stricken with wonder than he was, when, at the eleventh hour, he was induced to overcome his repugnance to quit the representation of the county of York, and to walk into that House. He repeated, that up to the time when he made the statement,—for, by the by, he never declared the intention of never severing himself from the representation of the county of York,—he had no more conception of the possibility of his being prevailed upon to quit, than he had at

that moment a conception that he should go back to the House from which the favour of his Majesty had been pleased to raise him. He trusted he need not state that, though he had changed his situation in Parliament, his principles remained unchanged; and that when he accepted the office which his Majesty had been pleased to confide to his care, he accepted it in the full and perfect conviction that it would be far from disabling him from performing his duty to his country, or from rendering his services to it less efficient. 'The thing which dazzled me most,' continued the Lord Chancellor, 'in the prospect of my elevation, was not the gew-gaw splendour by which it is surrounded, but the chance it afforded me, if I were honest,—on which I could rely,—and if I were consistent, which I knew to be the absolute necessity of my nature,—and if I were able, as I knew myself to be honest and consistent,—that which dazzled me the most in the offer of the care of the Great Seal, and which induced me to quit a station the most proud and exalted that any English subject can enjoy, was, that the elevation held out to me the grateful prospect, that in serving my King I should be the better able to serve my country.'

"Better able to serve my country." That is just what I said in remarking upon Croker's attack. He has now more power than he had before; he is a minister, and has constant access to the King. He must advise the King to consent to a Reform, and, if the ministry thwart him, he must quit it. But how to get out of the negro-slavery affair, is more than I can guess at; for this is a hue-and-cry to give up the West Indies, and not the slavery.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Nothing.

Monday, 29th November.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY. Lord Wynford (this gentleman long went by the name of Sergeant Best) inquired of the minister "whether it was the inten-

"tion of the Government to institute a
"partial or a general inquiry into the
"causes of the present distress; and
"whether it was their intention to grant
"additional power to magistrates to re-
"press disturbances."

Additional power! Why they have it all. What can't they do? Give them power to fill the people's bellies, Lord Wynford. But, whenever a lawyer finds a case without a precedent he must go to work instantly for new law. There is nothing that can't be mended by the rigour of law. He knows of no conciliations, no compromises.

Lord GREY, however, said that "he had to inform their Lordships that it was not his intention, at the present moment, to institute a general inquiry into the cause or existence of that distress, though he had no idea of opposing the motion which was to be made partially to that effect that night by a noble Earl who had given notice on the subject; and, in case the object of that motion should be extended by their Lordships, he was not prepared to say that he would have any objection. With regard, however, to the question of the noble and learned Lord, whether it was proposed to grant additional powers to Magistrates to enable them to repress the disturbances which had unhappily taken place, he had only to say, that in his opinion an extension of their powers was not necessary, for, in all places where they had been exercised with promptness and energy, they had accomplished all that was desirable at the moment."

There is sense in this abstaining from granting more power to magistrates. We all remember Sidmouth's circular; and any ministry is mad that begins its career now by levying war upon the nation in the manner of Sidmouth.

The LORD CHANCELLOR "entirely concurred in the observations made by the noble Earl, and in his humble opinion, until the law, as it now stood, had a fair and ample trial, it would not be just to attempt a new measure of rigour to correct a passing and temporary state of things. (Hear,

hear.) Still it was proper that every thing should be done to put the existing law into vigorous effect, and he hoped sincerely that those disturbances, which were a discredit to the country at large, and a marked disgrace to those places where they were committed, and which the deluded persons who committed them should be made to feel were ruinous to themselves, would be put down. He repeated that those excesses were fatal to the object which they were intended to redress; and it was an obvious truth, that in proportion to the public peace being disturbed, the distress of the sufferers was grievously increased."

The latter sentence of this speech is remarkable for want of truth. That is the very thing that the people have considered; *whether they can be worse off*; and they have determined that they *cannot*. Then, on the other hand, is it not notorious, from all the accounts that we receive, that they are now *better off*; that their wages are raised? Lord Radnor is reported to have said at Farringdon, that his tenants should raise the labourer's wages to 12s. a-week, he promising, at the same time, to reduce his rents in proportion. Now, what caused this but the state of the country; that is to say, in plain words, the determination of the people to *destroy* the produce of the earth, *unless they were allowed a greater share of it*? Not to let the rich have *any*, unless the poor had *more*. The Lord Chancellor said something about the manner in which justiceships of the peace had been filled of late years, hinting that proper persons had been left out of the commission, and, therefore, by insinuating, that improper persons had been put in. The insolence of parson-magistrates has been one of the greatest causes of the rancour which prevails throughout the country against the **THING**. It has brought down a sort of vindictive hatred upon the Church itself, with an utter detestation of the parsons.

Lord ELDON "was told that one of the jails of the country was filled with persons, a great many of whom were

"not natives of this country"! He had heard "with infinite satisfaction, that special commissions were going to explain the law to the deluded people."

This is the most *queer* of all the fancies about the *foreigners*, that have been afloat upon this subject. This is truly *amazing*, that a man commonly sane should imagine that any foreigners would come to—; but it is too absurd.

LORD WINCHELSEA, LORD MELBOURNE, and the Duke of WELLINGTON, said, that as far as their information went, there were *no foreigners in the jails*. In short, they gave the *lie* to the story that John Lord Eldon said he had received in a letter!

The Earl of PALMOUTH observed, that the noble Earl at the head of His Majesty's Government had said that it was *not his intention to propose any new measure in order to strengthen the law*, unless in a case of extreme necessity. Now to him (Lord P.) it appeared that a case of great, if not of extreme, necessity actually existed. A noble and learned Lord had told their Lordships that one of the gaols was filled with persons, apprehended during the recent disturbances, *who were not natives of this country*. It was notorious that many incendiaries, who had been unable to throw their own countries into flames, had issued forth to spread destruction elsewhere. It was not to be doubted that the greater part of those engaged in the recent outrages were English; but it was also probable that many foreigners were mingled with them. He admitted that the special commissions which

re about to visit the disturbed districts were calculated to be useful; but he was apprehensive that they had not sufficient power to lay hold of the miscreants, the incendiaries, who were the really guilty persons. The farmers were compelled to go to the expense of protecting their property by night watches. This was an extraordinary scene, and appeared to him to require extraordinary powers and measures. No man was more attached than he was to our free institutions; no man was more jealous of liberty. But if there was any truth in the axiom that the public safety should be the supreme law, the present times coming, in his opinion, within the meaning of that axiom, some powerful measures ought to be adopted. He was persuaded that it would be impossible to lay hold of the incendiaries in question unless some strong measure, some temporary alien bill, should empower the Government to seize on any suspicious foreigners and compel them to give an account of themselves. A measure of that description might be limited in its duration to three months, to two months, to one month; but some such measure was absolutely necessary.

Mightily attached, no doubt, to "our free institutions"! Bah! oui! as the French say: one can plainly see what he wants; but, of what avail would it be? He could not put two millions of people into dungeons. SIDMOUTH's self could not do that; no nor CASTLEBAGH, if he were to come up all gory, just as he descended, having cut his own throat, at North Cray, in Kent, just five years and a half, to a day, after he and Sidmouth brought in the dungeon-bills of 1817. This BOSCAWEN does not seem to perceive the difference in the circumstances. The bloody Jews, the Christ-killing rascals, say: "If Mr. Pitt was alive, he'd soon put the ruffians down." The Christ-killers do not remember that Pitt had paper-money at will; and that "paper-money is strength in the beginning, and weakness in the end."

POOR-LAWS.—The Marquess of SALISBURY rose to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of the Poor-Laws. He had always been of opinion that the population of the country, although it might at some period exceed the immediate means of generally by no means too great. The experience of last year had convinced him that the population engaged in agriculture was not too great. With respect to wages also, it would be found on inquiry that wages at present were not only equal to those of former days, but superior. Comparing the present price of labour, with reference to the price of provisions, with the price of labour from the beginning of the seventeenth, to the end of the eighteenth century, it appeared that it was a third higher than the price of corn had been considerably less than the reduction of wages, except in cases in which the perverse system had been adopted of paying the wages out of the poor's rates. Looking at all the circumstances, distressed as the agricultural labourer was, his wages were higher than at former periods. One great evil which the labourer at present endured was the extravagant rate of house-rent. Another was the absence, in consequence of the improvements which had taken place in manufactures, of all sedentary employment for his family. The great object to be accomplished was, in his opinion, to procure a regular and steady and sufficient supply of labourers, and at the same time to take care that the supply did not become greater than the demand, and the condition of the labourer reduced beyond that of comfort and competent subsistence. The course pursued in this country in effecting improvements in agriculture, had, he was sorry

to say, tendered much to *deteriorate the condition of the peasantry*. In former times it was the custom to give the peasants employed in the culture of the estates of the landed proprietor or the farmer, a cottage to live in, and a garden and a piece of ground to cultivate; but every considerable proprietor of late years had directed his attention to what is called *clearing his estates*, so that the peasantry were driven together to occupy hamlets in herds, and their allowance and means of subsistence reduced to the lowest sum on which it was possible to eke out their existence. The great object to which he wished to direct the attention of their Lordships, was to devise some means for procuring and supporting a body of men, who would prove sound, good, laborious, and virtuous assistants in the labours of the farmer, and who would at the same time be enabled to live comfortably on the produce of their labour. At the present moment, he feared much that the process of clearing the farms had produced a state of things among the peasantry of this country somewhat similar to that which was represented elsewhere to have taken place in the neighbouring kingdom of Ireland, but represented in terms which he hoped, for the honour of humanity, would be found to be very much exaggerated. In the inquiry which he meant to propose to their Lordships, he hoped that the law of settlement would be taken into full consideration, and he felt very sanguine in the expectation that some measures might be devised, through an alteration of that law, which would raise the labourers from that deplorable state in which they are at present placed, and give hope to those who had now almost abandoned themselves to despair. He also thought that the Government might now be induced to direct its attention to the Colonies, and that regulations might be made with respect to the present expansive military corps, which would tend materially to forward the object he had in view. The great end, however, which he proposed, through the labours of that Committee, the appointment of which he required from their Lordships, was to remedy the evils of the Poor-Law system, and correct the errors which flowed from the mal-administration of that admirable and beneficent Act of the forty-third of Elizabeth, because he conceived that the greater portion of the offences perpetrated in the disturbed districts had arisen from the low rate of wages at which the peasant was compelled to work through the operation of the Poor-Laws. He felt that he had already trespassed too much on the time of the House in explaining the objects of a motion for a committee, which he understood was not to be resisted; but he could not help expressing a hope, that through the labours of that committee, in a zealous and anxious examination of the present system of administering the Poor-Laws, they might ultimately succeed in bettering the condition as well as raising the moral character of the peasantry; and he trusted that, in the event of its being found

necessary, the pecuniary assistance of the Government would not be wanting to carry the recommendations of the committee into effect. There was only one other topic to which he would at that moment advert, and that was the state of the Bosturdy Laws. He conceived the laws on that subject to be extremely defective. According to the present system, no person in the humbler stations of life could escape imprisonment, as the consequence of not making provision for his offspring, unless he consented to marry the mother, and thus improvident counsels, and all their consequences on the parents, and the supply of labourers, were actually made a subject of legislative provision. After observing that it was his intention to bring before the House all the evidence which could be collected relative to the state of the country, and the condition of the labouring classes, the Noble Marquess concluded by moving for a Select Committee, to take into their consideration the present state of the Administration of the Poor-Laws, and to report thereon to the House.

Along with much good sense and just sentiment, here is a great error. True, the wages are higher than they were sixty years ago, and even forty, WHEN MEN HAVE EMPLOYMENT; but then the malt was 1s. 6d. a bushel instead of ten shillings, and then there were no assistant overseers, and stone-breakers at 1s. 6d. a week! This Lord quite overlooks the taxes. I wonder whether this committee will ever make any report at all! I do not believe it will. If it propose any remedy but that of taking off the taxes, it would do better never to assemble: all other remedies are little short of madness.

Tuesday, 30th November.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

LORD WYNFORD (Old SERJEANT BEST as was!) brought in a bill to amend the practice of the law!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wholly engaged about contested elections!

Wednesday, December 2.

Nothing done in either House. All seems to be confusion. Great part of the members are gone home to look after their houses and farms.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

MACHINE BREAKING.—HIGH WYCOMB, Monday, Nov. 29.—Received yesterday from a Correspondent. The calm which succeeded the disturbance of Friday last, as was anticipated, was the prelude to a melancholy catastrophe. On Saturday and Sunday, measures had been concerted for the paper-makers to meet as early as five o'clock on the morning of Monday. Accordingly, at that time, a great number were congregated together by sound of horn, on Hakewell Heath, about four miles from Wycomb, armed with sledge hammers, crow bars, pick-axes, &c. They proceeded through Woburn and Loudwater to the paper-mill of Messrs. Lane, and on a shot being fired to intimidate them, they became infuriated, and the entrance, which had resisted their efforts for above half an hour, was attacked with redoubled fury, and shortly broken open; when another gun was discharged, the contents of which lodged in the arm of an elderly man named Bryant. Above four gallons of vitriol were showered on them, and many were severely burnt. Notwithstanding this the work of destruction commenced, and in less than 15 minutes the machine was wholly destroyed. The person who threw the vitriol was ducked by the rioters, and narrowly escaped with life. During this time the magistrates sent expresses to Windsor, and to the Marquess of Chandos, for the assistance of the military. From Messrs. Lane the mob proceeded through the town, levying contributions on the shopkeepers, until they arrived at the paper-mill of Mr. Hay, where the machinery was also destroyed, notwithstanding Mr. Hay had informed them that it should not again be used until some arrangement was made between the masters and men. He also told them that he employed no less than fifty-three hands; and that if they injured his property, the men must of necessity be thrown out of employ. One of Mr. Hay's men vainly attempted to oppose the rioters with a red-hot poker, but he was glad to make his escape. The Riot Act was read by the Rev. Mr. Vincent, when the rioters crossed to the farm of Mr. Landsdale, whose thrashing-machine was shortly broken to pieces; and that of Mr. Collins, who witnessed the operation, threatened. The rioters, after regaling themselves at the Red Lion with beer, proceeded to Mr. Plaistow's paper-mill at Loudwater. This gentleman had issued a notice that his machine should not be worked; but they were not content with this, and it met the fate of the others. By this time Colonel Vyse, the High Sheriff, had arrived, who, with a number of gentlemen, attempted to oppose the rioters, when they were saluted with a shower of stones, and Colonel Vyse was much cut in the face. A medical gentleman, from Burnham,

with difficulty escaped with his life. He had armed himself with a sword, and in endeavouring to escape, rode over two females, and was thrown from his horse. He, however, recovered his seat, and got off. The rioters now entered Hedge-mill, and destroyed the machine. By this time many of them were overcome by fatigue, and several were in a state of intoxication. Several gentlemen, who accompanied his Majesty's stag-hounds, came up and made head against the rioters; several shots were fired; one man was wounded in the breast, two were taken away apparently lifeless, and about nine were taken away prisoners. At this period some grenadiers of the Foot-guards arrived in post-chaises, and escorted the prisoners into Wycomb, where they were placed in safe custody. The damage done is estimated at about 12,000*l*.

BERKSHIRE.

On Wednesday a detachment of the Grenadier Guards, a troop of Lancers, and the Donnington and Newbury troop, together with the gentlemen and inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, headed by the adjacent magistrates of the county, advanced towards Sprenhamland, where they were joined by a party of about 200 strong. After a laborious search through a number of places, they succeeded in securing between fifty and sixty of the most formidable of the disturbers, and ultimately in restoring peace.

ABINGDON, Nov. 27.—Yesterday, four prisoners out of the six were rescued on their way to our House of Correction. To secure and preserve the peace of the town, about two hundred special constables were sworn in. Thirteen rioters have this week been committed for breaking machines, and one for threatening to fire the town of Eastbury.

SURREY.

EPSON, Nov. 29.—I send you an account of two fires, which took place within two miles of this place (Epsom), last night (Sunday)—one at Banstead, of a large hay-stack, belonging to Mrs. Howath; another, at a very short distance from the above, of two corn-stacks of large dimensions, belonging to a gentleman farmer, which were destroyed. A body of labourers are going about this county, and the fires are supposed to have been caused by some of them. A respectable shopkeeper told me they were expected to be at this place to-day. People seem very gloomy in this part of the country.

WIMBLEDON, Nov. 29.—(From a Correspondent of the *Times*).—I think the public should be apprised of the approach of incendiaries in this neighbourhood. Last night late, the horse-patrol, in riding between Meriton and Wandsworth, next Lord Spencer's park-pales, saw a man attempting to set the stacks on fire belonging to Mr. Hampton, a farmer; and the patrol pursued the fellow, who escaped over the Wandie towards Garret, and he has not been traced farther. The cool determination of these wretches has become an ordinary

topic of conversation at the public-houses. A workman of Mr. Partridge, an extensive market-gardener, heard a man at a public-house in Putney say, that they were resolved to burn all the stacks in the country, and said—"There is Paterson, who has a larger farm than would employ three farmers; we will visit him and burn his stacks."

MIDDLESEX.

FIRE AT PRESTON, NEAR HARROW.—The neighbourhood of this place, on Monday night, was thrown into a great state of alarm by the reports that incendiaries had been at work, and about this time (six o'clock) their

assistance was tendered by the inhabitants, and on their approach to the farm, the following ricks were observed burning:—Three bean-ricks, containing about 100 quarters of beans; and hay in ricks, consisting of 60 loads. The strength with which the fire had hold of them prevented the possibility of quenching it until nearly exhausted. One rick of hay was saved, with a shed adjoining. On the instant of alarm of fire, a messenger was sent to London, for the engines, which arrived about nine o'clock, but too late to render any assistance.

WEALD OF KENT.

NOVEMBER 29, 1830.—In the weald of Kent there still continues a considerable mass of latent discontent in the minds of the agricultural population, and of fear and ill-humour among the middle and higher classes. Had the parishes prepared to follow up their resolution of advancing wages and furnishing employment in a practical and business-like manner, the agitation might have subsided; but, instead of this, some of them are making resolutions to employ none but their own parishioners, thereby narrowing the market for labour, making the labourer almost the slave of the soil, by confining him to his own parish, and dispossessing many who are now in suitable employment, because they may not belong to the places where they are at present occupied; and of course by these measures adding to the existing mass of discontent, and doing away in effect with their own resolutions. Again, in some other places it is said there is hardly an agricultural labourer, but who at this time receives a proportion of his allowances (it cannot be called the wages of labour) from the poor-rates. This is owing to the working of the tithe system in one parish where the clergyman is also a magistrate—in his latter capacity, in the early period of the disturbances, he enforced an order to raise the wages to 2s. per day in his parish, declining at the same time to make any reduction in his tithe-list, supposing the occupiers of lands must advance wages; but here the country gentleman put witted himself, for the wages continued the same; the addition was made up out of the

poor-bill, and his tithe is rated for the payment of the same, or, according to its extent, he has to do that indirectly (and to the great demoralization of his parishioners), which he ought to have set the example of in obedience to his own order as a magistrate. Surely there was never anything so absurd as these injudicious proceedings for the settlement of the present excitement. The system of agricultural management appears in these respects very defective. Can it be owing to the circumstances in which owners and occupiers of land are placed by living much by themselves, surrounded each by his own little circle of dependents and his own little in-

meeting. Men so accustomed to concert in business, their proceedings partake of want of method, procrastination, and delay. These defects are increased by their situation; their capital having decreased in amount, and with little return, their great object is to avoid any additional outlay until the public burdens and the claims of the landlord and titheholder are diminished; with these materials and prospects it will be difficult to restore tranquility and order.

RESTORATION OF COMPARATIVE TRANQUILITY IN KENT.

There have occurred since my last communication two circumstances which have materially contributed to produce a cessation of the outrages which have disgraced this county for a period now extending to almost the last three months. It is to this county that the disgrace must be placed in a county, either the incendiaries were "men of Kent," or the magistrates, and those whose duty it was to preserve tranquillity and vindicate due respect for the laws, have failed in the performance of that duty; in either case the county must bear its share of the disgrace which attaches to these proceedings. The circumstances alluded to are, the proclamation offering a reward for the detection of the incendiaries, and the apprehension of the rioters in the tumultuous assemblage, and the severe (but necessarily so) punishment inflicted on those who were convicted at the Canterbury Sessions last week. It is true, as was stated in the House of Lords by the Earl of Eldon and Wicheles, that the peasantry were not aware of the extent of punishment to which they had subjected themselves in forming part of the mobs that went about destroying property and demanding increase of wages; and the terrible certainty brought home to them by the sentences pronounced on Friday in Canterbury, has given the first shock to their daring proceedings. It was feared at first that the labourers would have become only more exasperated from the extent of these sentences; but the effect they have produced is a confirmation of a statement in one of the earliest of your communications, in which the sapience of the Magistrates is stated as the

cause of the great and extensive series of outrage which pervaded the whole of the county of Kent, and at length extended into more than twelve of the southern and midland counties.

KENT.

A meeting was on Friday holden at Foothray, which was attended by the principal inhabitants of the district, for the purpose of joining a troop of yeomanry, being the most effectual and constitutional means of preserving the peace of the county, and protecting the property of the inhabitants against the outrages of lawless rioters.

The Hon. JOHN ROBERT TOWNSEND, M.P., was called to the chair, when the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

“1. That immediate measures be taken to form within this district a troop of Yeomanry Cavalry, under the command of the Hon. John Robert Townsend, M. P., who has received the authority of the Government for that purpose, in order to be ready to support the Civil Authorities in the suppression of tumults, the preservation of the peace, and the protection of the rights and property of his Majesty's subjects.

“2. That the gentlemen and yeomen present be invited to enrol their names, and to use their influence with such as may be absent, to come forward for the purpose of constituting the troop.”

Immediately on the reading of the last Resolution, forty most respectable yeomen enrolled themselves, and assurances were received that several, who were unavoidably absent, were in readiness to join. Those who felt themselves unequal to active service enrolled their names as honorary members.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Mr. Townsend on his quitting the chair,

LINCOLNSHIRE.

LOUTH, NOVEMBER 29, 1830.—Since writing the annexed, I have just heard of *two incendiary fires*, one at South Ressten, where *nine corn-stacks were destroyed yesterday morning*; the other at Swabey, where the *whole of the corn-stacks*, I am informed, are destroyed. The loss to Mr. Mawer is about 660l. Mr. Kemp's loss (of Swabey) I have not ascertained.

ALFORD, NOVEMBER 29, 1830.—I am sorry to be under the unpleasant necessity of saying that a large quantity of corn was consumed by fire yesterday morning, a few miles from this place.

STAMFORD, NOVEMBER 29.—I am sorry to say ours may now be considered as a disturbed district—the county of Huntingdon, and within eight miles of Stamford, was in riot on Saturday, but the peasantry's object at present is only for destroying thrashing machines. The villages of Sawtry and Alconbury are the ringleaders, and I lament to say have reason for complaint, being irregularly employed, and wages very low. We be-

lieve the town of Oundle is in riot to-day, the poor there are *badly managed*.

Sir J. Trollope and about one hundred men on horseback proceeded from this place to disperse the rioters, and came up with an armed body, who had captured about twenty of them. They were lodged in safety in Huntingdon gaol. The mob attacked the gaol at Oundle, and made some inroad on a part of the prison, but by timely assistance were driven off, and the prisoners made secure. Eight of the ringleaders were taken and sent to Northampton gaol; and in the county of Hunts other captures were made, which made a total of forty-four captured.

SPILSBY, NOVEMBER 29.—*The fires have increased in this neighbourhood.* I am sorry to say at Irby, near this place, a hay-stack was fired on Tuesday evening. At Ressten, a village three miles south of Louth, nine stacks of corn, &c., were consumed, value about 600l., the property of Mr. Mawer, this is supposed to have originated in malicious revenge, Mr. Mawer having some time ago laid game informations.

SURREY.

CLAPHAM.—The Rev. Dr. Dealtry, Rector of Clapham, received an anonymous letter last week, threatening to burn his house down; he has, in consequence, deemed it prudent to forsake his accustomed residence for a time. The Rev. Gentleman, who has another living (at Watford, we believe), is the Bishop of Winchester's suffragan.

BRITTON.—A few days ago a letter was sent to Mr. Russell, who has a farm on the summit of Britton-hill, informing him that his barn and hay-ricks, which stand by the road-side, were doomed to be destroyed by fire.

WILTSHIRE.

DESPERATE AFFRAY.

SALISBURY, Saturday morning, ten o'clock.—All is now quiet here. A desperate affray took place at Pyt House, the seat of John Bennett, Esq. M.P. for the county. Mr. Bennett, on hearing that a mob (about 500) was approaching his house, went out on horseback to remonstrate with them, when they began to pelt him with flint stones and brickbats; just at this moment the Hindon Troop, under the command of Captain Wyndham, came up, and in all probability saved Mr. Bennett's life. Mr. Bennett again entreated them to disperse, but all was of no avail, they only pelted him more. The cavalry were then ordered to fire a blank cartridge over their heads, in order to intimidate them, but the mob only laughed at them, and asked them why they did not do their duty? Upon which they were ordered to load with ball cartridge. Mr. Bennett was very much wounded by flint stones, which were thrown at his head, as was Captain Wyndham. The cavalry then attempted to charge upon them, but the mob rushed into the plantations which surround the house, where they continued pelting the cavalry, who at last effected the charge, when several were

wounded slightly and some mortally; one man was shot dead on the spot. A great

SUSSEX.

BATTLE, Nov. 27.—Yesterday, about twelve

same night, several of them dreadfully wounded: one man had a cut across the back of his head, which separated the muscles; another three fingers off his left hand, and two off his right; another with a piece of his skull cut off (it is thought this man will not survive); another with a severe cut across one of his elbows; another had his head cut open. Nine prisoners were sent here from Wilton, for rioting the same evening. A strong detachment of the 9th Lancers has arrived here. The Hindon Troop is gone to Hindon. The gaol now contains 78 prisoners for rioting, besides others for felony, &c., all amounting to 120. The gaol of Winchester is full, and the soldiers are obliged to confine the prisoners in the barracks. A large farm, occupied by Mr. Harding, about three miles from Dorchester, has been burnt down. Two more troops of Lancers are now arrived here, on their route to Dorchester. Fisherton gaol is guarded by a party of Lancers.

On Monday nearly two hundred labourers proceeded to the house of Sir E. Poore, during his absence; but being met by the gardener, who remonstrated with them on the alarm it might occasion to Lady Poore and the children, they remained quietly in the lane till he had seen her Ladyship, who sent them 5s., when they quietly dispersed. On Tuesday a mob assembled at Mauntingsford Abbots, where Sir E. Poore met them. He rode in among them, represented to them the impropriety of their conduct, in destroying property, which they seemed bent upon doing, and requested them to disperse, as urging them, that if it was in his power to redress their grievances he would use his utmost endeavour to do so. He said that they might either come to his house, or he would meet them the next day at Pewsey, to discuss the subject of their day.

They agreed to the latter; he then gave them a sovereign, and thought they had gone home satisfied. Unfortunately, however, they proceeded across the country to Alton, where they broke two thrashing-machines belonging to Mr. Miller, and one belonging to Mr. Neute; they afterwards proceeded to demolish that of Mr. Robert Pile. This gentleman, however, fired a pistol, and afterwards a gun, loaded with large shot, in the midst of the mob, by which several of them were wounded. Mr. Pile would undoubtedly have been murdered, but for the intervention of a labourer named Bullock, one of the leaders of the mob, who took him in his arms, and carried him into the house. Several other outrages were committed, and all appeared to be in favour of the multitude; but in the evening twenty-eight of the party were secured by Messrs. Scott and Werriner, two active magistrates, assisted by the Devon, Chippenham, and Melksham troops of Yeomanry Cavalry, and committed to the Devon Bridewell.—*Salisbury Journal*.

Sir Godfrey Webster, and in the occupation of Mr. Quaife, which consumed the barn of unthrashed corn, lodges, yards, and all the other buildings; but a small cottage, part of a wheat, bean, and hay-rick, were saved by the inhabitants and labourers of Battle and its neighbourhood, to whom great praise is due. It was on the same premises that a barn of unthrashed wheat was consumed on the 14th instant, with a rick of seed clover, at which time the before-mentioned property was saved by the exertions of the said inhabitants. M. Quaife never had or used a thrashing-machine, and always paid his labourers very liberally.

(From the Hastings Iris.)

It is with great pain that we have again to give a list of fires, which have occurred in this neighbourhood during the last week. On Saturday night a hay-stack took fire in Crowhurst Park belonging to Mr. C. S. Pelham, the member for Shropshire. Another stack was close to it, but through the great exertions made by the persons present, it was prevented from taking fire.

On Tuesday evening a barn and 200 trusses of straw were burnt on Mr. Crowhurst's farm, at Bexhill. It was only a fortnight since he had a lodge and some faggots destroyed by similar means.

The Magistrates have divided the western district of Sussex into sections, and have placed the constabulary force of the respective sections under proper persons.

The reckless spirit which, for the last three weeks, has agitated and desolated many parts of Sussex, appears to have increased in a most alarming degree. We hesitate not to say, that a great part of our hitherto peaceful county is in a state of anarchy. Scarcely a night passes but the horizon is illuminated with the flames of the midnight incendiar. Almost daily meetings were held of the yeomanry and peasantry; and although some increase is made in the wages of the latter, yet, as a body, the agricultural labourers are discontented.

On Tuesday, S. F. Milford, Esq. and Capt. Fuller, R.N., went to Preston, and swore in thirty of the inhabitants, a large proportion of whom were of the labouring class, as special constables. A strong feeling on the part of a few of them appeared to exist against being sworn in.

WESTERN SUSSEX.

MIDHURST, Nov. 28.—An Irish Baronet is said to have often declared, "that the best way of avoiding danger is to meet it plump." In this, as in other Irish bulls, there may be some confusion in the ideas; but there is, nevertheless, much good and practical sense. Popular commotions, more especially when there exists no connected plan of operation, nor any control-directing power, can seri-

ously alarm none—but of unanimous minds, if they are immediately met with firmness and decision. In times of difficulties and danger, the prompt adoption of vigorous and decisive measures serves at once to give additional courage to the bold, and dispel the apprehensions of the more timid, and to damp the lawless daring of the rioters. The spirit of insurrection is like the avalanche of the Alps—a speck of snow on the alpine summit—an overwhelming mass when it reaches the devoted valley below. Its progress is as rapid as that of the above formidable phenomenon; but they differ in this one essential point, that while no human force can resist the overwhelming career of the avalanche, a due mixture of firmness, of energy, and of mildness, cannot fail effectually to arrest the current of insurrection. Fully convinced of this truth, the magistrates of our division of Sussex were no sooner informed that various outrages had been committed in the western part of this county, than they determined upon immediately advancing the price of labour, and calling out, conformably to the excellent plan of the Duke of Richmond, a special constabulary force, composed of horse and foot. A meeting of the inhabitants of Midhurst was held for this purpose on Friday last. On Saturday about four hundred special constables, both mounted and dismounted, had been already sworn in. The whole district is divided into sections, each including two or more parishes, and a person is placed at the head of each section, whose duty it is, in case of any riotous meeting taking place in his section, instantly to communicate intelligence thereof to the magistrates at Midhurst, and to the heads of the surrounding sections, by which means a constabulary force is ready to bear upon any threatened point within the space of a few hours. The immense advantages of such a system are so very obvious, that it cannot fail being immediately adopted throughout the country. It has met with the entire approbation of the Home Department; and our magistrates merit great praise for having carried this measure into effect before they had received the above-mentioned intimation from Government. With a Cabinet willing to gratify the wishes of every advocate for practicable Reform, with a liberal disposition on the part of the landlords to better the situation of their tenants, and with a magistracy humanely disposed—yet firm of purpose backed by the overwhelming majority of a loyal population, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the country has nothing serious to apprehend, either from a tumultuous assemblage of ignorant and deluded men, or from the more desperate outrages of lawless and cowardly incendiaries.

HAMPSHIRE.

WINCHESTER, Nov. 27.—The lawless violence which marked the conduct of the peasantry in many parts of this country, has excited a correspondent spirit of decision and

resistance in all respectable persons. The peasantry, who at first employed themselves only in the destruction of machinery, and limited their demands to an increase of wages, have since degenerated into predatory bands, traversing the country, and levying by force money and provisions from the gentry. The number of prisoners committed to the county gaol, and other prisons, charged with offences connected with the present disturbances, exceeds 200, and the general feeling here is, that no mistaken lenity should be shown to those who shall be proved to be the instigators of these outrages.

RINGWOOD, Nov. 28.—The strenuous exertions made for the purpose of maintaining the safety and tranquillity of this town and neighbourhood, have afforded the utmost confidence to the inhabitants. Without any assistance from the military, relying solely on their own courage and fidelity, our townspeople have not merely rid themselves from all present probability of attack, but joined the neighbouring towns in completely exterminating every vestige of those wandering hordes from the borders of the county. Our mounted troops will shortly be embodied into a regular corps of yeomanry, while our nightly patrols continue with the utmost caution in their efforts to detect and apprehend all lurking and suspicious characters.

PONTSMOOR, Nov. 28.—Late last night some of the military detachments returned from the country to their quarters in this garrison. Soon after an express arrived from headquarters at Winchester, ordering a field officer, lieutenant, two serjeants, one drummer, and fifty men, to proceed instantly to Southampton; they were preceded by a large quantity of ammunition, destined for Salisbury.

Lord Malmsbury, Governor of the Isle of Wight, arrived at a quarter past eight, and has had an interview with Sir R. Williams, the commander-in-chief here. The result is, that a company of the 47th regiment are now embarking in the Alban steamer, for Ryde. Sir R. Williams answered to a question put to him, "a very pressing demand for troops in the Isle of Wight." Report says, a fire occurred near Newport last night.

GATBROUSE OF FLEET, Nov. 26.—The fires which are spreading over the country are now increasing to such an alarming extent, as to make every one who is interested in the existence of society desirous of suggesting any means that may stop the evil.

It may not, probably, be generally known that chemical mixtures may be made so as to ignite at the expiration of any given time; such, however I am convinced, are employed by the incendiaries in their work of destruction. If this should be the case, it will suggest the necessity of a watch being kept not only during the night, but likewise during the day, and particular notice taken of all strangers loitering about any premises which may be supposed to be the object of attack. To

the police it may likewise suggest the propriety of making a search after the manufacturers of such compositions.

SNOW-ON-THE-WOLD, Nov. 28.—A considerable excitement has prevailed here the whole of this day, in consequence of the hearsay reports which pedestrians have brought in from the surrounding country, particularly towards the neighbourhood of Burford, as also that the premises of Farmer Pinnel, of Alsworth, were destroyed by fire, which proves to be without foundation. However, the vigilance of the magistracy, seconded by numbers of well intentioned men mounted, started off for the first-mentioned place, whilst others were directed with conciliatory remedies to other points, — Bolton-on-the-Hill, at which place report says a rick of Dr. Wonsford was partly consumed. The circumstance of all the mounted men being away, the Morning Service was dispensed with at the Church.

The general, or more properly speaking, universal feeling in this part of the country, is against the thrashing-machines; therefore, it behoves every reasonable man and gentleman to allay the principal cause of excitement, by making a virtue of necessity, or, in other words, destroying them forthwith — thus turning the tide of popular commotion and danger from the domestic circle of thousands.

The lower classes have no objection to the winnowing machines. It does not come under this class of grievances.

Credence may be placed in the above, and attention to its dictates must at this moment be regarded as meritorious.

DORSETSHIRE.

BLANDFORD, Nov. 27.—In consequence of information received of the destruction of machinery and other property in some of the villages in the eastern part of Dorsetshire, Mr. Portman, Mr. Pargularson, and Mr. Smith, at the head of about 200 mounted and armed yeomen and tradesmen resident in the neighbourhood of those gentlemen, started early on Friday from Blandford, and passed through all the villages to Handley, where they took into custody several of the ringleaders of the machine-breaking gang, who had in a violent manner demanded supplies of money and food in their riotous course.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

WELLINGBOROUGH, Nov. 30.—A party of rioters, having been captured in breaking a thrashing-machine at a village in the neighbourhood of Oundle, were committed from that place to Northampton County Gaol, in post-chaises, attended by constables and about from twenty to thirty officers, from Oundle and Thrapstone; they being desirous of increasing the escort, one or two of them injudiciously rode forward to this town, gave the alarm, and called upon the constables and inhabitants to assist them. Post-horses met the chaises before they entered the town and changed; and had that request been privately made and acted upon, everything would have

passed off quietly, as every person was at work and about his business, and no one anticipated the approach of rioters, either as prisoners or depredators; but the alarm having been made, soon spread in every quarter of the town. The shoemakers (shoes being the manufacture here) and other mechanics left their work to witness the escorting of the prisoners; when about the centre of the town, the whole cavalcade were going at a most rapid rate, and on turning a very sharp corner the last chaise upset, surrounded by at least 500 people; the principal part of the constables halted, the prisoners, two in number, and one constable inside, were assisted out without much injury; the cry of rescue was immediately given, stones picked off the newly-repaired road flew in all directions at the constables on horseback, their horses became unmanageable, and in five minutes the two prisoners were taken up a narrow lane, and got clear away. The prisoners in the first chaise were forwarded to Northampton, and there safely lodged in gaol.

During the whole of the afternoon and evening the town was in confusion. About nine o'clock at night, the party who had rescued the prisoners paraded the streets with a rick of the Duke of W.,, which they burnt in the centre of the town, and broke the windows of most of the respectable inhabitants, particularly those persons who joined in escorting prisoners, and others who remonstrated with them in the afternoon upon the impropriety of their conduct.

This morning, about six o'clock, the inhabitants of this place were alarmed by the cry of fire, when it was ascertained to be at a farm-yard occupied by Mr. Dearlove, at Higham Park farm, about seven miles from this town, on the Bedford road; the engines were forwarded from hence with all possible dispatch, but, notwithstanding, one corn stack and part of another were consumed. There is no doubt of the fire being the act of an incendiary, but there is no reason to think it arose from the disturbance which occurred here yesterday.

It is to be regretted that another fire broke out last night in a farm-yard, in the parish of Thrapstone; but, happily, only one straw rick was consumed.

The Magistrates of the Division have been sitting all day at the Town Hall, and have sworn in upwards of 300 special constables, who are determined, to the utmost of their power, to preserve the public peace, and up to the evening all remains quiet.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

About half-past nine on Monday morning, Mr. Spicer, of Glory Mill, wrote to Mr. R—, of Beaconsfield, in great alarm at the threatened approach of 300 men, who had begun to destroy paper-machines above Wycombe; and were proceeding downwards, urgently soliciting aid, residents of Beaconsfield having been a few days previously sworn in as special constables. After a little delay Mr. R— and his servant set off, and were immediately fol-

lowed. The party took their station at Glory Mill, receiving occasionally reports of the progress of the machine-breakers.

Mr. R. went forward to reconnoitre, and rode up to the mob. He soon returned, and urged the party to advance, now about thirty-five, hoping thereby at least to impede their progress, and delay the mischief till the troops, which had been sent for, should arrive. This was readily agreed to, when, just as they were starting, they heard that the King's stag-hounds were within a mile and a half. In their direction Mr. R. now rode, and implored the gentlemen to follow him: they immediately complied, and were in a short time in the open meadow below the Wycombe road, near the public-house called Red Caps. They soon overtook the infantry (constables), and made a regular charge upon the mob, driving and throwing them into confusion. In the course of an hour thirty prisoners were taken. At the mill-yard of Mr. Davies, a slight check was received in consequence of the mob having the protection of the stream, and an unlucky heap of brick-bats. The party retired a short distance, occasionally sallying forth and taking prisoners. Some gentlemen having pistols, fired, and one man fell a sacrifice to his lawless conduct. Brick-bats flew in showers, and fell in all directions, and many broken heads and cut faces were the consequence; the mob were at length defeated by this prompt and spirited conduct, leaving undon half their projected business. Five machines, however, valued at 2,500*l.*, were destroyed; the ringleaders are seized, and about thirty men committed to Aylesbury Jail.

The military arrived after the conflict was over, and took charge of the prisoners; the neighbourhood is now tranquil.

HIGH WYCOMBE, Tuesday.—[From a Correspondent.]—After the rioters had been captured on Monday, strong parties of special constables paraded the town; the military guarded the prisoners during the night, apprehensions being entertained that an attempt would be made to rescue them. About one o'clock in the afternoon a detachment, consisting of about forty of the grenadier regiment of Foot Guards arrived from Windsor. Shortly after the Magistrates assembled at the Red Lion Hotel, when the prisoners, conducted by the civil and military authorities, were brought up for examination, and the following were committed for trial, viz.:—W. Bowry, S. Atkins, R. Carey, M. H. lt. J. Sims, R. Duxtey, J. Bryant, J. Waldeck, and two brothers named Moody. They were conveyed under a strong escort of military and police to Aylesbury Gaol where, however, they could not be received, as the prison was crowded to excess; it is, therefore, supposed that they will be brought back to Wycombe. John Bowrey, the paper-maker, who was wounded on Monday, is still alive, although little hopes are entertained of his recovery. The unfortunate man has a wife and seven young children.

OXFORDSHIRE.

BANBURY, November 29, 1830.—Since I began to write our fire-bells have rung, which has caused a great alarm. My people are all gone out, but have not made out anything of a fire. Some say it was to call the special constables out, as the bringing the Banbury and Bloxham troop into the town to-day has caused a great deal of ill-will. I have just heard it is a machine at Mithorp which is on fire.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

BIGGLESWADE, November 29.—A fire was seen in the parish of Eaton last night, at Storrydon's; the farm was destroyed; the person who occupied it was the acting overseer; no doubt it was set on fire. Part of the property was saved.

AMPTHILL.—Eleven stacks, consisting of hay, clover, beans, wheat, &c., together with all the outbuildings attached to the premises of Mr. Benson, of Wotton Priory, were, at six o'clock on the evening of Saturday, destroyed by fire. The farm-house was preserved, and the cattle removed in safety.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

ALCONBURY, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, Nov. 29.—The country in this part is in a very perturbed state. Mobs of three or four hundred persons have assembled and done great damage to the machinery, &c. The constables and a number of respectable farmers have succeeded in capturing thirty of the most desperate, who are committed for re-examination.

HUNTINGDON.—Sunday evening a party of from forty to fifty men assembled in the village of Sawtry, and destroyed the thrashing machines without molestation. On Thursday evening a party of about four hundred commenced this work of destruction on other machines in the neighbourhood of Upton, Alconbury, &c., after which they levied contributions at the farm-houses. They proceeded on to Buckworth, where they sawed and broke to pieces two thrashing machines, and obtained food and drink at the clergyman's house. On Saturday eighteen of the ringleaders were captured by a party of gentlemen, who had gone out to meet them; after a severe skirmish. In the course of the night twenty-five more were secured, together with three poachers, making a total of fifty in one day.

CORNWALL.

(From the West Briton.)

We regret to find that a disposition to disturbance has been manifested in some parts of this country, in consequence of an opinion entertained amongst the labouring class, that a free export of provisions from one part of the country to another is injurious to the interest of those parts in which more may be produced than is necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants. On Tuesday se'night, as some farmers were conveying a quantity of wheat to Mevagissey for shipment at that place, in order to its being sent to an

eastern part, a number of persons, chiefly composed of women and boys, collected, and expressed their displeasure at the measure. The persons employed in conveying the wheat became irritated, and resorted to blows, which were returned by the sturdy female dealers in fish, with which the place abounds; and the husbands, brothers, &c. of the Amazons coming to their assistance, a general scuffle ensued, which ended in the ripping up of a number of the sacks, and the scattering of the wheat, which they were unwilling their fellow-countrymen should eat, about the streets. About forty Cornish, or one hundred and twenty Winchester bushels, were thus destroyed. The neighbouring Magistrates repaired to the place as speedily as possible, and they succeeded in rescuing the remainder of the corn from the mob, and in lodging it in a house in the town. This week there was a partial rising of the workmen in some of the villages in the neighbourhood of St. Austell, in order to prevent the shipment of wheat at Fowey. But being met by some of the neighbouring gentlemen, who reasoned with them on the folly and the evil tendency of their conduct, they were induced to return to their labour.

HAMPSHIRE.

PORTSMOUTH, Nov. 29.—We have a very great population, and I must say their conduct has been most praiseworthy. A few squibs have been written by some school-boys, and in two instances threatening letters; but they are considered as from individual to individual.

(From another Correspondent.)

The troops mentioned in my last as just embarking for the Isle of Wight, together with 50 more sent this day, have been distributed in various parts of the Island. Symptoms of discontent are becoming forcibly alarming there, a fire having occurred near Newport on Saturday, when about 70 tons of hay, belonging to Mr. Butler, a farmer, were destroyed. Nearly every farmer in the island having received letters of a threatening nature, it has been considered necessary to divide the soldiers among the different villages, to aid the civil power, if necessary.

NORFOLK, HUNDRED OF HOLT.

Nov. 28, 1830.—The respectable inhabitants of this town, understanding that they would be called upon by the Magistrates, to be sworn in as special constables, many of them met together on Friday night, to take the subject into consideration, when the subjoined requisition was drawn up, and met with the unanimous approbation of all present. Yesterday the magistrates met at the Feathers' Inn, and many of the principal inhabitants met at the same place in an adjoining room. After some delay, Sir Jacob Astley and — Tomlinson, Esq., two of the magistrates for the hundred, came into the room, and the requisition was put into Sir Jacob's hand, who, after reading it said, "Gentlemen, you have no need to be

sworn in; this includes all we want; we had always better have volunteers than pressed men." And after a little was said by two or three present, on the propriety of landlords reducing their rents, and the wages of the labourers being increased, Sir Jacob (who, during the whole time, manifested the greatest composure and good humour) said he meant to give the poor on his estates a little land to cultivate, which, he had no doubt, would have a good effect.

There are many reports here in circulation of the destruction of property by the rioters in the neighbouring towns and villages; but I believe they generally confine themselves to the reaking of thrashing-machines, unless in cases of interruption. Some of the farmers are now breaking their own thrashing-machines, in order to keep the mob off their premises.

In this town we are perfectly quiet, and are likely to remain so.

"TO THE MAGISTRATES OF THE HUNDRED OF HOLT.—The undersigned inhabitants of the town of Holt, having been called upon by the magistrates to be sworn in as special constables, to act in aid of the civil power in case of riot or tumult in the said town, beg leave to state that they have every reason to believe that the best feeling exists among the labouring classes towards their employers and the inhabitants in general, and that they have no reason to apprehend either tumult or violence of any description. They, therefore, respectfully submit, that it would be unwise to do any act which would seem to imply that they entertained any distrust of their poorer neighbours; but if any violence should occur, they pledge themselves to stand by each other to preserve the peace and prevent the destruction of property, except thrashing-machines. Their opinion is, that in the present state of the country, conciliatory, and not coercive measures should in the first place be resorted to; that the wages of the labourers should be increased; and that, to enable their employers to meet this increased demand, rents and tithes should be reduced, as the best and only means of ensuring permanent tranquillity."

(Another account.)

HOLT, Nov. 28.—I send you the copy of the Resolutions entered into at a meeting of the parish (the Resolutions are given above), the concluding sentence of which was not very palatable to the magistrates; but the farmers who attended the market in the afternoon highly approved of the spirited conduct of our people, and were glad that the landlords and clergy were so plainly told that it was their duty to assist in improving the condition of the poor half-starved labourers. I send you a placard issued by our magistrates:

"TO FARMERS AND OTHERS.—We, the undersigned Magistrates of the county, advise and request the farmers and others who have thrashing-machines to lay them aside.

"JACOB ASTLEY.

"J. P. BOILEAU, Jun.

"Melton Constable, Nov. 26, 1830."

BEDFORD, Nov. 28, 1830.—I have to acquaint you that a most destructive fire broke out last evening, (Saturday) in a farm-yard situated at Wootton, about six miles from Bedford, in the occupation of Mr. Benson. The whole of his valuable hay and corn in ricks and barns was destroyed; the live stock was preserved, also the dwelling-house, being brick and tile, and the furniture. There is no doubt of its being the *atrocious act of incendiaries*. The fire was first discovered by the maid-servant. It appeared that some straw was lighted, and the wind being strong, the whole caught in a very short time; the engine was of no service whatever. I left the spot at eleven o'clock; it continued burning all night and to-day, notwithstanding the heavy rain which fell this morning. The farm belongs to *St John's College, Cambridge*. (I assure I hear.) I am grieved to say not any of Mr. Benson's property was insured; *he is ruined with a family of ten children*, a quiet and offensive man from Yorkshire; and has resided there two years. The magistrates of this town and county are taking every precautionary measure to suppress riotous and tumultuous assemblies, by swearing in a vast number of special constables in the divisions of the county, *dividing them into sections, commanded by chiefs*.

The following is an extract of a letter from Amphill, near Biggleswade (Bed.), received to-day:—

"I have just been visiting the ruins of a dreadful fire which happened near this place last evening. The whole of the buildings and farming stock has been destroyed. What adds to the detestation of this abominable transaction is, that the sufferer is completely ruined by having neglected to insure his premises. He is a widower with no less than nine children. It is strongly suspected to be the work of *two gentlemanly-looking men*, who have been lurking about for the last day or two, and making inquiries among the cottagers, of a suspicious character. I think the country is becoming very alarming."

We learn by the accounts from Surrey, that the incendiaries are at work at *Homstead*, where they set fire to two wheat-stacks belonging to a Mr. Turner. Fortunately one of the stacks was saved by the exertions of the inhabitants.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Nov. 28.—The annexed address is getting up here, and was only ready to sign on Saturday at noon, and to-day it has five hundred signatures:—

"At a meeting of several of the inhabitants of Loughborough, the following Address to his Majesty was agreed upon, and is now in the course of signature at the Free-school:—

"We, the undersigned Clergy, Gentlemen, Merchants, Bankers, Manufacturers, Artisans, Labourers, and other inhabitants of the town of Loughborough and its neighbourhood, beg humbly to approach and congratulate your Majesty on the resignation of the late Ministry, and respectfully to thank your Majesty for

having appointed a Ministry pledged to abstain from interference with the internal concerns of Foreign Powers; to introduce such a Reform as will cause the voice of the people to be fairly heard in parliament; and to pursue all practicable measures for relieving the distresses of the country by strict economy in the public expenditure, and by reducing as much as possible the pressure of taxation and other burdens under which many of your subjects very grievously suffer. Convinced that the burning of corn-stacks can only increase the price of provisions, which is already so high that many of us can scarcely support ourselves and our families, we lament the disturbances which have taken place in various parts of the kingdom, and beg to assure your Majesty that there is no disturbance in this part of the country, and pledge ourselves to the utmost of our power to endeavour to prevent any from arising; and should any such unhappily occur, to exert ourselves to the utmost to bring the offenders to justice. And we pray your Majesty to rely on the affections of your loyal and faithful people.

"JOSEPH PAGET, Chairman.

"THOMAS CRADOCK, Secretary."

SURREY.

On Sunday, about eleven o'clock, a large haystack, on the premises Can Hatch, Banstead, the late residence of Humphrey Howorth,

M.P., de^d, di^d to be on fire. The neighbours soon collected, and by dint of most extraordinary exertions succeeded in saving about five loads of hay. Whilst engaged in putting out this fire, another was seen to break out at the opposite side of the parish, and which turned out to be in the rick-yard of Mr. Turner; two stacks of corn were partially destroyed; and by the assistance of the Carshalton engine, and numerous labourers, the fire did not spread to the adjacent stacks. Glass bottles were found in the stacks fired, and it seems that late in the previous evening a man was seen to come out of Mr. Turner's rick-yard, and drive off in a gig.

ESSEX.

COGGESHALL RIOR.—The windows of two of the overceers of this place were broken in the evening of yesterday evening, by a mob excited by the enforcement of a poor rate agreeably to a late valuation. The exertions of the peace officers, aided by the respectable inhabitants, succeeded in restoring tranquillity. On Tuesday a disposition to create a disturbance was evinced, but two Magistrates, the Rev. C. Dalton and W. W. Luard, Esq., visited the town, and swore in one hundred and fifty special constables, which measure prevented the idle and ill-disposed from repeating the disorders of the preceding evening. Two or three labouring men were taken into custody for a breach of the peace, but on their expressing contrition for their offence, and promising not to repeat it, they were discharged, with the understanding that if they kept their promise, no further proceedings

would be taken against them. Mr. Evans, clerk to Mr. Mayhew the solicitor, was also taken into custody on Tuesday, charged with having interfered with the officers in the performance of their duty. He was kept in custody till Wednesday afternoon, when depositions were taken in his case, and he was held to bail to answer the charge at the Quarter Sessions; but at the intercession of several respectable inhabitants, he was discharged, on apologising for his indiscretion, and paying twenty shillings for the benefit of the poor of the parish.

At the tithe audit, on the 23d inst., at Lathington, the Rev. Robert Moore deducted 20 per cent. from the tithes.

About five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday last, a fire broke out in a barn upon Plank's Farm, Thaxted, occupied by Mr.

contents. By the speedy arrival of the engine and a very numerous body of farmers and labourers, who worked with the most indefatigable industry, the house was preserved. The satisfactory manner in which the labourers of that division of the county have been employed, partly in spade husbandry, by the occupiers of land, for the last three winters, and the fair wages they have been paid, preclude suspicion that this fire was the act of any malicious person. There is, on the contrary, every reason to suppose that a cat, upon the back of which a lighted coal was seen to fall, ran into the barn, and so caused the conflagration. The poor animal was found burned so dreadfully, that it was necessary to kill it.

SUFFOLK.

A meeting of the magistrates of the western division of this county was held on Monday in Bury St. Edmund's, at which his Grace the Duke of Grafton presided. The circular was read, and the feeling of the magistrates on the state of the county may be ascertained from the fact, that they report they have much satisfaction in stating that this division of the county, comprising one-third of its extent, has been happily exempt from the commission of those outrages and offences which have disgraced other counties. They also adopted a series of resolutions, declaratory of the tranquil state of that part of the county, and of the "good disposition which appears to animate all classes within the district, the general readiness of the occupiers of land to provide constant employment for the labourers, and the respectable conduct of the labourers themselves." These Resolutions have been forwarded to Lord Melbourne.

The Directors of the Western District of the Suffolk Fire-office have come to a resolution that no new insurance be effected on thrashing-machines, and that no new insurance on farming-stock and farm-buildings be granted, without a condition that no thrashing-machine is to be used on the farm during the continuance of the policy; and they also resolved to apply to the Home Secretary for

the extension of the rewards offered by his Majesty's Proclamation to the discovery of offenders in this district; to this application an immediate answer was returned, that the suggestion will be acted upon. Two stacks of wheat belonging to Mr. Woodward, farmer, at Sproughton, near Ipswich, were burned down on Monday night. The Ipswich engines were immediately on the spot, and succeeded in checking the progress of the flames. A general meeting of the magistrates of the whole county was to be held at Ipswich on the same subject.

TO THE CONSTABLES OF WOLVERHAMPTON.

We, the undersigned, deeming it indispensably necessary for the welfare, happiness, and safety of these kingdoms that the People should be more fairly and fully represented in Parliament, do hereby request you to call an early Meeting of the Inhabitants, of the propriety of petitioning both Houses on this important Subject. Likewise, to vote an Address to his Majesty, thanking him for the gracious permission he has given to his Ministers to bring forward a Measure of such vital interest to the Nation.

November 30th, 1830.

Fras. Holyoake	Wm. Clark
Stubbs Wightwick	Edward Turner
Richard Fryer	Thomas Walker
William Tarrant	Thomas Tomlinson
Geo. Briscoe	James Bradshaw
John Weaver	W. Pearce
J. Dehane, M.D.	R. W. Slack
Jos. Pearson	Fred. Walton
J. Wynn	Samuel Duncombe
Thos. Spanton	Joseph Baker
George Jones	Joseph Underhill
W. H. Sparrow	John Perry
John Shaw	John Tomlinson
J. P. Firmstone	Wm. Clark
John Lewis	Robert Perry
John Underhill	Benjamin Walton
Bep. Hicklin	John Crawley
W. B. Taylor	Jos. Foster
W. T. Price	John Barker
W. W. Cox	John Nev
W. Gill	T. Lovatt
Joseph Wac	Jos. Farmer
C. S. Clark	Thomas S. Simkiss
W. Walker	Edward Davenport

In compliance with the above Requisition, we hereby appoint a Meeting of the Inhabitants, to be held at the Public office, on Thursday the 9th day of December, at Eleven o'clock in the morning.

WILLIAM BATTY, } Constables.
JOHN LELOYD, }

November 30th, 1830.

TO the INHABITANTS of the BOROUGH of HUNTINGDON.

I beg to inform you that I have declined prosecuting the petition presented to what is called the House of Commons for setting aside

the partial and illegal election of Messrs. Calvert and Stuart the tools of the House of Hinchenbrook. I have taken this step from no doubt of success, but from the conviction that, in the present *critical situation of the country* it might not, perhaps, be quite safe to be found seated in that House, not as the representative of the industrious and intelligent inhabitants of Huntingdon, but of a few individuals only, the majority of whom have, by their sycophancy, their ignorance, and their servility greatly aided in reducing our common country to its present state of anarchy, confusion and insolvency. Neither did I feel myself justified in expending a considerable sum of money in obtaining a seat under a system which is upon the eve of being extinguished for ever.

Gentlemen, I have long predicted the present state of things, receiving from time to time as my reward the most unsparring malignity from those who batted on the taxes, and wallowed in pride and corruption; yet, consoled by conscious rectitude of intention, I never permitted myself to doubt but the period must ultimately arrive when the remorseless enemies of those who advocated the poor man's cause and the cause of reform and reduction of taxation, would have better cause to regret their unjust hostility and their unceasing persecution.

Alas! I fear events are fast hastening to the fulfilment of my predictions. The present administration (giving them credit for the best intentions) will, I doubt, find itself impeded in its desire for a redress of grievances, by the estrangement which has unfortunately so long existed between those who make, those who are to execute, and those who are to obey the laws; added to which I am also convinced that the moment the *quantum* of reform to be yielded becomes matter of public discussion, the present iniquitous system of delusion and corruption will be shaken to its foundation.

While I thus, Gentlemen, renounce, with the most heartfelt pleasure, any desire to represent the servile tools of the Borough, it will ever afford me the greatest pride and satisfaction to promote, by any means in my power, the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants at large, with whom I have had so long an intercourse.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your sincere friend
and faithful servant,
SAM. WALLS.

London, 22d Nov., 1830.

CIRCULARS TO THE LORD LIEUTENANTS AND MAGISTRACY OF COUNTIES.

(Copy.)

To the Lord Lieutenant of the County of

Whitehall, Nov. 25, 1830.

In consequence of the acts of outrage and violence which have taken place, and still

continue to take place, in different parts of the country, I am commanded by his Majesty to urge upon you, in the strongest manner the necessity of taking, with the least possible delay, such measures as may be effectual for the repression of tumult, the preservation of the public peace, and the protection of the properties and lives of his Majesty's subjects. For these purposes I am assured that your will feel that the utmost diligence and energy should be exerted in concerting measures with the gentry and yeomanry of the county, in assembling and strengthening the civil force, and in disposing and arranging it in such a manner, as may secure its general union and co-operation. In order that your efforts may receive the most effectual support and assistance, I have the honour of enclosing the copy of a letter which I have addressed to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors and other Magistrates, having jurisdiction within the county over which you preside. Reposing the firmest reliance upon your zeal, it is unnecessary for me to recommend the most prompt and immediate personal superintendence of those parts of the county in which insubordination and disorder may unfortunately prevail; but it is my duty to represent, that if any circumstances should prevent your actual

greatly to be desired that your should lose no time in appointing a Vice-Lieutenant under the provisions of the 46th Geo. III. c. 90. sect 46. Under the present circumstances, I shall wish to hear from you as speedily as possible after the receipt of this, and I remain with great respect,

Your most obedient and
faithful servant,
(Signed) MELBOURNE.

(Copy.)

Whitehall, Nov. 25, 1830.

SIR,—In the present disturbed state of the country, I am commanded by his Majesty to express his confident expectation that all Magistrates will act with promptitude, decision and resolution, which circumstances so imperiously require.

The open acts of violence, and the secret and malicious destruction of property, which are both of them daily taking place, demand that the powers intrusted to the Magistracy should be exercised with a firmness and a vigour which are not required in more ordinary times.

At the same time, therefore, that you will maintain a strict observance of the law, you will not fail to use the greatest activity for the detection of those offences which have unfortunately been lately of so frequent occurrence, and for the securing of persons of suspicious character; always bearing in mind, that the law invests Justices of the Peace with the fullest powers for these purposes, and affords the most ample protection to those of them who act with a view to the furtherance

of public justice, and without any corrupt or malicious motive.

It is unnecessary for me to observe, that measures which may strengthen the civil force of the country, by uniting and bringing it together, and giving it the power of efficiency which arises from communication and union, are loudly called for; and for the purpose of assisting this object, I beg leave to inclose a plan which has been adopted in the western district of the county of Sussex, and which has hitherto repressed tumult and maintained the public tranquillity in that part of the country.

In the discharge of your duty, and in your exertions to maintain the authority of the law, you may rely upon the most steady and effectual support. It is the determination of those whose duty it is to advise his Majesty, by all lawful means to repress outrage, and preserve the public tranquillity; and as on the one hand, your efforts for these purposes will be acknowledged as they deserve, so, on the other, any remissness or inactivity in the fulfilment of functions so vitally important will necessarily incur his Majesty's severest displeasure. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) MELBOURNE.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1830.

BANKRUPTS.

ARDERNE, R. H., High-street, Southwark, cabinet-maker.
BEDFORD, D., London-wall, victualler.
BOONE, G., Wells, Somersetshire, inn-holder.
DICKINS, W., jun., Northampton, tailor.
GARRAWAY, J., Bathaston, Somersetshire, baker.
HARROLD, E., Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, cotton-spinner.
JENKINS, J., Marshfield, Gloucestershire, dealer.
LOCK, H. A. U., Lower Thames-street, custom-house-agent.
MOODY, G., Lincoln, coach-maker.
MUMFORD, S., Staunstead street, Essex, corn-dealer.
NEIL, W., Romsey, brick-burner.
RAYNEIT, J., Red Lion-yard, Red-Lion-street, Clerkenwell, iron-founder.
RINDER, H., Leeds, victualler.
SPITTLE, G., Francis-street, Tottenham-court-road, horse-dealer.
TAYLOR, J., Green-Arbour-court, Old Bailey, type founder.
THOMSON, G. and J. C. Hill, Liverpool, merchants.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

Nov. 27.—PRICE, T., of the Town of Monmouth, coach-maker.
Nov. 30.—GLOVER, S., No. 57, Portland-road, Portland-place, Mary-la-bone, brick-layer and builder.

BANKRUPTS.

BELL, H., Crown-court, Threadneedle-street, ship-owner and merchant.
BRAGG, J., Aketon, Yorkshire, bleacher.
BRISCOE, R., Denton, Lancashire, provision-dealer.
BROOKS, T., jun., Hunter-street, Brunswick-square, music and musical-instrument-seller.
BROWN, J., of the Green Man, Old Kent-road, victualler.
COPE, H., North-street, Mile-end-road, cattle-dealer and cow-keeper.
CORDEN, W. J., Manchester, warehouseman.
FOSSICK, S., late of Mimsford-court, Milk-street, Cheap-side, and of Gracechurch-street, umbrella-manufacturer.
KETTELL, C., Tunbridge Wells, brewer.
LARKAN, S., Greenwich, victualler.
NOKES, W., late of Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars, but now of Rotherhithe, medicine-vendor.
PESKETT, G., Peckham, surgeon and apothecary.
SHIPMAN, R., Mansfield, grocer.
TIMMS, S., now or late of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, confectioner.
TRISTRAM, W., Willenhall, Staffordshire, butcher.
WATKINSON, J., Manchester, calico-printer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, Nov. 29.—

Our supplies of English Wheat continue so very short, that our buyers were tolerably free purchasers this morning of fine quality, at an advance of about 1s. per quarter in the prices since this day se'night; the middling and inferior sorts were not higher, and the stands were not quite cleared. Flour continues at last week's prices. We had a considerable quantity of Barley fresh up for last Friday's market, but very little since; yet the trade is particularly heavy, and from 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower since this day se'night. Beans of both sorts and Grey Peas maintain last Monday's value; but White Peas must be noted from 4s. to 5s. per quarter cheaper. In Oats, or other articles, no alteration.

Wheat	66s. to 72s.
Rye	28s. to 32s.
Barley	30s. to 36s.
— Blue	37s. to 41s.
Peas, White	40s. to 50s.
— Boilers	52s. to 54s.
— Grey	30s. to 39s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 43s.
— Tick	30s. to 41s.
Oats, Potatoe	28s. to 30s.
— Poland	—s. to 27s.
— Feed	28s. to 30s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last	30l. to 44l.

SMITHFIELD, Thursday.—This day's supply of fat stock was, throughout, limited; and in great part of middling and inferior quality. Prime Calves, of from 12 to 16 stone each, went off briskly, others tardily, at an advance of 2d. per stone; but with Beef, Mutton, and Pork, the trade was, in the whole dull, at Monday's prices. Milch Cows, though tolerably numerous, were in somewhat brisk demand, at an improved currency. A useful short-horns, with her small calf, producing from 20l. to 22l. The Smithfield Club's Cattle Show is to commence on the 9th, instead of the 10th, and to conclude on the 13th (the great Christmas market-day), as we before signified; whence it will be a fatter, instead of three day's exhibition.—Prime Beef, from 3 2d. to 3s. 10d.; middling Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.; middling Mutton, 4s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 6d.; Veal, 3s. 4d. to 5s.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 6d.—per stone of 8lbs., to sink the offal.—Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 34s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each.—Supply, as per Clerk's statement; Beasts, 441; Sheep 2,700; Calves, 171; Pigs, 190.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

BONOUGH, Monday.—Our Hop market has been brisker for new Pockets prior to the Duty coming out, and, from its falling short of general estimate, a further advance may be expected; at present it may be stated at 5s. to 10s. advance on new Pockets. Currency: New Sussex Pockets, 7l. 10s. to 8l. 15s.; Kent, 6l. to 10l. 10s.; choice, to 13l. 13s. 1829, 7l. 7s. to 8l. 1828, 6l. 6s. to 7l. 10s. 1827, 90s. to 100s. 1826, 75s. to 100s.

Old Hop Duty	£.	s.	d.
Canterbury Collection	18,634	14	1
Rochester ditto	32,973	18	0
Sussex ditto	26,932	6	11
Farnham ditto	4,547	6	4
North Clays ditto	1,151	7	5
Essex ditto	869	10	10
Hereford and Worcester do.	2,429	10	5
Rest of the kingdom	906	14	0

£28,047 8 1

MAIDSTONE, Nov. 25.—Our Hop market continues very dull. We have no few sales now, that we cannot say anything about prices.

WORCESTER, Nov. 24.—Scarcely any thing is doing in our market, and there is no alteration in prices.

Hay and Straw per load.	2l. 15s. 0d. to 4l. 10s. 0d.
Hay	3l. 10s. 0d. to 5l. 10s. 0d.
Clover	1l. 10s. 0d. to 1l. 16s. 0d.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent.)	82	82	82	82	82	82
Cons. Ann. }						

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 3.

The supplies are again small. Wheat is fatter dearer; other articles without alteration.

HISTORY OF GEO. IV.—The Third Number is published; the Fourth will be published on the 15th instant; and, in future, One Number on the 1st and 15th of every month, until I have concluded the History of the Regency and Reign of this "mild and benevolent" King. This history (like that of *Louis XV.*) will explain all the causes of the calamities and THE CHANGES that his successor has witnessed, and has yet to witness! And justice bids us bear in mind, that the present King has really had no hand in producing the state of things that we now behold.

LECTURE ROOM.

WANTED to rent, a large Room or Theatre sufficiently capacious to hold 1000 persons and upwards, fitted up, or, that can be fitted up, at a small expense. Letters stating terms and situation (which should be in a central part of London) Post paid, to the Office of the Register, 11, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

This day is published, price Three-pence, with a characteristic Wood-cut, at 62, Fleet Street.

THE very interesting LIFE and HISTORY of SWING, the Kent Rick-Burner; showing the real cause of all the Fires kindled by Swing and his comrades.

PLACES, PENSIONS, &c.

CARPENTER'S Letter to Lord Althorp on the TAXES UPON POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, published this day, size of *Examiner*, price 4d., contains, in addition to other matter, a list of the places, pensions, emoluments, &c., filled and enjoyed up to 1830, reprinted from the returns just laid before the House of Commons.

The following have been published, each containing as much matter as the *Morning Herald*, but printed in the same form as the *Examiner*, price 4d. each.

1. A Political Letter to the Duke of Wellington.
2. A Monetary Letter to Sir Robert Peel.
3. An Expostulatory Letter to the Commissioners of Stamps.
4. A Monetary Letter to the People of England.
5. A Letter to the Aristocracy of England.
6. A Second Letter to the Duke of Wellington.
7. Facts and Observations connected with the present time.
8. A Letter to Lord Grey.

Each of these publications comprises a comprehensive digest of Domestic and Foreign Affairs, with Stocks, Markets, Bankrupts, &c.

Extract from Cobbett's Ninth Lecture.

"They passed a law in 1819, the preamble of which said, 'Whereas the people read too much:' that is the proper version of the thing. It was said that certain cheap publications, pernicious to the morals of the people, were in circulation, and it was expedient that they should be suppressed, or something of that kind. *By that Act they prohibited any person to publish any thing in parts or numbers—that is, periodically—often than once a month, at a price less than six-pence. Now this gentleman is going to try the strength of that law: he is going to publish once a week at FOUR-PENCE. He will see what lawyer Scarlett will do with that precious Bill. The truth is, men will bear it no longer, and they have found some one to try it, and I trust I will be one of the foremost to support him: it is my duty to do so, and I will support him to the utmost of my power. I trust that he will be supported by the public also—that every man in the kingdom will come forward and support him in his determination to compel lawyer Scarlett and the rest of them, to tell us, in plain language, why they require this law."

The Political Letters" may be had of every Book-seller and Newsman in the kingdom.

The Office is removed from No. 1, Bonc-Street, to No. 21, Paternoster-Row, where advertisements and communications may cut.

PROSPECTUS.

On Saturday, the 1st of January, 1831, will be published, the first Number of a new Weekly Newspaper, to be called

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE. This Paper, which is the exclusive property of the Working Classes, will, of course, be devoted to promote their interests, and, through the interests of every other class of the community. As the productive class form an immense majority of the people, and are, in fact, the soul and sinew of the nation, their happiness and well-being ought to be the first objects of attention. For "*when the condition of the labourer is depressed, the prosperity of the other classes can rest on no solid foundation.*"

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE will point out the means by which their labour, their only property, may be protected, and their condition improved. While every species of inanimate property is guarded and protected, with the most scrupulous anxiety, by legislative enactments, there is no law to protect that most valuable of all property, that which, in fact, gives value to all, **LABOUR.** We shall espouse the cause of indigence and weakness against affluence and power, in whatever shape, or in whatever quarter, we find them. We shall endeavour to show the British artisans the means by which they may secure their due proportion of power and influence in the councils of the state. We shall unceasingly urge them to the speedy adoption of

those means; and we shall employ or recommend none but such as are perfectly legal, honourable and safe. We shall endeavour to expose the popular errors of allowing labour to find its own level, and of the impolicy and mischievous consequences of combinations among workmen. We shall prove, that the idea of independence, in any shape, among the working classes, in the present circumstances of this country, without combination, is an utter absurdity. The great object, then, of our labours, shall be to unite the productive classes of the community in one common band of union for their mutual protection. As their wants, their wishes, and their interests are the same, their exertions should be directed to one common object. We shall endeavour, then, to collect their scattered energies into a common focus, to give them importance and consequence, by acquainting them with their strength; to consolidate their power, by limiting their exertion.

The politics of the **VOICE OF THE PEOPLE** will be in full accordance with the people's will. Raised on the broadest principles of independence, it will support only those men, and advocate those measures, which are calculated to promote the public good. And it will vigorously oppose both men and measures that do not aim at the same end. Stayed by no partial interests, pledged to no party, and fostered by no faction, **THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE** will be the strenuous and inviolating advocate of popular rights. We shall contend under all circumstances for universal suffrage and short parliaments; but above all, and before all, for that great security of independence, that antidote to corruption, perjury and crime, that sacred shield of freedom, and key to every other political right, the **VOTE BY BALLOT.** In short, our political creed may be comprised in these few, but emphatic words, of that venerated veteran in the cause of liberty, General de la Fayette, "For a nation to love liberty, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it."

As regards the great but dubious question of religion, we shall carefully abstain from meddling with it. Recognising, as we do, the most extensive sense of the term, the sacred right of every human being to worship his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience, we shall not dare to trespass on that right. Satisfied of the soundness of our own religious opinions, we shall not presume to obtrude them upon others. As our business is with this world, and not with the next, we shall leave every man at perfect liberty to form his theological opinions in such a way as may be most in accordance with his circumstances and convictions.

We are by no means insensible of the great difficulties we shall have to encounter in the performance of this great duty. The selfish and interested capitalists, the pampered aristocrats, and the innumerable horde of tax-eaters, will unquestionably be among those

who will oppose our progress. We may also calculate on the opposition of the obstinate, perverse, and short-sighted among ourselves, at least until the advantages of such an organ of communication become so apparent at last as not to admit of dispute. Difficult as must be the task of conciliating all these various and conflicting interests, we nevertheless

we make no pretensions to what is called *fine writing*, we trust we shall be able to make ourselves understood. We shall endeavour to blend vigour of thought with moderation of sentiment; and while we censure with boldness we shall not descend to abuse. The only weapons we shall employ with our antagonists shall be reason and argument; the only indulgence we require is the patience of an impartial hearing.

In addition to the ordinary intelligence of Newspapers, THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE will contain copious reports of public meetings, but more especially of the industrious classes. The Paper will be printed on an entirely new type, cast expressly for the purpose at the first letter-founders in the kingdom.

Orders and advertisements will be received by Mr. Lewis, No. 6, Market Street, Manchester; by Messrs. Newton and Co., 5, Warwick Square, Warwick Lane; Mr. W. E. Andrews, 2, Oxford Arms Passage, Warwick Lane, Newgate Street, London; and by the General Newspaper Agents in all parts of the country.

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.—Office 1, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street.—On SATURDAY EVENING, the 11th of DECEMBER, will be published, price Four-pence, a Folio Pamphlet, printed in the form of A DAILY NEWSPAPER, which will embrace, in addition to Original Remarks upon Politics; Literature, the Drama, &c., a Reprint of all the News of the Day, Domestic and Foreign, from the most approved Reports of the Morning Papers, including the usual Commercial Intelligence, Gazettes, Markets, &c.

To be followed on each succeeding Evening by a similar but wholly distinct Publication, the object of which will be to ensure to the People of the United Kingdom, the means of informing themselves of the nature and tendency of the Events passing around them, free from the prohibitory operations of the Newspaper Tax.

Printed and published by C. M. RICH, at his office, 1 Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, and sold by all Booksellers and News-men.

NEW WEEKLY NEWSPAPER.

On the 1st of January, 1831, will be published, at the Lancet-office, No. 210, Strand, the first Number of a WEEKLY NEWSPAPER, to be entitled

THE BALLOT. The present is an awful crisis; the People, the industrious, the

persevering, the honest, the moral People of England, are pressed down to the earth, literally ground into the dust, by the enormous weight of unjust and unequal taxation. Manufacturers are distracted and half ruined, Tradesmen are wretched and insolvent, and the PRODUCEIVE CLASSES, in return for their never-ending toils, can scarcely procure sufficient of the coarsest food to sustain the enervated functions of human life. With the exception of those who fatten upon the Taxes, with the exception of the high bred, high-fed, pampered Aristocracy, the nation is in a condition of unexampled misery. To mitigate these horrible sufferings, to assist in obtaining for the People their just rights, and, when obtained, to secure to them those rights, will be the constant, the undeviating aim of the Editor.

The Country is at last awakened to a sense of its danger, and the demand for "Reform in Parliament" has become loud and universal, that the wishes of the People can no longer be resisted with safety by the State. The plunderers of the national purse are giving way, and freely exhibit the signs of "conciliation;" but they are humble only because they are beaten, and hypocritically talk of yielding as a *don*, that which they *do not* longer withhold as a right. Reform *must* come, and as certainly must it include VOTE BY BALLOT, or it will be a fraud, a mockery, a cheat; for without the *ballot* neither the elector nor the elected can ever be secure against the intrigues and corrupt designs of dishonest men—against the domineering power of courtly and aristocratic influence. Our motto, therefore, ever has been, and ever will be—**THE BALLOT.**

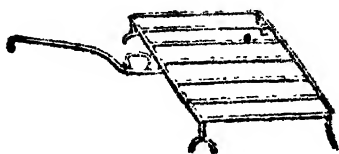
As a vehicle of News, and a record of Political and Literary Intelligence, this Paper will form a complete Journal of the topics and events of the week, and its pages will embrace discussions on every subject which can be expected to interest the public; consisting of—Debates in Parliament; Agricultural Affairs; Manufactures; Markets; the DEBT, mis-called "Funds;" Home and Foreign News; Proceedings in the Law Courts and Police Offices; Gazettes; Public Meetings; Court, Naval, and Military News; the most prominent of the LEADING ARTICLES from the daily Journals; Literary Intelligence, and Reviews; the Drama; Fine Arts; Markets; &c. &c. The utmost freedom of criticism will be observed on the official conduct of public men, but the pages of THE BALLOT will never be sullied by attacks on private character.

The price of the Paper will be *Sevenpence*.

Advertisements received at THE LANCET OFFICE, 213, STRAND.

THE BALLOT can be sent, free of expense, nearly 200 miles on the day of its publication. Orders for the Paper should be forwarded to the NEWSMEN.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



"At last, it will come to a question of actual starvation, or fighting for food; and when it comes to that point, I know that Englishmen will never lie down and die by hundreds by the way-side."—*Register*, 20th October, 1815.

RURAL WAR.

SPECIAL COMMISSIONS.

TO THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE AND WILTSHIRE.

London, 6th December, 1830.

COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS,

THE BLOODY OLD TIMES, that sanguinary crew who hunted poor CASH to the gallows, who bellowed for the blood of the Watsons, who urged the King of France, on his restoration, to murder a large part of the people of France, who defended the massacre of the Protestants at Nismes; that bloody sheet, that most infamous of all the parts of the mercenary and infamous daily papers of London; that bloody newspaper bawled for SPECIAL COMMISSIONS, and Special Commissions are about to sally forth upon *Hampshire and Wiltshire*, in one of which Special Commissions is the name of SERJEANT WILDE! SCOTT ELDON (a name and a man to be borne in mind!) expressed the other day his "*infinite satisfaction*" that Special Commissions were going forth "*to expound the law to the ignorant men*" who were to be tried; but, then, if what SCOTT ELDON related, on the same day, were true, a set of interpreters ought to go with each Special Commission; for he said that, he had been informed that some of the jails were full of foreigners!

But how comes it that these *two counties* are selected for these *Special Commissions*? And why could not the *Squires*, by holding special sessions, as in *Kent*, have done the business? Let me stop here to observe upon this matter. Amongst the silly, or rather knavish, boastings about our "*happy constitution*," is, that all men are tried before, and sentenced by, JUDGES who are *independent even of the King*: who, when once appointed, cannot be displaced even by the King himself, unless they be first proved to have been guilty of some high crime. To keep them from all undue bias they cannot be members of the House of Commons; and though they sit in, they cannot vote in, the House of Lords, except such of them as are Peers. And *thus* is their purity and impartiality secured; and this is one of the great boasts of the vile knaves, who wish to uphold the present system. And while our *infamous press* is trumpeting this boast about the world, there is a *justice of the peace*, down at Canterbury, *sentencing men to transportation for life*, while he and all those who sit upon the bench and co-operate with him, derive their authority from the ministry of the day, are appointed by their sole will, and may, at any moment, and that, too, without cause assigned, *be turned out of their offices!* And these men can now *transport for life*, and that, too, in virtue of laws which, perhaps (as is actually the case with this Knatchbull), they have themselves *assisted to pass!* A few years ago a law was passed, and is now in force, *to transport men for poaching*; and the *justices of the peace*, many of whom *assisted to make this law*, were empowered *to pass such sentence!* Poh! you rascally knaves, who grind paragraphs and pamphlets about the "*independence of our judges!*" Poh! you vile Scotch and Irish rascals! Keep your breath to cool your burgoos and *tatties*: you will not persuade the people of *England* to admire a state

of things like this. This is one of the GREAT WRONGS that we now feel. In nineteen cases out of twenty, the common people have now *no trial by jury*, and are judged by men appointed and removeable at the absolute will of the ministry of the day. Is this what the enemies of real-reform call one of the "*institutions of the country*"? This is one of George the Third and George the Fourth's *institutions*. Would a reformed Parliament leave this "*institution*" untouched?

But, again I say, why send *Special Commissioners* into Hampshire and Wiltshire only? *BARING* and *BENETT* live in them, to be sure; and of *Barings* there are no less than *four* in the House of houses! But though this is, doubtless, a great deal, and though Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, are provided for by the Winter Circuit, why leave out Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, and, indeed, why leave out any except the TALKING COUNTIES; but, at any rate, why leave out *Norfolk*? There is a county as big and as populous as the two others put together; and there the Rural War has been far more general than in either of the counties of Hants or Wilts. There has been destruction of machinery of all sorts, and particularly COERCION ON THE PARSONS. And this is, after all, the most ticklish thing; for this is *Norfolk Petition* put into execution in what was deemed its most desperate part. Every-where the Norfolk *haws* seem to have the parsons first in their eye. In my last I inserted several proofs of this; and every post adds greatly to the number, amongst which, as an instance of the discriminating powers of the *haws* of Norfolk, take the following from the *Norfolk Chronicle* of the 4th instant.

On Monday a number of persons of the labouring class assembled at Long Stratton, and proceeded to the Swan Inn, where the *Rev. Mr. Holford's tithe-audit* was about to be held, and declared they would not suffer the *Rev. Gentleman* to receive his *tithe*, nor the dinner to be served up, unless he would agree to a reduction; their demand not being complied with, they *frustrated the Rev. Gentleman*, and treated him in a very brutish manner,

and afterwards went to his house and broke the windows. They also behaved in a similar manner to the *Rev. Mr. Wiggott the Minister of Abington*, who happened to be there, and but for the spirited interference of a neighbouring gentleman, who rushed in among them and rescued him, they would probably have done him a serious injury. On the next day (Tuesday) a similar scene of riot and confusion would probably have taken place at Forcett, it being the day fixed for the *tithe-audit of the Rev. Mr. Jack*, of that Parish. The *Rev. Gentleman*, however, being warned of what was intended, left his house early in the morning, and ordered his servants to distribute the meat which had been provided for the *tithe feast, among the poor of the parson*. About 10 o'clock a number of riotous persons assembled in the village and proceeded to the parsonage-house, where, on being informed that *Mr. Jack* was not at home, they would not believe the report, and ransacked the house in search of him, vowing vengeance against him; and not being able to find him they proceeded to the *parson-house* and pulled down a part of it. We do not learn, however, that they in any case carried off any property. Similar proceedings took place at *Sturtevant's*, but a party of military arrived and dispersed the mob. A numerous party of labourers assembled on Tuesday, at the *Haddiscoe, Crown*, in Toft, where the *tithe-audit of the Rev. Thomas Ellis* was to be held; they broke the windows and furniture, and prevented the dinner taking place, and kept the *Rev. Gentleman* in bodily fear till half-past ten at night.

And can this Church stand? Can this monstrous mass of abuses remain any longer to oppress and insult this nation? If these labourers had read every line of the *History of the Protestant Reformation*; if they had read the second volume as well as the first, and had not only acquired a perfect knowledge as to the *origin of tithes*, but also as to the ancient mode of *distributing them*; if they had read all the Holy Scriptures, all the Fathers of the Church, all the canon-law, all the common law, all the statute-law; if, in short, they had all been profound and honest lawyers, and had known as well as I know, that the tithes belonged, and still belong, in right and in law, to the indigent labourers more than they do to the parson, and that what is called *church property* is, in fact, *public property*; if all these sources of knowledge had been open to them, and if this just conclusion had been settled in their minds; if they had ascertained with legal precision, worthy of so many

Lords Chief Justice, the difference in the rates of *out* and of *tithes*, they could not act with more just discrimination than that which marked their conduct in the above cases. But, all over the country, particularly in Sussex, but, indeed, every-where, they have distinguished between the holders of *private* property and the holders of *public* property, for which latter, too, they see that *nothing is done*, that *nothing is given*, that, in most cases, *no show even of service* is rendered by those who actually pocket the amount of the tithes.

IN NORFOLK PETITION we were for an *application of a large part of the church property to public purposes*. The BAWs are making the application without an act of Parliament; and the Government may be assured ninety-nine hundredths of the people, *in the middle rank of life*, approve of their conduct. Speaking of the people, with the exception of the aristocracy, the corrupt corporate bodies, and the clergy themselves, there is not one man in the whole kingdom, rich or poor, who is not for an appropriation of the church property, as it is called, to public purposes; not only the *tithes*, but the college lands and those of the deans and chapters; and no minister, be he who he may, will, be able to get along for two years, and I hardly think for one year, unless he listen to the nation's voice as to *this matter*. The burden of the tithes is far from being the sole cause of the people's dislike of the clergy: the conduct, that is to say, the general conduct, of the beneficed clergy; their non-residence, their pluralities, their treatment of their curates, their being justices of the peace, and the most severe ones too; and, then, the crying injustice of a rector or vicar taking totally away from a parish a thousand or two pounds a year, and leaving the man who does the duty a hundred! It is notorious that, from these causes, and from other concurrent causes, the country churches are *absolutely deserted*. Every one who has eyes to see, must see, that, as to religion and morals, the establishment is become of no use, and

is, indeed, mischievous, instead of being useful. Then again, it has every-where and on all occasions been long observed, that the parsons are the bold defenders of *all abuses* and *all corruptions*; that they are ready to defend things which *all other men* confess to be bad; and that towards those, towards all and every one of those, who have endeavoured to cause a reform of abuses, they have shown a degree of bitterness, of implacable and foul malignity, that has been shown by *no other men* of any description. Even the *boroughmongers* themselves have been less savage, in this respect, than these black-coated abettors of corruption. And they seem, whenever they are not in immediate dread to persevere to the last. For my own part, I have been a constant object of their malignity for the last twenty years of my life. They have shown their malignity towards *every man* who has been a foe of corruption; but especially towards me, in their eagerness to pursue and destroy whom, they seem to have forgotten "the whore of Babylon," and even the devil himself.

One of these fat and malignant fellows, who calls himself "the Reverend Charles Day, LL.B., Vicar of Rushmere and Playford, Suffolk," has just published a pamphlet, price *one penny*, the object of which is to wheedle the labourers of his parishes and neighbourhood to be content to eat *potatoes*, while he greases his rosy gills with roast beef and turkeys. He could not, however, discharge this part of his ghostly duties, without, at the same time making an attack upon me, though he had, I dare say, never seen me, and though he says that his parishioners know nothing at all of me; but urged on by his irresistible hellishness, he thus drags me in: "My dear parishioners: * I feel it to be my duty to address a few plain words to you upon a subject which many of you have not only brought before me, but which has also been a subject of conversation among yourselves. You have heard that certain cards and bills have been scattered about the town of Ipswich and neighbourhood, as also about

"our own parish: you have likewise heard that threatening letters have been sent to respectable persons, as well as that a great deal of property has been *destroyed by fire*. Now, it is my desire to say a few words to you, my poor friends, that you may be encouraged to *keep separate* from persons who are connected or connecting themselves with such wicked proceedings. There are, and have been for a long time, going about the country, a number of *desperate bad characters promoters of sedition and insubordination*, and also an *envious, restless individual*, of whom, by-the-by, you know nothing, called VERACITY CONBETT, a sort of *travelling mountebank*, who, under the pretence of making some persons happy, and others very wise, gets them to put their money into his pocket; this being done, he throws about a few brands of discord, and says just enough to make the uneducated part of his hearers *dissatisfied with everything and every body*, and marches off, having left behind him nothing, save the remembrance that he had *trotted away with their money*, which they had foolishly given him to make them miserable. However, I will not detain you in writing about a man who blows *hot or cold*, and if he *speaks the truth*, it is very much doubted whether it is *not by mistake*."

A company of this vagabond's "*dear parishioners*" took his pamphlet, and sent it off to me, paying 1s. 4d. postage to get it to me, and telling me, that they, who were amongst my readers, should have deemed his canting wheedling rubbish unworthy of notice, had my name not been in it. Now, here is a fellow, gobbling up the produce of two livings, of whom I never said a word in my life; here is this fat and lazy and luxurious fellow, wallowing in superabundance, taken by *compulsion*, too, from the toil of two parishes, with audacity sufficient to enable him to stigmatise as mountebank and selfish impostor, a man who has never, in the whole course of his life, touched, directly or indirectly, one single farthing

of public money. If some friend at Rushmore will write to me, postage paid, I will send him, for the use of the two parishes, a copy of the *History of the Protestant Reformation*; and if they read that, and particularly the *Introduction to the Second Volume*, they will see what sort of *right* Parson Day has to his tithes. I will also send them a few copies of the "*Poor-man's Friend*," and of the London Petition to the King (which he did not receive) and of my recent petition to the two Houses of Parliament. When they have read these, they will see the very good reasons for Parson Day's *hating me*.

But this fellow is by no means singular in this respect: all the whole crew, in all parts of the country, high and low, old and young, with very, very few exceptions, have, for about twenty-two years, acted the same part towards me. The whole body has always been on the side of speculation, corruption, and abuses of all sorts: no matter of what kind it has been; this body has always been on its side. It was on the side of Trotter and Dundas; on the side of Mother Clarke and the Duke of York; on the side of Perceval and Castlereagh in the seat-selling affair; on the side of the Italian witnesses against the poor Queen. Such has *always* been the conduct of this body; always the foremost to call for coercive measures; the loudest in applauding them when adopted, and the most active and severe in carrying them into execution. It was a *parson* (Hay) who was the presiding magistrate at Manchester on the bloody 16th of August, 1819, and he was immediately afterwards rewarded by having the great living of Rochdale, in Lancashire, given to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in addition to a great living that he already had in Yorkshire. Such has been the uniform conduct of this body of men, and such has been their conduct in all respects, that it is notorious that the country churches are, as I have said, almost wholly deserted by the common people; so that the establishment is become, in fact, of no use at all, and, at any rate, answers none of the purposes for which it was

intended. In the next number of *Two-penny-Truth*, which will be published on the first of January, I will address *to the working people* a clear and comprehensive account of the origin, the object, the just application, and the present unjust application, of the tithes; and when this shall be before the public, it will be seen that plain common-sense, without any book-learning, and, indeed, that Nature herself, has shown to the labourers, that this part of the produce of the earth must in justice belong, in part, at least, to them, or, at least, to such of them as are in want; nature, instinct, if they were destitute of all reasoning faculties, would forbid them to regard a tenth part of all the produce of the earth to belong, of right, to one man in each parish, and that man neither the owner nor the tiller of any part of that same land.

In the meanwhile, however, the parsons are *reducing their tithes* with a tolerable degree of alacrity! It seems to come from them like drops of blood from the heart; but it comes; and it must *all* come now; or England will never again know even the appearance of peace. "Out of evil comes good." We are not, indeed, upon that mere maxim, "to do evil that good may come from it." But without entering at present into the *motives* of the working people, it is unquestionable that their acts have produced good, and great good too. They have been always told, and they are told now, and by the very parson that I have quoted above, that their acts of violence, and particularly the burnings, can *do them no good*, but *add to their wants*, by destroying the food that *they would have to eat*. Alas! they know better: they know that one thrashing-machine takes wages from ten men; and they also know that *they* should have none of this food; and that *potatoes and salt* do not burn! Therefore, this argument is not worth a straw. Besides, they see and feel that *the good comes*, and comes *instantly* too. They see that they *do get some bread*, in consequence of the destruction of part of the corn; and while they see this, you attempt in vain to persuade

them, that that which they have done is *wrong*. And as to one effect, that of *making the parsons reduce their tithes*, it is hailed as a *good* by ninety-nine-hundredths even of men of considerable property: while there is not a single man in the country who does not clearly trace the reduction to the acts of the labourers, and especially to the *fires*; for it is to the terror of these, and not the bodily force, that has prevailed. To attempt to persuade either farmers or labourers, that the tithes do not do them any harm, is to combat plain common sense. They must know, and they do know, that whatever is received by the parson is just so much *taken from them*, except that part which he may lay out for *productive labour in the parish*; and that is a mere trifle compared with what he gives to the East and West Indies, to the wine-countries, to the footmen, and to other *unproductive* labourers. In short, the tithe-owners take away from the agricultural parishes a tenth part of the gross produce, which in this present state of abuse of the institution, they apply to purposes not only not beneficial, but generally mischievous to the people of those parishes.

The accounts from Cambridgeshire say, that *since the terrible fires* that have taken place in that county, "the magistrates have met, and resolved *immediately* to make inquiry into the *actual state and condition of the poor in every parish of the county*." Very just, very wise; but never so much as *talked of*, much less *resolved on*, until the labourers rose, and the *fires* began to blaze. The writer, who commends this wise resolution of the magistrates, observes, that if the *inquiry* so strongly recommended by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Stanhope, last spring, had been adopted, these calamities would have been prevented. No: they would not. There have been inquiry after inquiry by committee after committee; the horrible state of the labourers has been well known for twenty years; and there never has been any measure even *proposed* to better their lot. Oh! no: *it is* that ought to have had this praise, *seventeen years ago*,

and every year and every month and *almost every week*, since that time. From *across the Atlantic*, what appeals, what earnest appeals, did I make to the Parliament in behalf of the labourers of England! What solemn warnings did I give the aristocracy from Long Island! Whatever other duty I may have neglected, I have never, *no never*, neglected my duty towards the working people of England. I have never written any book, be the subject what it might, into some part or other of which I did not contrive to introduce their hard case, and to plead for justice in their behalf. So that this newspaper vagabond of Cambridgeshire might have thought of my long-continued efforts, when he was applauding the mere slight attempts of Lord Stanhope and the Duke of Richmond. Ah! base newspaper vagabond! You, and all of you combined, aristocracy and parsons and fundholders and all, cannot hide from the working people *who it is* that has been their true and constant friend; and I shall see you, one of these days, as eager to give the praise to me, as you are now anxious to withhold it from me.

But coming now to the SPECIAL COMMISSIONS, what are they to do? Scott Eldon says, that they are to *expound the law to the ignorant people*; and, indeed, it may want expounding if it be *the law of George IV.*, the "*mild and benevolent George IV.*" it will require a long deal to prove the *mildness* of it, as well as to explain its meaning. If the Judges go to put *new laws* into execution, those *death-dealing laws* which were the work of the *mild* reign of George IV., whose history, when I have completed it, will show what impudent liars the eulogists of this reign and regency are, it will require a great deal. But will these ministers SHED BLOOD? That is the question. Will they enforce the *new laws* against the labourers? Will they shed the blood of men made desperate by starvation? Will they shed the blood of men who saw their children dying for want of food? I hope, and I not only hope but *believe*, that *they will not*. They are not a fierce crew of hard lawyers, such as we have

seen in power before. The *chief* is a mild and kind man, very fond of his own family, and who is likely to make the case of the labourers his own. There is *one man*, who is in what is called the cabinet, that *I do not like*; but his office gives him little weight. But, indeed, the whole affair must rest on Lord Grey; and I have, as to this matter in particular, great reliance on his humane disposition. The only charge against him is, that he is *haughty*, and this charge runs through the French as well as the English papers. I once had occasion to wait on Lord Grey; I asked leave to do it; he very politely gave his consent; it was just before I fled to Long Island, to avoid Sidmouth and Castlereagh's and Scott Eldon's dungeons; he received me in the most obliging manner, and conversed with me a long while with the greatest affability. So that, as far as my knowledge of him goes, this charge is not well founded. Then, though Lord Melbourn did take part against us, in 1817, he is not a ferocious fellow; he is a good-tempered man, and not inclined to be bloody. There is Lord Holland, who never gave his consent to an act of cruelty; and there is Lord Althorp, too, who has never dipped his hands in blood, nor crammed victims into the dungeon; and the Lord Chancellor, with all his half-Scotch crochets, has, at any rate, *no blood about him*. These are the principal men; and, therefore, I hope that we shall see no blood spilled upon this occasion, though the *stock-jobbers and Jews* (through their organ, the *Bloody Old Times*) are *calling aloud for blood*!

The acts, committed by the labourers are *unlawful* in themselves. Nobody denies this; but all men agree that they were *starving*; and what says the law in this case? Why, the laws of God and of man, and especially the laws of England, say, that it is *no crime* to take *by force* that which is necessary to the preservation of life. It is against nature to suppose the contrary. All the great authorities concur as to this matter. PUFFENDORFF, upon this subject, says, "SELDEN observes, that, amongst

the Jews, upon a man's refusing to give such alms to another as were proper for him, the latter could *force him to it by an action at law*. It is no wonder, therefore, that they should forbid *their poor*, on any account, to seize on the goods of others, enjoining them to take only what private persons, or the public officers, or stewards of alms, should give them on their petition. Whence the stealing of what was another's, though upon extreme necessity, passed in that state for theft or rapine. But now supposing *under another government the like good provision is not made for persons in want*, supposing likewise that the covetous temper of men of substance cannot be prevailed on to give relief, and that the needy creature is not able, either by his work or service, or by making sale of any-thing that he possesses, to assist his present necessity, *must he, therefore, perish with famine? Or can any human institution bind me with such a force that, in case another man neglects his duty towards me, I must rather die, than recede a little from the ordinary and regular way of acting?* We conceive, therefore, that such a person doth *not contract the guilt of theft*, who happening, not through his own fault, to be in extreme want, either of necessary food or of clothes to preserve him from the violence of the weather, and cannot obtain them from the voluntary gift of the rich, either by urgent entreaties, or by offering somewhat equivalent in price, or by engaging to *work it out*, shall either *forcibly or privily relieve himself out of their abundance.*"

* In the same just spirit runs the whole of our own laws. According to the laws of England, as laid down in the books, it was not felony nor larceny even to break into a house in the night-time to *get at victuals*, if the party were unable to get them in any other way. And Lord Bacon, in his Law Tracts, expressly says, "*If a man steal viands (victuals) to satisfy his present hunger, this is no felony nor larceny.*" The present Lord Chancellor, when, in one of his famous

rattling speeches about *education*, the poor he said that, in time, the labouring-man might pass his evenings in enjoying the writings of divine Bacon (whom he will not *imitate*, I hope), forgot this Law Tract, to be sure! The truth is, he knew nothing about the labouring-man, about his manners, his habits, his wants, or his pleasures. Think of a man, come home from plough, his limbs weary, every finger half as big as Lord Brougham's wrist, the whole as hard as so many sticks, and chapped with the wind and the frost; think of such a man, with his children climbing up upon him, or hugging his legs; think of such a man, who is asleep as soon as he has swallowed his coarse morsel; think of such a man turning over the leaves, and studying the *philosophy of Bacon*! But if he were to do it, he would find the above passage; and if it had any effect upon him, would not that effect be to urge him to use fraud or force to obtain that which he could not obtain by other means, to relieve the hunger of his wife, children, or himself?

Blackstone (following Hale) has contended, that *our laws* will admit of no *justification* for acts of force or fraud to get at victuals. But both of them found this assertion upon the fact, that *no one in England can be in such a state of want*; because, say they, there is, in every parish, provision made for the relief of indigent persons; and *because that relief is always at hand, and is given the moment it is applied for*. Aye, such is *the law*, or, such *was the law*, when these two Judges wrote. But this law has been altered by STRANGES BOURNE, the son of a Hampshire parson; *this law* is not in force; relief is not always at hand; the real overseer's power is annulled; the *hireling* has supplied his place; and do we not see, all over the country, the vengeance of the labourers on account of these hirelings! But, is it not notorious that many hundreds have been starved to death. Were not the men at Acton starved to death! Was not the woman at Marylebone starved to death, though she applied to the overseer? Talk of

fires, indeed! Talk of their being a *disgrace* to the country! The burning of all Marylebone would not be a crime half so disgraceful as starving this poor widow to death.

But, short of death, how great, merciful God, have been the sufferings of the labourers and their families! And is not the parish allowance *slow starvation*? Has not this been proved over and over again, before the committees of the House of Commons? Has it not been proved before those committees, that the allowance for a man at work has not been one half of what is allowed to the felons in the jails; has it not been proved before those committees, that a working man, his wife and three children, are allowed *less to live on than is paid to one common foot soldier*, who has clothing, fuel and lodging into the bargain, which the labourer and his family have not? Is not the state of the labourers that which I have described in the following petition to the two Houses of Parliament? And if this be their horrible state, will this Ministry *shed their blood*? No: I fear not to assert, **THAT THEY WILL NOT SHED THEIR BLOOD**, let the hell-hounds of loan-jobbers and Jews cry for blood as long as they may. The bloody old *Times* newspaper, which is the organ, and, perhaps, in great part the *property*, of this hellish crew, says, that the labourers "*are starving*," and "*that they have been cruelly oppressed*;" but that *some* of them must be made "*to suffer the severest penalty of the law*." So that this bloody crew would have men *put to death* for using the *only means* left them to save themselves from starvation!

No: this will not be done. The course of these ill-used men has been so free from ferocity, so free from any thing like bloody-mindedness! They have not been *cruel* even to their most savage and insolent persecutors. The most violent thing that they have done to any person has not amounted to an attempt on the *life or limb* of the party; and in no case, but in self-defence, except in the cases of the two *hired overseers* in Sussex, whom they merely

trundled out of the carts, which those hirelings had had constructed for them to draw like cattle. Had they been *bloody*; had they been *cruel*; then it would have been another matter; had they burnt people in their beds, which they might so easily have done; had they beaten people wantonly, which has always been in their power; had they done any of these things, there would have been some plea for severity: but they have been guilty of none of these things: they have done desperate things, but they were *driven to desperation*: all men, except the infamous stock-jobbing race, say, and loudly say, that *their object is just*; that *they ought* to have that which they are striving for; and all men, except that same hellish crew, say that they had *no other means of obtaining it*. And yet this bloody old newspaper calls for the shedding of their blood. This bloody old vehicle of lies, the printer of which was *made a magistrate* by SCOTT ELDON, sees the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons by BENNETT, stating that he and his brother magistrates of Wiltshire, calculated that every person in a labourer's family "*ought to have a pound and a quarter of bread and a halfpenny a day for food and clothing*;" and yet the infamous and sanguinary vehicle calls for the *blood* of the poor men of Wiltshire!

But *transportation* is little, if anything, short of *death*. And before even this be put in execution against these men, I am sure that Lord GREY will think well on what *his* sufferings would be at being separated for ever from wife and children; and that, too, for not being able to endure the sight of seeing them *perish* for want. I am sure that *he* will consider this. Were we in the hands of Sidmouth, Perceval, Liverpool, Castlereagh, or others that might be named, I should, perhaps, have held my tongue upon the subject; but I am sure that now we do not plead in vain. Lord MELBOURNE's circular to the magistrates (in another part of this *Register*) most judiciously contains an expression of the opinion of the Government, that the la-

bourers have, for some years past, greatly and unjustly suffered. I regard these words as of more value than *all the menaces in the world*; and I regard them, too, as an earnest of mercifulness in the Government; for, with this acknowledgment on their lips, how are they to *shed the blood* of these men, or snatch them for ever from all that makes life worth having?

Hitherto the conduct of the new ministry has given satisfaction to all good men. The explicit declaration of Lord ALTHORP (at the public-spirited town of Northampton), in *favour of the ballot*, has given satisfaction not to be described. Then, whatever errors there may be, all men have full confidence in the *honesty* of Lord Althorp. For my part, I could not believe it possible, till I saw it officially announced, that he had accepted of the office, that he holds. It is a most meritorious act on his part; it is a *monstrous sacrifice*; he *must* have made it for the good of his country, and from no other motive. "And, 'is it really so,'" said I to Mr. Wells, when he came and told me of it; 'then, we shall see no more Jew-jobbing, at any rate; we shall see no more petty clerks spring up and be seated in palaces, while their mothers are on the pension-list; we shall see no more Jews dining at Downing-street; we shall see no more *Nobles* springing up out of a fund-ing of Exchequer-bills." It really would seem that Lord Althorp had said: "Come; *it is high time that we see what is done with our estates*; and, *that one of ourselves have the care of the money.*" I remember that, the Spring before last, on a day after there had been a long bandying of compliments between GOULBURN and MANERLY, which ended in the latter *assenting* to the voting of about *fifteen millions of money*, I, in talking with Mrs. THOMAS WINNINGTON, who came to see my farm, said, "How can you, Sir, sit and hold your tongue, while those fellows are voting away your estates, with as little care about your opinions as if you were so many worms! How can you sit in silence, while

"the impudent fellows are at this work!"

There is another reason why I am glad to see Lord Althorp where he is; and that is this, that I look upon it as a sure sign, that "*national faith*" is no longer to be interpreted to mean, the *robbing of the whole nation to give double of triple pay to the Jews and loan-jobbers*. He never could; it is *impossible*; he never could have taken this office for the purpose of carrying on a traffic with the accursed Jews. That is impossible; he *must* have other objects in view; if he have them, the Minister must have them; and if this be really the case, *we may even yet escape a convulsive revolution*. But this is not to be accomplished without a Minister with the *people at his back*; and this I told my Lord Grey in 1822, in a letter which I will re-publish next week, and *every word of which applies to the present crisis*, as aptly as if written this very hour.

The case of Lord Grey and of the country is this: he has never had *power* before; when in before, he had no power; the last King hated him for his honest declaration against the *payment of his debts*, as stated in my first Number of the History of George IV.; he has never committed himself on the subject of the Debt; he did not join in applauding Peel's Bill, but expressed his doubts of the result. The case of the country is; that for the last twenty years and more, the land-owners, the clergy, and the great merchants and manufacturers, have thrown the burden of the taxes on the farmers, tradesmen, and particularly on the working people; so that it has become a *question between these latter and the fundholders*. These latter, particularly the millions of labourers, will bear the burden no longer. The landowners refer them to the fundholders. "No," say the labourers, "we do not know them; we cannot find them; the farmers withhold the food from us; we must go to them." The farmers go to the landlords and parsons; then it becomes a question between *these* and the *fundholders*; and this is the *question now*. "The land and the

"funds must come to an *open rupture* at last." I have said this five hundred times over, and this rupture is *now at hand*.

The funds (in their present unjust rate) will go at *any rate*; the church will be *furiously mauled*, at the least and the nobility, to be preserved, must get the people at their back; and this, as I have always said, they cannot have without letting the people choose their own House of Parliament, freely and fairly, and this cannot be without the ballot. Any attempt to refuse the ballot would now fill all the middle class of society with indignation. They would regard the refusal as a *premeditated design to defraud them*; and as the fraud would be ascribed to the aristocracy, the breach would then be made too wide ever to be healed. I am for a Government of King, Lords, and Commons; but, let what else will come, I am for the freedom, the happiness and greatness of England, and above all things, for the good feeding and clothing of those who raise all the food, and make all the clothing.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The petition which I insert below, was presented to the House of Lords by Lord KING, and to the House of Commons by Sir William Ingilby.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of William Cobbett, farmer, in the parish of Burnes, in the county of Surrey, dated this 4th day of December, 1830.

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT the labourers in husbandry have, for many years, been grievously oppressed; that, before the Protestant Reformation the laws of England effectually provided, that all indigent persons should be relieved out of the tithes and other revenues of the church; that, after that Reformation, the Poor-law of the 43d year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, made in lieu of the ancient provision, a provision by a general assess-

ment on the real property of the country; that this just, humane, certain, and ever-prompt provision continued to be made, under the last-mentioned law, for nearly two hundred years, always attended with the most happy effects; that this provision has, within the last forty years, been, by degrees, greatly diminished; and that, by two acts passed in the year 1818 (commonly called Sturges Bourne's acts), changing the mode of voting in vestries, appointing select vestries, authorising the employing of salaried overseers, abridging the power of regular overseers, and also of the magistrates in ordering relief; that by these two acts, and by regulations growing out of them, the just law of Elizabeth, which Blackstone describes as "founded in the very principle of civil society," has been, in effect, made an instrument in the reducing of wages, and in grinding the faces of the labouring people, instead of the means of their relief; that, thus, the labourers of England have been reduced to a state of want and misery without any parallel in the history of human suffering, and have been compelled to submit to indignities such as never were before offered even to negro slaves.

That it has been proved before committees of the House of Commons, that the allowance for the subsistence of a labouring man, including his earnings, has been, as fixed by the magistrates in Wiltshire, no more than one pound and a quarter of bread and one half-penny in money per day for food and clothes, with nothing for drink, fuel, or bedding; that it has been proved before the said committees, that formerly the labourers all brewed their own beer, and that now they never do it; that, formerly they ate meat, cheese, butter, and bread, and they now live almost wholly on potatoes, which they carry cold to the fields when at work there; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the honest hard-working labourer is not allowed more than about half as much food as is allowed the convicted felons in the jails and hulks; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the labourers

commit crimes in order to get fed and clothed as well as the convicts and felons; that the Magistrates of Warwickshire have declared in resolutions at their Quarter Sessions, that the labourers commit crimes in order to get into jail, the jail being a more happy place than their own homes; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the young women are, now-a-days, almost all pregnant before marriage, owing to fathers and themselves being too poor to pay the expenses of the wedding; that it has been proved before the said committees, that the labourers, having an assistant overseer for a driver, are compelled to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden; and that it has long been a general practice to put them up at auction, and to sell them for certain lengths of time, as is the custom with regard to the negroes in the slave colonies: that all these things have been proved to committees of the House of Commons, and that no remedy for the disgraceful evil, for such crying injustice and cruelty, has ever been adopted or proposed in either House of Parliament.

That, of all the crimes mentioned in Holy Writ, no one, with the sole exception of wilful murder, is so strictly forbidden and so awfully sentenced as that of robbing the labourer of his due share of the fruit of his toil; that God forbids us even to "muzzle the ox as he treadeth out the corn"; that he commands us "not to turn aside the poor in the gate from his right"; that he commands us to supply our labourers liberally and cheerfully "out of our flock, out of our flour and out of our wine-press;" then he commands us not "to harden our heart nor shut our hand against our poorer brethren"; that he has promised us blessings, if we obey him in these things, and that, in case of disobedience, he has told us, that "the land we inhabit shall tremble, that our feasting shall be turned into mourning and our songs into lamentations."

That your humble petitioner begs leave further to represent, that it has not, generally speaking, been owing to injustice and cruelty in the farmers and

other immediate employers that the working people have been thus unjustly and cruelly treated; that the employers, and especially the farmers, have, by the burdens of taxation, direct and indirect, been rendered unable to give to the labourers a sufficiency in wages to supply them with even the bare necessities of life, these necessities being taxed to an enormous degree; that the farmers and tradesmen have, from this cause, been compelled to withhold what was justly due to the working people, or to be totally ruined themselves; and that hundreds of thousands of them have, by this sole cause, and notwithstanding caution, sobriety, industry, and all the virtues of good citizens, been reduced to ruin and wretchedness the most deplorable, and actually make part of that huge mass of miserable paupers who now, to the shame and disgrace of the name of England, swarm over this once free and happy country.

That, as an undeniable proof that it is the taxes which have been the radical cause of these calamities, your humble petitioner begs leave to state to your right honourable House, that when the year's taxes amounted to 7,500,000*l.*, the poor-rates amounted to 1,100,000*l.*; that when the year's taxes amounted to 15,500,000*l.*, the poor-rates amounted to 2,300,000*l.*; and that now that the year's taxes amount to 63,000,000*l.*, the poor-rates amount to 7,500,000*l.*

That your humble petitioner is a farmer; that he possesses knowledge as to the agricultural state of the country, at once the most extensive and most minute; that he has for many years foreseen and explicitly foretold the present crisis, when the labourers, made desperate by hunger and nakedness, are seeking to obtain by violence that which has been refused to their just and legal demands, to the tears of their wives and the cries of their starving children; that he knows, that with the present taxes and tithes, even if there be no rent at all, the farmers are unable to pay the wages which common humanity exacts at their hands, and the paying of which is now become absolutely necessary to the peace of the country, and the safety

of property and of life; and that, therefore, he humbly prays, that your right honourable House will be pleased to pass an act, or acts, to abolish the assessed taxes, and all the taxes of the excise, and to take from the nation the intolerable burden of tithes.

And your humble Petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

PLAGIARISM.

LONDON COMMON COUNCIL.

"Come, let me strip these *daws* of stolen plumes."

I HAVE many times had to notice the *robberies* committed on me. For years and years the newspaper vagabonds have partly lived upon the plunder got out of my writings; and, as to *speeches in parliament*, there the plunder has been so manifest as to fill with indignation all men of right minds, and to leave behind a hearty contempt, not only for the plunderers, but for all their companions; for, to sit and listen to the stolen matter, without expressing scorn of the party, is worthy of contempt the most profound. Even in the *Bloody Old Times* (the paper of *Walters*) I have daily, almost, seen articles from my own writings, only *disguised*, partly by the stupidity of the *Walters* and partly by contrivance. Measure after measure have the Parliament and the Whitehall set adopted, which were originally suggested by me. The *salt tax*, the *docking of the parsons of their half-pay*, the curtailing of the *dead-weight widow's pensions*, and many other things that might be mentioned. It has generally taken me about *six years* to see the fellows *sneak out* with my propositions and arguments. But, of all the instances of *PLAGIARISM* on me, the one just committed by the *Common Council of GUZZLE-TOWN*, commonly called *London*, is the most impudent. Only yesterday (the 7th), the newspapers were crammed with the "brilliant and liberal" speech of MR. CHARLES PEARSON! and about

what? Why, on making a motion for the *erasure of the lying inscription*, which is on *THE MONUMENT*, on Fish-Street Hill. Oh! what a fine and powerful, and *convincing* speech! and what a just, and noble, and *liberal*, and enlightened *Common Council*, to have *discovered this blot on the character* of the City, and have resolved unanimously to *efface the lying inscription*! How tenacious they must be of their character! How keen in discovering anything that affects it! And, above all things, how *just* towards the Catholics, in doing this act of justice without any suggestion from any-body; all the while affair originating in their own intuitive *wisdom and benevolence*!

Now, then, Reader, take the two following paragraphs from the *HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION*, paragraphs, in the large edition, 370 and 431, and in the small edition, 369 and 430. Read these two paragraphs, which I here insert; and, when you are told that this PEARSON and his crew, took all my statements as the foundation of their proceeding, and never even alluded to my book, you will *judge* the crew according to their merits. Read these paragraphs; and then you will see what a despicable crew this is.

Who, then, can doubt of the motive of this implacable hostility, this everlasting watchfulness, this rancorous jealousy that never sleeps? The common enemy being put down by the restoration of Charles, the Church fell upon the Catholics with more fury than ever. This king, who came out of exile to mount the throne in 1660, with still more prodigality than either his father or grandfather, had a great deal more sense than both put together, and, in spite of all his well-known profligacy, he was, on account of his popular manners, a favourite with his people; but, he was strongly suspected to be a Catholic in his heart, and his more honest brother, JAMES, his presumptive heir, was an openly declared Catholic. Hence the reign of Charles II. was one continued series of plots, sham or real; and one unbroken scene of acts of injustice, fraud, and false-swearing. These were plots ascribed to the Catholics, but really plots against them. Even the *great fire in London*, which took place during this reign, was ascribed to them, and there is the charge, to this day, going round the base of "the Monument," which POPE justly compares to a big, lying bully.

"Where London's column, pointing to the
"skies,

"Like a tall bully, lifts its head, and lies."

The words are these: "This monument is
"erected in memory of the burning of this
"Protestant city, by the *Popish* faction, in
"Sept. A. D. 1666, for the destruction of the
"Protestant religion and of *old English*
"*liberty*, and for the introduction of *Popery*
"*and slavery*. But the fury of the Papists is
"not yet satisfied." It is curious enough
that this inscription was made by order of Sir
PATIENCE WARD, who, as ECHARD shows,
was afterwards *convicted of perjury*. BURNER
says, that one HUBERT, a French *Papist*,
"confessed that he began the fire;" but
HIGGONS (a Protestant, mind,) proves
that HUBERT was a *Protestant*, and RAPIN
agrees with Higgons! Nobody knew better
than the King the monstrousness of this lie;
but CHARLES II. was a lazy, luxurious de-
baucher. Such men have always been *un-
feeling and ungrateful*; and this King, who
had twice owed his life to Catholic priests, and
who had, in *fifty-two* instances, held his life
at the mercy of Catholics (some of them very
poor) while he was a wandering fugitive, with
immense rewards held out for taking him,
and dreadful punishments for concealing him;
this profligate king, whose ingratitude to his
faithful Irish subjects is without a parallel in
the annals of that black sin, had the meanness
and injustice to suffer this lying inscription to
stand. It was effaced by his brother and suc-
cessor; but, when the Dutchman and the
"*glorious revolution*" came, it was restored;
and there it now stands, all the world, except
the mere mob, knowing it to contain a most
malignant lie.

We have seen how cruelly the Catholics
were treated under "*good Queen Bess*" and
JAMES I.; we have seen how they were fined,
imprisoned, robbed, pillaged, and punished in
body; but, though the penal code against
them was then such as to make every just
man shudder with horror, we think it, then,
gentleness, when we look at its subsequent
ferocity. We have seen how Catholics were
fined, harassed, hunted, robbed, pillaged, in
the reign of "*good Bess*." We have seen the
same in the reign of her immediate successor,
with this addition, that Englishmen were then
handed over to be pillaged by Scotchmen.
We have seen, that Charles I.; for whom they
afterwards fought against Cromwell, treated
them as cruelly as the two former. We have
seen Charles II. most ungratefully abandon
them to the persecutions of the church by *law*
established; and, during this reign, we have
seen that the Protestants had the baseness,
and the king the meanness, to suffer the *ly-
ing inscription* to be put on the MONUMENT on
Fish-street Hill, in the city of London, though
Lord CLARENDON (whose name the law-
church holds in so much honour), in that
work which the University of Oxford publishes
at the "*Clarendon Press*," expressly says

(p. 318, continuation), that a Committee of
the House of Commons, "who were very *dili-
gent and solicitous to make the discovery*,
"never were able to find any probable evi-
"dence, that there was any other cause of that
"woful fire, than the displeasure of Almighty
"God." What infamy, then, to charge the
Catholics with it; what an infamy to put the
lying inscription on the pillar; what an act of
justice, in James II., to efface it; what a
shame to William to suffer it to be restored;
and what is it to us, then, who now suffer it to
remain, *without petitioning for its erasure*!

Now, I should not be at all surprised,
if the base *Catholic Aristocracy* (who
are the sediment even of baseness itself)
were to bestow some mark of their
gratitude on Mr. Charles Pearson and
the *liberal* Common Crew, of whom he
is a most *worthy* member. This crew
do not touch their *boroughs*, their *livings*
and their *impropriated tithes*. It is
aiming at these that these aristocratic
Catholics *hate me*. They wish that the
History of the Protestant Reformation
had never been written; for, as a vile
old lawyer, who has been their strappet
for many years, said, "Mr. Cobbett has
"done a great deal for our religion, but
"a great deal *against our cause*.
That is to say, "Against the *boroughmon-
gering* and against the *public plunder*
in which we wanted to share." That's
it; and nothing else; and, perhaps, in
the whole of the corrupt and rotten
mass, there is no part so corrupt and
rotten as the Catholic Aristocracy, who
seem to have become the worst of the
bad by their ages of longing after public
plunder. I knew this of them, and
said it of them, before I began to write
the "*History of the Protestant Reforma-
tion*." Therefore, it was not for their
good that I intended it. I intended it
as a blow at the church-parsons; and
a blow it was that will finally *decide*
their fate. The nobles may, by acting
justly towards the people, yet save
themselves; but nothing can now keep
up the church in its present state. It
is the *Jonah*; and overboard it must go,
or the ship must go down. Thus have
I, in this, seen *Pearson* and the *common*
crew the *TOOLS* for executing my
wishes, and, before long, I shall see
more important tools at work to exe-
cute other *fishes* of mine.

HOBHOUSE.

EVERY pretender is now getting his due. This little fellow, who made a speech at the Crown and Anchor in praise of the *Dead-body Bill*, seems to have found his proper place at last, as the reader will see from the following account in the *Morning Herald*, of the 4th December, 1830. To be *seven hands* held up for him, in a parish containing a *hundred thousand*, is not many; but it was *too many* for him; too many for the son of a man who has been receiving public money for nearly thirty years, and the husband of a woman who has been a pensioner nearly all her life-time; a man too who sits for a city, the people of which *palted him off the hustings of Covent-Garden with cabbages and turnips*, and sent scampering off into the church, at the heels of Burdett, just like *Sancho*, under the rib-roastings of the muleteers. Oh! how I have seen these two fellows brought down! Will they ever again show their faces before the people! Will they have that assurance?

Meeting, at Vestry, of St. Anne's, Westminster.—Yesterday morning, at 11 o'clock, a numerous meeting of the housekeepers of St. Anne's, Westminster, was held in the vestry-room at the parish-church, to consider the propriety of petitioning both Houses of Parliament against the house and window duties. Mr. SHARPE, churchwarden, in the chair. The vestry was summoned by the churchwardens, in consequence of a requisition having been presented to them, signed by 160 housekeepers. The petitioners deemed that no time was more favourable than the present for their petitions to be attended to by the legislature. The King was desirous to alleviate the distresses of his people; and the Ministry have declared it to be their intention to pursue the same object. Resolutions were, therefore, acceded to; and petitions founded on them, in accordance with the prayer of the requisition. It was then resolved that Lord Brougham should be requested to present their petition to the House of Lords, and Mr. Hume to the Commons. A prolonged discussion arose upon the proposition that Mr. Hume should be delegated as their representative of the petition to the Commons, since it was observed that Mr. Hobhouse was the more proper person. In answer, however, it was objected that Mr. Hobhouse had not devoted such strict attention to the interests of his constituents as was demanded of him; and that, therefore, they were compelled to withdraw their confidence. An amendment was put in favour of Mr. Hobhouse, when only

seven hands were held up in his support. The resolution for Mr. Hume was passed unanimously. Thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the vestry was dissolved.—*From the Morning Herald, December 4.*

To the Editor of the Register.

London, 6th Dec. 1830.

Sir,—In the letter from the neighbourhood of Cricklade, an extract of which appeared in the *Chronicle* of the 2nd inst., there was a passage relating to you; and as I think the *Chronicle* has done you an injustice, I consider it right that you should know it. In the extract given there is a passage to this effect: "These commotions are owing to *Cobbett's Treapenny Trash*." Now, Sir, this was not the only passage in the letter relating to you; and if the *Chronicle* had omitted altogether the mention of your name, I should not have complained; but, Sir, the writer in mentioning the resistance to oppression on the part of the labourers, and in inscribing that resistance to you, did so with approbation of your general conduct, and he added, that, as you had now proved your fitness for the office of premier, he hoped soon to see you there. As to the ascribing of the *Fox* to you, the fully is equal to the malignity. What, Sir? because you have been, for a quarter of a century, standing alone in the midst of a whole community, predicting that which has at length come to pass, is it to be endured, that those whose perverseness and wickedness have been the real causes, should blame you for foretelling it? As reasonable would it be to ascribe the appearance of a Comet to the person who had foretold its coming. Your predecessor *Noah* foretold the deluge, and warned the besotted people; but he did not cause the rains to pour down. The rebellion is the *Rebellion of the belly*, as Lord Bacon calls it; and surely no one will accuse you of having caused the labourers to go with empty bellies; or even with cold potatoes or raw sorrel in them. Hoping that the time is near at hand when your efforts for the happiness and renew of your country will be crowned with success,

I remain,

Your most obedient Servant,

A WILTSHIRE MAN.

PARSONS' PETITION TO THE LABOURERS!!!

Tunbridge Wells, 8th December, 1830.

SIR,—I saw this afternoon, in going into Tunbridge Wells, the following printed address stuck up upon the walls in several parts of the town; and I hope to put you to no expence nor further trouble than the reading the Kentish Parson's Petition.—I am, Sir, Your Constant Reader.

LABOURERS,—These questions have been

put to those who have been over-persuaded, by designing men, to join disorderly tumults, to raise their own wages by robbing the Parson of his Tithe, for which you will very soon be sorry.

He who robs the Parson robs the poor.

Who is most ready to do you any kind office, to give you relief if want, to feed you in hunger?

Who is foremost in signing Petitions for the distressed; who puts forward and manages subscriptions to provide you with coals and other necessities, in a severe winter?

Who is the best comforter to those in prison; who attends to your children in school and teaches them their duty?

Who concerns himself (perhaps more than you do yourselves) about your eternal welfare?

Who visits and comforts you in sickness when all worldly enjoyments are gone? Who shall you wish to see when you are on your death-bed, to console you, and relieve a troubled conscience? Who, at all hours, day or night, attends your call, not heeding the danger of infection, nor the misery of sighs, of distress, of anguish? Who kneels by your bedside, and offers up prayers for your peace and assistance, in that hour of need? Which of you would be satisfied to think that when you are dead, your body, or that of any of your dear friends, would be put into the ground without Christian burial?

Who performs this last office?

All these, and much more, the Parson does for you. Now what are you doing in return for him? Are you not trying to take from him the means by which he is enabled to assist you? Are you not *disturbing* his peace, and making him *uncomfortable* by your riotous conduct? Are you not trying to deprive him of that portion of his subsistence allotted him by law (time out of mind) in order that he may have leisure to attend to your welfare without labouring for it with his own hands. How is it that you have a church provided for you, where rich and poor meet together for divine service? Do you pay for it? No. Your betters pay. Do not be led astray by designing, interested men, but consider this thing from

A TRUE FRIEND,

who has paid Tithes many years.

PARLIAMENT.

Thursday, 2d December.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

LAW. Lord BROUGHAM, in a speech which takes up nearly five columns of the newspaper, brought in a bill for the amendment of the Law; or, as he, in the course of his speech,

expressed it, to *carry justice to every man's door!* This is coming on again, of course, before the alteration is to be attempted, and then we shall hear the objections of the lawyers; but the notion of having justice at every man's door is so preposterous; it is so opposite to what experience has found to be necessary, that I cannot think that this *extensive alteration*, as Lord Lyndhurst called it, will be suffered. It is proposed to make the experiment upon two of the counties of England first, and, if it answer, then to go on with the whole. But I will give the words of Lord Lyndhurst, it being impossible that I should give the speech of Lord Brougham.

LORD LYNDHURST: The ordinary course, my Lords, when measures of such vast consequence are first presented for your Lordships' consideration, is to lay the bill containing the details of these measures on the table, and then to order it to be printed; and to allow your Lordships a competent time to examine them thoroughly, before the bill is read a second time. Such is the course which, as I understand him, my noble and learned Friend proposes to follow on this occasion: so that your Lordships may have the opportunity of coming fully prepared, at the second reading, to discuss the principles and details of this *new and extensive alteration in the system of administrative justice.* At present I content myself with saying, that the plan is one of the highest importance; and I fully concur with my noble Friend in the opinion, that your Lordships are bound to give it your most serious attention. For we must consider that the effect of it, if it should be adopted by the Legislature, will be to *create fifty new Courts of Justice*, to be presided over by *fifty new Judges*, and each of these courts to be attended with the establishment which is necessarily connected with a Court of Justice. These may be considered as minor circumstances; but, certainly, the consequence of adopting the measure will be to make a wide and expensive alteration in our judicial establishments. When the bill shall have been printed, I will direct the most anxious and careful attention to its principles and the whole of its details, that I may come to the discussion on the second reading, as fully prepared as the most unremitting inquiry will enable me to be; and if, after the most anxious attention, and the most careful inquiry, I should feel myself compelled to differ from my noble and learned Friend, I will freely and candidly state to your Lordships the grounds and reasons of my dissent; but if, upon the most candid, careful, and anxious inquiry, I should be convinced that this is a

wise and salutary measure—a real improvement—then I will give it my most cordial and zealous support.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Election petitions took up the greater part of the time of this evening, but on Mr. Rice taking credit for the new Government, for having abolished the office of Postmaster General of Ireland,

Mr. HUME said, that in his opinion, all salaries over 500*l.* a year ought to be reduced one-half. Not including the officers of the House of Lords, or of the Courts of Law, 993 persons received an income of 2,056,574*l.*, which gave an average of 2,080*l.* to each. The officers of the House of Commons received 19,642*l.*; Judicial Officers, not including those of the Common Pleas, 466,830*l.*; Civil Officers under the Crown, 655,434*l.*; Diplomatic and Consular Officers, 251,621*l.*; Naval and Military Pensions to Officers, 334,327*l.*; Colonial Officers, 338,711*l.* Of these 161 enjoyed an income of between 2,500*l.* and 5,000*l.* a year. The incomes of 44 of them ranged between 5,000*l.* and 10,000*l.*; and there were 11 above 10,000*l.* a year. Two hundred and sixteen of them received a gross income of 916,807*l.* If the information which he possessed included salaries below 1,000*l.* a year, and over 500*l.*, they would be found to amount to upwards of 2,000,000*l.* It should be remembered how great was the expense of collection. The fact was, they could never come to a complete knowledge of the sums paid in that way until they should have a committee, such as had been appointed in the year 1810, on the motion of the Hon. Member for Dorsetshire, which led to a most valuable and important report. Before the late Government went out of office he had intended to move for a similar committee, but he hoped that the present Government would do it themselves. He then moved for a continuation of the Pension List to the latest period to which it could be made up; which was agreed to.

This is what the country fellows call bringing their noses to the grindstone. This is working them; showing them up. And if we had had this all along, the infamous THING never could have come to its present height; nor the country have sunk to its present depth; the blazings and breakings would not have taken place, because the whole nation, seeing the gulf open before it, would have had the wisdom to make an "equitable adjustment" while it was possible. It never would have been got enough to sit perked up, and prate about "national faith," while it saw the whole skill and industry of the

country robbed of the fruits of that skill and that industry. It has too much wisdom in it to have done this; but, being unable to see how it has been robbed, it has suffered robbery to creep on upon it, till it now comes for the last mouthful of victuals, and there it is stopped. It won't get that, and hence the burnings and breakings.

Friday, 3d Dec.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

BOROUGHMONGERS. The Duke of Newcastle rose to make a grievous complaint against Sir Thomas Denman, the Attorney-General, for having alluded to him, in a very pointed manner, in a speech made at the late Nottingham Election, as a "*Boroughmonger*." The words which the Duke complained of are these:

My sentiments as to the Vote by Ballot are well known to you all: but, if the majority of my constituents shall say they cannot exercise their privilege of election without it, my support shall be given to it. I shall use my utmost efforts against the boroughmongers! And I affirm to you that the power which has called forth from a nobleman that scandalous and wicked interrogatory, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" ought to be abolished by the law of the land. With respect to the other points, namely, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and the Corn Laws, I can say that the labours of the present Ministry will be directed to effect the former; and I hope that, although the Corn Laws must be abolished by degrees, the time will soon arrive when that, as well as every other trade, will be as free as Nature and Providence can make it."

These are the words of the Attorney-General, as reported in the newspaper, and excellent words they are. They contain an honest denunciation of the most mischievous; most cruel, most detestable tyrants alive. I do not mean by this that the Duke of Newcastle belongs to this wicked set; but I repeat that boroughmongers are the most cruel, most wicked, most mischievous of wretches. The Duke complained bitterly, and would have it that the Attorney-General meant to allude to him, and, after his complaint, he went on expressing his hope that, in the present state of the country, the Ministry would not agitate the question of re-

form! and, speaking of the Ballot, he used these remarkable words:

He trusted that no Ministry would ever permit anything so disgraceful to the character of the country. An Englishman fought openly, he spoke openly, he acted openly, he did not insidiously, and like an assassin, do that of which he was ashamed. He hoped that the Election by Ballot would be scouted by all men. If Election by Ballot were adopted, there would be no common ties of feeling between them and the other House of Parliament.

"No common ties of feeling!" but let us be patient! "*Ties of feeling!*" Let us wait patiently a few days till the new pension-list gets into our hands, and then we shall, perhaps, get a clearer view of the *ties of feeling* than we have already. Let us wait. Lord Grey made a speech full of good, but sarcastic, observations on the Duke.

EARL GREY said, that as so direct a personal appeal had been made to him, perhaps their Lordships would expect him to say a few words on this subject. At the same time he must own that he felt considerable difficulty in doing so, as he did not understand distinctly what was the object of the noble Duke in bringing before their Lordships the matter now introduced to their notice; nor did he understand in what way that House was to proceed. (Hear, hear.) He begged leave at once to return the noble Duke his sincere thanks, for the very flattering expressions which the noble Duke had employed in speaking of him. The noble Duke had said that it was in his power, if he chose, to save the country—that he should choose to save it, if he had the power, no one he hoped could doubt (hear, hear); and all he could say in answer to that was, that he should use his best endeavours and his utmost efforts, to the full extent of his small ability, to relieve the distresses and suppress the disturbances of the country. (Hear, hear.) That, however, was not the time to enter into the question of Reform, either with respect to its general principles or its particular details. Neither was he called on, upon that occasion, to discuss the expediency of Vote by Ballot. He might, perhaps, have strong objections to it; but till the whole question should come before them, when it had received the sanction of the other House, he should not state his opinion upon it. If it did receive the sanction of that House, he should state the principles on which it should have his support. On the question of Reform, he should decline to state more than to make one observation in answer to what the noble Duke had said as to the agitation which the discussion of that question might produce. If that was his opinion, he should most certainly be the last person to propose such a question to the House. (Hear.) It was because his opinion was directly the reverse of

the noble Duke's on that point, that he had stated the necessity of entertaining that important question. (Hear, hear, hear.) The noble Duke had referred to his opinion. Those opinions had long been entertained by him; they were confirmed by the experience of his whole life; and what he had said in the beginning of the present session had been forced from him by the conviction that the question of Reform could no longer be delayed, but that it must be looked at fearlessly and fairly; since, if it were deferred longer, instead of the improvement being effected cautiously and carefully within, the change might be made from without, to an extent and in a manner that would carry destruction to the Constitution itself. (Hear, hear, hear.) With respect to the particular object of the noble Duke in bringing the present subject under the consideration of their Lordships, he did not know what answer to give. He did not know in what manner that House could interfere, especially as the noble Duke had not proposed it as a question of privilege; for then they might know in what way to proceed in the vindication of their privileges. The noble Duke had stated that he was alluded to, but did not say in what manner he sought redress. The noble Duke had informed him of this matter yesterday. He had expressed then—that which he had now no difficulty in repeating—his deep regret that such a circumstance should have occurred; and if the noble Duke had stated his intention of appealing to the House, he (Lord Grey) might have been better prepared with an answer. He could only say of the Attorney-General, that that hon. and learned Person was held in the highest estimation for his abilities and learning as a lawyer, and for his sound principles and unblemished integrity as a man. There was one point in the matter in which the noble Duke had been mistaken. The hon. and learned Person of whom the noble Duke now complained did not appear on the occasion alluded to, as the King's Attorney-General, but as a candidate for the representation of the town of Nottingham, and he appeared there before his constituents, and addressed them in the way he thought most conducive to the promotion of his interest; and it must be admitted that if the particular words of the candidate at an election were in all cases to be brought before the House as matter of complaint, their Lordships' time would not be very profitably employed. However, he could say, that he did not approve of the use of the word "*rough-mongers*," but he did not think that on this occasion it had been used for the purpose of selecting an individual for a personal attack. The noble Duke was, however, the proper judge of the conduct he pursued, but considering the circumstances of the case, and the feelings that prevailed throughout the country, the expression of which he complained was not much to be wondered at. He thought it was to be attributed to that (he would not say improper, but unfortunate)

declaration of the noble Duke, which had brought on him the strong animadversions of many persons who do not wish to wound the feelings of the noble Duke personally, but who have felt it to be their duty to oppose that which they considered as an invasion of the freedom of election, and as calculated to injure the best interests of the country. In no other view of the matter could the honourable and learned Person, whom he was proud to call his friend, have brought the subject before the people of Nottingham; and if, in animadverting upon it, the honourable and learned Person had used strong expressions, the noble Duke must lay his account, as a public man, to being made the subject of observation and censure, and to be reprehended by those who thought that he was wrong in his view of questions of public policy. The noble Duke had stated that he had applied to the honourable and learned Person for an explanation, and that he had received one; but he did not state what that explanation was, though he described it as full of legal sinuosities. If they were competent to decide on this matter (which he denied) it would be unjust for them to do so, without having before them the terms of the explanation. It was painful to him to be called on to speak at all on this occasion; he felt for the soreness which the noble Duke naturally exhibited, and he regretted the circumstance that occasioned it. Having said thus much, he hoped the conversation would drop, and that their Lordships would proceed to the orders of the day on the questions that were before them.

This was as smart a dressing as any gentleman had need to receive, and I am glad to see that, in this speech of Lord Grey, he does not reprobate even the ballot as so "*fanciful*," a thing. But he cannot approve of the use of the word *boroughmongers*! It is a strictly proper term, my Lord; a *monger* is a dealer, a seller. It is a good old Saxon word, meaning a dealer in something; and so, a dealer in fish is a *fishmonger*, a dealer in boroughs is a *boroughmonger*. Why not use the words then? Aye, but a dealer in boroughs is . . . Oh, he is, is he?

"Spare, then, the person, and expose the vice. "How, sir! not damn the sharper, but the "dice?"

No, no; I have always liked this good word, *boroughmonger*; and Lord Grey and the Duke may rely on it, that as long as the infamous traffick is carried on, so long will the opprobrious term be used by the people. A dealer in boroughs is a man who buys and sells the people's rights.

In this discussion the Lord Chancellor took a part, but of no interest, excepting in a little particular which he slipped in just at the end of his speech. He asserted that the speech of the Attorney-General, as reported in the *Morning Chronicle*, was a misrepresentation; and he argued it from "what his learned Friend was represented to have said about the policy of Government, especially with relation to its foreign and colonial policy"—a matter which it was impossible "he should have so stated, since the Government had not come to a determination upon it." Thus, then, the Government has not determined to give up the West Indies, though the men who compose it have long been doing their utmost to force the late Government to do so, and have kicked up the present dust about it.

Monday, 6th December.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

MR. COBBETT'S PETITION was presented by Lord King. (See the petition in another part of this *Register*.)

REGENCY. The bill, making the Duchess of Kent Regent of the Kingdom in the event of the King's death, was read a third time, and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A good many petitions against Negro Slavery.

REFORM. Mr. BROWNLOW presented a petition from Armagh, praying for reform in Parliament, and the voting by ballot. He agreed with the petitioners as to the necessity of Reform, and the voting by ballot. Upon which Lord Acheson is reported to have said, that "he could not think that the independence of voters or the secrecy of their votes could be attained by the ballot, even should that mode of voting be adopted, unless it were accompanied by some more effectual security; an oppressive landlord would still find means to ascertain whether or not his tenants had voted according to his will, and to punish them if they did not so vote. He had the authority of an American gentleman, well ac-

"quainted with the institutions of his own Republic, for stating that the ballot had entirely failed to establish the independence of voters in that country, or to put down corruption."

It did not in any degree ensure the "secrecy of the votes."

The "more effectual security" will be a good long imprisonment, with an hour's dance in the pillory, for that "oppressive landlord" who should dare to interfere in his tenant's voting. This, of course, would accompany the measure itself. A reformed Parliament would sit but a very few months, at any rate, without inventing the means of securing itself against the "oppressive landlord." He (Lord Acheson) has heard that the ballot has utterly failed of effect in America. Why, it never was of any use there, Lord Acheson! It never was wanted; for, if any fellow were to attempt to control a voter in America, that voter would spit in his face. There is no such thing as compelling men to vote against their will: how should there be? Ask yourself the question. But your *American gentleman* says, further, that the ballot has failed "to put down corruption!" What corruption? Corruption of the Congress or of the people themselves? Do not the rulers of America carry on the government of that vast country, containing twelve millions of people, for a smaller sum of money than pays 113 of our privy councillors? Have they not nearly paid off their debt? do the people of America die with nothing in their bellies but sour sorrel? It is the grossest of folly to argue either way as to the benefit of the ballot, from anything that we see in America. It is not wanted there, and to argue that a thing has failed because it has not been required, because it has not been brought into play, is nonsense. Mr. O'Connell answered this young Lord by pointing to the benefits derived from the ballot in France, where it really works, and where it and tyranny could not abide together.

SALARIES AND PENSIONS, NATIONAL DISTRESS, REPEAL OF THE UNION. The two former have

been long deemed connected with one another by us "out of doors," but now we find them cheek-by-jowl in the House itself. Mr. Dawson got up to complain of a paper that is in circulation, and which great misrepresentations are made as to salaries and pensions. I believe that this paper has been made out by some one from a little work called the *Peen at the Peers*, which was published about the time of the Queen's trial in order to show her Majesty who and what her judges were; a work which was, I understand, made out from documents such as the old pension list, the peerage, the red book, &c., and if sums are incorrectly stated, it is, I suppose, that changes have taken place since the book was published, but all of which will be corrected by the forthcoming pension list. And the pensioners and placemen have no right to complain, seeing that they have not provided us with correct lists every year. Mr. Baring spoke after Mr. Dawson, and I give his speech as I find it in the "*Morning Chronicle*." I never read a speech from this man without hoping that the time will come when there will not be four Barings in the *Commons' House of Parliament*! Read this speech, reader, and you may hope so too.

Mr. Baring made a few observations on the same subject, which were not wholly audible. We understood him to say, that a paper describing the salaries and pensions of public officers, had created a great sensation in the public, and was calculated, if uncontradicted, and if unexplained, to shake the general confidence in all public men, and even the wished that the paper be examined by a committee, and if so examined he was sure that none of the objectionable items would be found to belong to the last ten or fifteen years. He wished that that paper should be brought fairly before the public, and if it were brought fairly forward, he was sure it would be seen that none of the corruption of which it was supposed to be evidence had taken place of late years. He should say that very little of such corruption had existed since he had been in the House, and he recollected little or none of such influence. The paper was calculated to produce a most painful effect, and to shake the confidence of the public in all public men and in the legislature itself. It would be proper, therefore, that a committee should analyse that paper, and separate the truth from the false.

and show what part of it was derived from *late and what from former administrations*. He wished to say one word on another subject—the subject of an inquiry into the *general distress of the country*. A worthy Alderman had previously alluded to this subject; but he must express his doubts as to the utility of that general inquiry which he suggested. *An inquiry into all the causes of the national distress could not produce any good*, and he should be sorry to see the House go into an inquiry which could not end in conferring credit on itself or benefit to the public. A Parliamentary inquiry into the condition of the southern parts of the kingdom, into the districts which were now exposed to disturbance, would be very important, and might be very useful. Commissions had been issued to support the authority of the laws, which had been violated in those districts, and which must be supported for the benefit even of the poor themselves, for it was essential to their happiness that property should be protected, and that all men should have confidence in the protection of the law; but those Commissions, it was known, were likely to punish a class of persons who had been driven into outrage partly by distress, and partly by the terror of others. He knew that the papers moved for by the Right Honourable Baronet would show the sums of money raised and expended for the poor; but he wished for an inquiry into their condition, which would show the general nature of the payments they received, the extent of their remuneration, and the defective system under which the Poor Laws were at present administered. It was a great misfortune, that in many places the labourers were paid wages out of the poor-rates, and he should like therefore to have an inquiry into the mode of administering the Poor-Laws. (Hear.) The evils of the poor-rates were very great, but whether any remedy could be found for these grievances was a grave consideration. After all the schemes which had been brought forward on this subject; he must say—after applying his mind to the subject too—that he had no hopes that any legislative remedy could be found for such extensive grievances. At the same time he should think that the House abandoned its duty if it did not examine the subject, and ascertain what was the state of the administration of the Poor-Laws, and if any remedy could be found for the evils which existed. To that extent he hoped that the House would institute an inquiry; and, so limited, it would produce a very good effect; but he could not think that an inquiry into the general causes of distress would be useful. He would repeat, as he had before stated, that generally the great interests of the country were not in an unfavourable position, and that what the country wanted was quiet, order, peace, and confidence. (Hear, and a laugh.) To ascertain the state of the agricultural districts was most important, for the other interests, he must repeat, were moving well.

The question of the Union came on

before this, but nothing important occurred in it. I mention it here, because, in this debate about the distress of the country, there occurred what is to me one of the strongest arguments in favour of repealing the Union. The reader recollects that that measure brought us one hundred members from Ireland, and placed them in our House of Commons to help to govern us; and I will now give the words of one of them in order to show what we gain by having them here. The question was, the distress of the people of England, and the propriety of having a committee of members to examine into the causes of that distress.

Mr. OWEN O'CONNER wished the inquiry to be extended to Ireland. The distress of the people there was very great. When he saw the comfort of the English people, he was astonished at their complaints and disturbances. The Irish had nothing but a few potatoes and salt to live on, and wretched cabins to dwell in.

No more would the English, O'Conner, if it were not for their complaints and disturbances.

SUPPLY. On Mr. Rice moving for 113,000*l.* to defray the expenses of army services for seven days, from the 25th to the 31st December, 1830, Mr. Cresset Pelham “condemned the extravagance of the Estimates for the Army, and observed, that at the commencement of the American war the whole annual amount required for the Army was only 613,000*l.*, a sum scarcely sufficient to pay the expenses of the present force for a single month.”

WINDSOR CASTLE. Twenty-five thousand pounds voted for repairs already done. The original estimate for the repairing of this Palace being 150,000*l.*, and the sum already voted being 900,000*l.*, caused some grumbling.

RIDEAUX CANAL. This is a canal that is being cut in Canada. It has cost this nation (England) 572,000*l.*, and it is to cost 160,000*l.* more, and

Mr. WARBURTON gave the Government credit for its conduct, but protested against any further expenditure, as the regulations with respect to trade would render the Canal totally useless for the purposes which were originally contemplated. No commodities,

such as the Canal was intended to convey, would now be required from Canada.

Altogether seven hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds spent for what is just found out to be quite useless! and then great credit is given to those who have spent this money so uselessly, for their *candour*, good God! Can we wonder at any-thing when we see things like this?

Tuesday, 7th Dec.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of consequence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LORD ALTHORP gave notice that on Thursday next he should move for a Select Committee, to inquire whether any and what reductions ought to be made in the salaries of persons holding office under the Crown, and being at the same time Members of either House of Parliament. (Loud cheers.) He would take that opportunity of stating, that it was his intention to submit to the Committee of Supply on Friday evening, simply a proposition, to the effect that the House would grant a certain sum to his Majesty on account of the Civil List. (Hear.)

An excellent beginning! But further on in the evening there was mention of a curious *ending*. For instance,

MR. TENNYSON inquired whether there was any truth in the report that the late administration had procured the addition of several names to the Pension List, *after the head of that ministry had virtually resigned?*

MR. GOULBURN said that he believed *one pension had been appointed on the morning of the day on which the late ministry resigned*. He had not heard of more than one such appointment.

SPECIAL COMMISSIONS. MR. RIMLEY COLBORNE took that occasion to advert to the state of the disturbed districts in the vicinity of the Metropolis, and of other parts of the country in the same condition, urging the necessity of issuing Special Commissions, *in considerable numbers*, for the trial of offenders. He wished to press upon his Majesty's Government the necessity which existed of making such arrangements as would prevent parties accused from being tried by the Magistrates by whom they had been committed, and with whom they might have come into personal conflict.

LORD ALTHORP had to state, for the information of his honourable Friend, that in addition to the Commission already issued, another had passed the Great Seal for the trial of offenders in Buckinghamshire. There would be, in the issue of many more Commissions, considerable difficulty in *finding Judges to try the accused*. He fully concurred with his hon. Friend, that none of those persons ought to be

tried by the Magistrates under whose warrants they were committed, or by any person liable to be swayed by local or any other undue influence.

GAME-LAWS. This infamous code of laws is, at last, likely to be done away with. Mr. Fyler very justly said that it was "quite sufficient to make every man a trespasser who came upon another's land." That is the law as it now stands, and it is law enough. Lord Althorp said that "he was happy that the bill had been brought in; and he could assure the House that Government would readily support any measures that could improve the present system. Certainly that system which filled our jails with hardy men, with the most active and intelligent of our population, and educated them in vice, associated them with criminals, and then turned them loose on the country prepared for all kinds of crimes—certainly, such a system could not be too soon altered."

FAMINE. SENSIBLE WOOD, member for Preston, expressed his fears that we should be *all starved together*; for that the country *did not produce enough to feed its people*. To be sure, between Preston and Manchester he would not see much; but, he must surely shut his eyes as he comes up through Northamptonshire, Bucks, Bedford and Herts! Oh! no, Ottiswell, it is not want of produce, but want of *just distribution, and proper cultivation*. It is, because men are employed cracking stones for *stidholders to ride on*, instead of being at work in the fields. It is because hundreds of tons of cheese rot in the warehouses of London, and hundreds of tons of bacon go to the soap-boilers of the infernal Wen, instead of being eaten by those who till the land. It is because this *land-hell consumes as much food as twelve of the counties of England*. But all this lies a great deal too deep for my noddle to reach. Get a copy of my *RURAL RIDES*, read it through, and then you will know *something about England*, of which, at present, you seem to know no more than you do of the moon. To be sure, if *this system* could go on long enough, England would be *barren*; it would grow nothing but

hardly weeds. But, thanks to the labourers, it will go on but a very little while longer. Read the evidence, Otty, given before Slaney's Committee, in 1828; hear what Mr. Boys of Waldershare says about the decline in the tillage, on account of the taxes. Go to Farnham, and see them ploughing hop-gardens, instead of digging them, and see the poles twelve feet long instead of eighteen. Be taught, Otty, before you open your mouth on the subject again. —But what do I hear! Can it be true, that there is *trouble or distress* in this nation, when, as I used to say, "You have got STANLEY and WOOD!" Why, the devil's in the nation, I think, if it can be in a hobble with two such law-givers in its senate! I told the rich rascals at Preston that their triumph over me would be of short duration; and now they know it. God send them no hope but what they can have in Stanley and you. And, apropos of Stanley, will he see the *persons* so hunted, and *not come forth in their defence*? They will stand in need of all his powers; I can tell him that.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

RURAL WAR.

CUMBERLAND.

On Tuesday night, a little before nine o'clock, a fire was discovered in a wheat-stack belonging to Mr. McCutcheon, situate in a field a little above the new Church in Caldewgate, on the Wigton road, and within a quarter of a mile of the city. A fire-engine was immediately procured, and a crowd of persons collected upon the spot. Attention was soon afterwards directed to another fire which was discovered in an opposite direction in a hay-stack belonging to Mr. Andrew, spirit-merchant, situate at the Sheep Moat, in the Willow Holme. Another fire-engine was procured at this place, and another crowd assembled round it. Within a few yards of the wheat-stack already mentioned were three other stacks of grain; and the fire being on the windward side, it was feared for some time that the whole would be set fire to—and doubtless that had been the intention of the incendiary. By the assistance of the police and part of the crowd, the stack nearest to the one on fire was speedily taken down and removed; and wet tarpauling were thrown over

the other two, which saved them from the destructive element. "The feeling exhibited by a considerable portion of the crowd was certainly that of exultation, and they not only refused to assist in extinguishing the flames, but were active in preventing others from assisting. The buckets were taken from those carrying water, and tossed into the flames, amidst considerable cheering; the pipes of the fire-engine were cut in six places, and a police-officer of the name of Bowman, who was standing on the engine, directing the pipe upon the stacks not on fire, was knocked down by a stone which struck him on the forehead, and inflicted a severe though not a dangerous wound. When the flames appeared to get low, the embers were stirred up with sticks, and as the fire brightened up, a part of the crowd cheered! The fire continued to burn the whole night, and the stack, which might be worth about fifty pounds, was entirely consumed. In one part of the crowd we heard the expression—"This will teach them to make corn-laws;" in another—"This will enlighten the Boroughmongers."

At the fire in the Willow Holme the crowd was not so great in the early part of the night; but between eleven and twelve o'clock there was a considerable accession of numbers. The police officers, and some of the persons assembled had worked the fire-engines with considerable effect, and the supply of water being plentiful had succeeded in partly subduing the fire, when the pipes of the engine choked up with sand and gravel. From the top of the stack they rolled off the burning portions, and persons below removed them to a distance. But when the crowd became numerous, the persons employed were obstructed in their work, and ultimately driven off; and the burning parts which had been removed were again thrown upon and round the stack, and the fire, which had been partially extinguished, was thus rekindled. It continued to burn all night, although there was a heavy fall of rain, and next day a part of it was saved.

While workmen were removing the unburned part on Wednesday, a crowd again assembled, and first annoyed them, and finally drove them off. It was a very large stack of old hay, of an inferior quality. The loss is estimated at about fifty pounds.

Whilst these dreadful and alarming scenes were going on, not a single magistrate, capable of acting, could be found in the City! The Mayor is non-resident; the senior Alderman is old and infirm; and the other only Magistrate in the city (Dr. Heysham) is so infirm by age that it would have been the right of cruelty to ask him to go out on such a night. To such a state has Lord Lonsdale's system of promoting to the Bench only political supporters and hangers-on reduced us! The Lord Chancellor has read him a lesson that he will not, haply, dare to overlook. His superior has given the order, and he must now obey.

On Wednesday a meeting of the county Magistrates was held, to consider what steps should be taken, when 100*l.* reward was offered for the apprehension of the incendiaries. One man has been taken into custody for cutting the engine pipes, and warrants are out against some other persons who were recognised as actively engaged in this diabolical work. The following is a copy of a written head-bill which has been posted in Caldwegate:—"100*l.* reward for the apprehension of boroughmongers, stock-jobbers, tax-eaters, monopolizers, special constables, and the extinguishers of freedom.—By order of the Swing Union."—*Carlisle Journal*.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

CAMBRIDGE, DEC. 4.—I sent you yesterday a hasty account of the grievous fire at Coton. I am sorry to learn that *nearly the whole of the corn in the parish has been destroyed*. The wreck that remains of Mr. Adgter's property was secured by the exertions of the Students of the University and the inhabitants of this town, whose conduct on the occasion is above all praise. The Editor of *The Cambridge Press* in his paper of this morning, regrets the *extreme indifference* to the painful scene exhibited by some of the *labouring people*, and the *refusal of others to assist at the engines or buckets*. Facts like these show too plainly where the perpetrators of these abominable crimes are to be found. Lord Verulam and others err greatly in their judgment in ascribing them to *foreigners*; it is, indeed not a little extraordinary that such opinion should have been advanced with any degree of confidence, since in no one instance that I am aware of has a foreigner been seen in a parish where a fire has taken place. Every effort must be made to detect and punish these assassin-like destroyers of their neighbours' property, and of the public wealth, while at the same time Government (as I trust will be the case) should show itself awake to the situation of the peasantry, and resolutely bent on measures for improving their condition. If the statements of the *Duke of Richmond* and *Lord Stanhope* had been listened to last spring, the frightful outrages that have taken place lately might have been prevented. The Magistrates of this county are acting wisely. The following resolution, passed at a meeting convened yesterday by the Lord Lieutenant, will, if vigorously and judiciously carried into effect, do more to quiet the minds of the peasantry, and prevent disorder, than any other measures, whether of the military or civil authorities, can effect:—

"Resolved—That in order to allay the irritation which appears to exist at the present time in the minds of many of the labouring classes, the Magistrates for the county of Cambridge *will immediately make inquiry into the actual state and condition of the poor in every parish of the county.*"

If a similar inquiry were instituted in every county, the source of the grievance would be

traced, and Parliament might proceed to legislate on sure grounds; but if we are to trust to measures of defence without probing the root of the evil, we shall find, perhaps, when it is too late, that in putting down the late turbulent assemblages of the people "we have only scotched the snake—not killed it." The result of the inquiries would show that the cultivators of the soil have *too small a portion of the profits of the land*, and that no other remedy is to be found than in narrowing the demands of the landlord, the tithe-owner, and the Government. It should be borne in mind, that one-tenth part of the produce has, of late years, frequently amounted to one-third, and, in some instances, to more than half the profits.

SUSSEX.

At a public meeting, held on Monday, the 22d of November, 1830, at the Crown Inn, Horsham, Mr. John Steele, in the chair. The following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. That this meeting sincerely sympathises with the distressed state of the labourers, and will exert themselves in every proper and legal way to alleviate the same.

2. That the difficulties under which the Farmers and Tradesmen are now suffering render it impossible for them to pay increased wages, without a very considerable reduction in Rents and Tithes, and of that enormous burden of Taxation under which the Nation now labours.

3. That the immediate repeal of the duties on wine, soap, candles, and coals, appears to this meeting to be most urgently required, with the total abolition of all sinecures, useless places, and ungratified pensions.

4. That the present disturbed state of the Country, and distress of the Farmers, Tradesmen, and Labourers, is wholly caused by misgovernment; and that it is become absolutely necessary for the restoration of that harmony and good feeling which it is so desirable should exist among the different orders of the State, that the people should have the right of choosing the Members of the Commons House of Parliament.

5. That a Petition to the House of Commons, founded on the above Resolutions, be prepared and signed. That the following Petition be adopted:—

To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,—

The Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Horsham and its Neighbourhood, agreed on at a Public Meeting, held in Horsham aforesaid, on the 22d of November, 1830,

Humblly Sheweth,

That your Petitioners have found themselves compelled to reduce the price of labour, and we have seen our peasantry deprived of the comforts, and, in fact, of the necessities of life, without the means of alleviating their condition. Nevertheless until now the oppressed labourer has borne his load, complain-

ing but not r. but the time has arrived when he will bear it no longer. Desperation has urged the labourers of this and neighbouring parishes to rise and congregate. They have surrounded the houses of your Petitioners in vast numbers, claiming at our hands that which we believe to be their right, and which we have felt it our interest and duty to give. We have increased their wages, and now, with our augmented burden (insupportable before) we approach your honourable House. We tell you in language, respectful yet plain, that our burdens are such that we can bear them no longer. We therefore most earnestly beseech you to cause the immediate repeal of the duties on malt, soap, candles, and coals; and a practical and constitutional reform of the House of Commons,—to the want of which we trace our present difficulties; and such an appropriation of part of the Church property as is not absolutely necessary for the liberal support of the Clergy, according to their several stations and merits, to the exigencies of the state;—also the abolition of all sinecures, useless places, and unmerited Pensions, together with such a reduction in the large sums paid for the Civil List expenses, as may be deemed consistent with the proper dignity of the Throne.

JOHN STEELE, Chairman

Poisoning Cattle.—If any thing were wanting to increase the horrors we feel in reciting the numerous incendiary fires, it is the fact, that the *diabolical miscreants* have commenced wreaking their malice on the *unoffending cattle*. On Tuesday night, Mr. Samuel Goodman, coach proprietor, of this town, who lives at a farm on the London road, had several fine pigs destroyed by poison, and similar instances have occurred in other places.—*Brighton Herald*.

On Thursday night two barns (one containing nine loads of wheat), a clover rick, and seven hog-pounds, were destroyed by fire, on a farm on *Lord Gage's estate*, near Fittle, Sussex. It is said to have been done by the workmen.

At Arundel, on Sunday night, a wheat rick, the property of Mr. Oliver, was destroyed by fire.

OXFORDSHIRE.

OXFORD, DEC. 6.—We are becoming more alarmed for the safety of property than ever. On Friday night there was an incendiary fire at Denton, about five miles from Oxford, between the Henley and Wickham roads. There was much property in danger, but it was discovered early, and put out by the villagers, without the assistance of engines, but not without the loss of a great part of a hay-rick. I am not aware if this property was insured. And last night, about eight, our city was alarmed by a fire in the direction of Evesham, on the Cheltenham road. Engines were immediately put in motion, and it proved to be near Cumnor, Berks, a small village on the left. The fire commenced at a small straw

rick, adjoining to which were a cart-house and barn, which contained all the corn the farmer had. The whole was entirely consumed. The house adjoining was saved. He was one of those small labouring farmers occupying scarcely more land than he himself could manage; and I don't know where the excitement could be to destroy his property. He is uninsured. The buildings which he occupies belong to the Earl of Abingdon.

BANBURY, DEC. 5, 1830.—SIR,—Allow me to lay before your readers an example of wages paid to farmers' labourers in the district of which Banbury, in Oxfordshire, on the borders of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, is the principal market.

The average wages (haytime and harvest excepted) of a farming labourer who has a wife and family, have, for the last two years, (to that period have I limited my inquiries), been 2s. a week.

Allow the family three meals a day—breakfast, dinner, supper;—allow one penny per head for each meal; at the end of the sixth day the whole wages will have been spent, and not a single farthing left for the seventh day, for fuel, for clothing, for the other little articles absolutely necessary to keep a family in cleanliness.

Observe, I say average wages; if there are instances of 10s., there are others of only 8s.

The wages of a stout single man have, in winter, been only 3s., sometimes 3s. 6d., very rarely 4s. a week; but my inquiries have not been so pointedly directed to this class as to the other.

Let each reader make his own comment.

Cannot the tenantry pay higher wages? No. As a body they are paying rent, tithe, and taxes, not from profits alone, but capital as well.

Let each reader make his own comment on this.—Yours, &c., A.B.C., Special Constable.

On Monday morning a party of above 40 rioters assembled at Southerop, near Farringdon. It appeared the ringleader had induced his followers to swear they would abide by him, and resist any force which the farmers should oppose to them; but no sooner did horsemen appear, than they all fled in the utmost confusion; and though many of them were armed with axes, hammers, and other dangerous weapons, above forty of their number were taken in less than half an hour after the horsemen entered the village. One fellow had in his pocket a flask full of powder, and a large quantity of shot, for the purpose (according to his own account) of shooting a few small birds! Unfortunately the ringleader, who was the first to decamp, eluded the vigilance of the pursuers.

This morning we heard of a fire at Kempton, near Deddington, and, on inquiry, found it was on Mr. Lovedren's farm; a barn, one hovel, and a quantity of corn, were burnt; to the amount of 200l. The people were very active, or the whole must have been destroyed. I hope we shall hear of no more fires, but now

it has begun, we do not know where it may end. They attempted to fetch Mr. Wilke's draining plough, but he threatened them, and is now afraid of fire. They have broken the machines at Tadmorton; the constables and soldiers have been and brought nine men from Tadmorton, and I expect they will be sent to Oxford to-morrow. Mr. Painter has had his machine broken, and is a witness against them, which makes him afraid of night work.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

A Requisition has been signed by the inhabitants of Huntingdonshire, requesting the High-sheriff to convene a public meeting to "consider the deplorable condition of the labouring classes of the community, and to devise such means as may tend to ameliorate their condition, and restore them to that actual interest in the soil, which by law and nature they are entitled to, and in the days of our fathers were accustomed to enjoy. And further to petition Parliament to reduce the amount of taxation, and to remonstrate with the great landed proprietors of the country, and the proprietors of tithes, on the high rents which being now paid out of the capital of the farmers, will not allow them to lay out money in the cultivation of land, and consequently to give full employment to the poor." *Hunting Gazette.*

YORKSHIRE.

On Wednesday last, a parcel containing twelve threatening letters, addressed to the principal farmers, and signed "Swing," was found at Crowle, Yorkshire, and similar letters have also been received at Ferry. The owners of agricultural produce have, in consequence, adopted the necessary precautions, by appointing *watchers, who relieve each other during the night.*

BERKSHIRE.

The labourers of Binfield, Berkshire, have shown some appearance of a riotous disposition, by assembling armed with sticks, hammers, and other weapons. A party of them recently entered a public-house, and took possession of a joint of meat which was roasting before the fire, and speedily demolished it. At a meeting held in an adjoining parish, at which a noble Lord presided, one of the Resolutions was, "That it was expedient and very desirable that the poor should be paid in money;" thereby admitting that the truck-system was in practice. The noble Lord owns three-fourths of the land in that parish: surely he will enable his tenants to pay "in money, after such a declaration. In another adjoining parish, at a meeting recently held, it was determined to find work for the unemployed poor at the usual rate of wages in the parish—viz., 10s. per week. In many instances, where labourers have families, that sum would not amount to the allowance which is termed their "*bread-money*;" and yet these village Solons fancy they have done something to appease that spirit which has spread so much destruction around them.—*Reading Paper.*

READING, Dec. 5.—Last night, between ten and eleven o'clock, we were alarmed by the appearance of a fire at a few miles' distance. We had the County Fire-office engine and men out, and so had the Berks-office. It proved to be a lone barn, in the occupation of Mr. Charles Hearne, of Burghfield, containing about twenty quarters of barley, some peas, &c. There was a machine there, but it was taken to pieces, and loaded on a waggon to be drawn away. Mr. Hearne is a very respectable man, and has always taken a very active part in parochial matters. Robert Hopkins, Esq., of Tidmarsh, has received a threatening letter, and I see by *The Reading Mercury*, he offers 100l. to any person that will discover the writer thereof.

NOTTINGHAM.

I hand you an extract from a letter received this morning from Nottingham, written by a gentleman of the first respectability:

"NOTTINGHAM, Dec. 6.—I lose no time in informing you, that the incendiary spirit has at length reached the centre of the midland counties. On Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, a large wheat stack belonging to a Mr. Chamberlain, of Long Eaton, about seven miles from this place, was discovered to be on fire; by prompt exertions, however, a portion of it was saved; nevertheless the loss is considerable. There is a report of another fire; but I cannot learn any particulars. A great number of threatening letters, many of them of fearful import, has been received by numerous individuals; some of them of the highest respectability, during the last few days. The author of the incendiary attempt on the Derby Post-office (it is confidently stated this morning) is discovered in the person of a young man, of immense property and the first respectability in the neighbourhood."

BUCKS.

OLNEY, Dec. 6.—I regret to inform you that we have had a fire at Olney, on Thursday evening. It commenced very soon after six o'clock in the evening. It was a cow-house, with a great deal of straw in it, and two cottages thatched adjoining. The roofs were completely consumed. The building was just at the back of my premises, and I very promptly got the engines to work. The wheat straw that was in the cow-house burnt most furiously, and the wind was rather high, which blew the sparks to an immense distance.

DERBYSHIRE.

On Sunday morning, at an early hour, two corn stacks, on the premises of J. C. Hopkins, Esq., Long Eaton, Derbyshire, were discovered to be on fire; it was with difficulty prevented from extending to the buildings. The stacks were completely destroyed, notwithstanding the prompt aid of the villagers. There is no doubt it was the work of incendiaries. Mr. Hopkins is an excellent man, pays liberal wages, and does not employ machinery.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE—On Saturday, the 4th inst., the town and neighbourhood of Ashton-under-Lyne were thrown into a state of considerable alarm, by several thousands of the work-people, who had assembled, with tri-coloured flags and a band of music. The whole marched in military order to visit the factories which were at work, and peremptory orders were given for all hands to leave off working, to attend a meeting advertised to be held at one o'clock in Dukinfield. It had been previously reported, and probably not without some truth, should any opposition be made to their proceedings, that it was determined to dispute the matter per force. Be this as it may, the military were not in attendance, nor any soldiers nearer than Manchester, which is seven miles' distance. The origin of these proceedings has arisen in consequence of the master-spinners having agreed, after the 11th December, to pay three shillings and ninepence for spinning 1000 hanks of yarn, and the operatives object to this, and are determined to take no less than four shillings and twopenny per thousand hanks. Should the affair be disputed betwixt master and man, great distress must inevitably be the consequence. Upwards of fifty-cotton-mills, several of which employ more than 1000 hands, will be totally stopped, and not less than between thirty and forty thousand individuals out of employment during the most inclement season of the year. An immense concourse of people attended the meeting above-mentioned, and were addressed at considerable length by Messrs. Betts, Doherty and others, the purport of which was to be firm and united, and resist the reduction.

KENT.

MAIDSTONE, Monday.—A fresh alarm, when it was thought that the spirit of incendiarianism was dying away, has been spread here, by a fire which took place on Sunday night at Aylesford, within a few miles of this town. The fire broke out on the farm of Mr. Samuel Arnold, near that place. About half-past ten on that evening flames were observed to burst from a large barn which contained several quarters of beans that had been housed only on Saturday morning; five bushels of wheat, the produce of three acres of barley and pease, and upwards of thirteen bags of hops. Mr. Arnold had employed two men to watch his premises on the above evening, and it appears that they had remained at their post till a few minutes past ten o'clock, when they departed, with the intention of returning in an hour. In about ten minutes afterwards they were suddenly recalled by the cry of "Fire." From the combustible nature of the materials the buildings and its contents were speedily one mass of fire and flame. A large number of the villagers soon assembled on the spot, and assisted with much alacrity in the endeavours to extinguish the flames. The engines belonging to the Kent fire-office also arrived soon after the fire broke out, but notwithstanding every exertion the barn and all it contained were entirely de-

stroyed. The Chatham and Rochester engines came to the place, but unfortunately not in time to be of use. The engines, however, played for some time upon a range of cottages situated directly opposite the barn, inhabited by labourers, whose wives and children fled amid horror and alarm. They were thereby saved from ignition. A party of dragoons from the cavalry depot at Maidstone, under the command of Captain Cuerton, also rode to the spot, but the good conduct of the peasantry rendered any interference on their part unnecessary. The farm stock was insured for 200*l.* in the Kent Office, and the barn, which belongs to Messrs. Smith, of Brompton, was insured for the same sum in the Sun Fire-office. The property destroyed is, however, estimated at 700*l.*

Viscount Sidney has issued the following address to the Men of Kent:

Gentlemen, Yeomen, Farmers, Labourers! Awake from your trance! The enemies of England are at work actively, to ruin us. Hordes of Frenchmen are employed in doing the deeds of incendiaries, and inciting to acts of tumult. The glories of England achieved against Buonaparte, rankle in the minds of Frenchmen. The independence of Europe, achieved at Waterloo, they cannot forgive; and they are striving, by every art and deception, to ruin England, and again become masters of the world.

The fires of Normandy are revived in Kent, are spreading to Sussex and Surrey, and far and wide, till general distress shall destroy all confidence, and the power of Britain shall be at an end. Englishmen! Unite heart and hand, and discover and bring to punishment these incendiaries.

Let us be true to ourselves, and our dangers will pass away. Our king and our parliament will remove all real grievances, if peace and confidence be restored.

If divisions and disturbances continue, time and thought must be applied to their removal. The worst foes are ever those of our own household.

Be peaceful, watchful, and united!

This England never did nor ever shall lie at the foot of a proud conqueror, unless she first did help to harm herself. France will assuredly gain an ascendancy, and destroy the flower of our power, if we are not united among ourselves. Shall the conquerors of the Nile, of Trafalgar, and Waterloo, be tricked and mixed by the arts and deceptions of Frenchmen, or of base Englishmen, corrupt and infidel. Forbid it, true-hearted Englishmen. Put down the nightly crimes of wicked men; let confidence and friendship prevail throughout the land. Our God has been gracious to us. We are beyond the power of all enemies except we encourage them by our want of resolution and unity. Desolation and destruction await us very shortly if the deeds of savage are allowed to continue. Let every true Englishman, as a free man, think it his duty to bring the wretched incendiaries

to justice. The people at large are, of all classes, most interested in doing so,—for famine and misery will assuredly be their lot if they are not put down.

“Nought can make us rue,
If England to herself do prove but true.”

SIDNEY.

NORFOLK.

On Monday a party of the operatives assembled on St. Catherine's Plain, in Norwich. The object of their meeting was understood to be the rate of wages. The meeting was not very numerous, and after having been addressed by a person, who we were told was from London, they adjourned to the Green Hills without St. Augustine's Gate. About three o'clock, two or three hundred persons assembled there, and shortly after they attacked the premises of Mr. R. Calver, timber-merchant. Having forcibly entered the sawing-mill, they destroyed the machinery. They then broke into the stable and taking some hay out of the rick, carried it towards the mill, which was soon afterwards set on fire. Some of the rioters were taken into custody, and committed to prison.—*Norfolk Chronicle.*

The paper-mills at Taverham, Norfolk, were destroyed last week by a mob of about 300 persons. The damage done is estimated at about 500*l.*, and about 25 persons are thrown out of employ. They afterwards destroyed two thrashing-machines belonging to other persons. On Saturday the paper-mill at Lynn, Norfolk, was destroyed. The value is about 800*l.*

SUFFOLK.

IPSWICH, Dec. 6.—It having been announced that a meeting of the labouring classes would take place this morning at *Rushmere Heath*, two miles distant from Ipswich, the Magistrates had made every preparation for quelling any tumult that might have arisen from a numerous assemblage. The yeomanry, to the amount of several hundreds, were early on the ground, accompanied by several of the neighbouring gentry, but the peasantry not appearing, the greater part of the yeomanry separated about one o'clock. Soon afterwards a few of the labouring classes, from parishes at a considerable distance, appeared, to the amount of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred, including boys. Upon being asked their object in meeting, some said that they had been led to expect an advance of their wages, but that they had no intention to create any disturbance whatever; others, that they had come out of curiosity. A party coming from a distance, to the amount of forty, then proceeded towards Ipswich, and were met about a mile from the town by the Lord Lieutenant and the Magistracy, and after a few words of kind expostulation, they were requested to disperse, and they very quietly obeyed this injunction. Too much credit cannot be given for the precautionary measures adopted by the Magistrates in this district; the promptitude of the yeomanry was equally creditable; and it is but justice to add, that the

peasantry conducted themselves most respectfully and peaceably. The thinness of their numbers, and the moderation of their demands are satisfactory proofs that the labouring classes in this neighbourhood generally are not discontented, and it is a most gratifying circumstance that the miscreants who occasioned this meeting, and calculated upon it as an opportunity for the excitement of popular tumult and disaffection, are completely disappointed. The result cannot be otherwise than favourable to the public peace, and the poor are assured that those who administer the laws will lend a willing ear to their well-grounded complaints.

HAMPSHIRE.

NEWPORT (ISLE OF WIGHT), DEC. 4.—We regret to state that fires have taken place since the last week, which we are compelled to attribute to the incendiary system. A hayrick belonging to Mr. Tucker, of this town, was set fire to on Saturday-night last, and totally destroyed. Two men are in custody on strong suspicion of having been concerned in it. A hay-stack belonging to *The Very Rev. the Dean of Ely*, at Freshwater, and a thrashing-machine belonging to Mr. Richard Harvey, at Rookly, were wilfully destroyed by fire on Sunday, and an attempt was made (but without success) on the same night to set fire to a corn-stack at Gate-house-farm, near Ryde.

Several men belonging to the Preventive-service stationed at Cowes have been dismissed, for refusing to proceed to Newport on Saturday with their fire-locks, to do duty while the meeting was held at the Guildhall respecting the riots.

A public-house at Selborne, near Alton, was destroyed by fire on Saturday-night. It was the act of an incendiary, and two men are in custody on suspicion of being concerned in the diabolical act.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

The system of sending threatening letters is still practised in the county of Gloucester. They are evidently the production of men of more than common education. Besides the farmers, some manufacturers in the clothing districts have received them, particularly those who have been engaged in the truck system. About sixty prisoners have been lodged in Gloucester jail for rioting and destroying machines in the neighbourhood of Northleach, Lechlade, and Tetbury.

There are now 280 prisoners in Devizes House of Correction, charged with being concerned in the late riots.

A warrant has been issued for the apprehension of a respectable tenant of Lord Arundel's, who is said to have joined the mob in the attack on Mr. Bennett's house in Wiltshire.

On Wednesday morning a mob of between 2 and 300 persons surrounded the farm of Mr. Allen, at Iwer, and began to pull it down. They were, however, opposed by the Magistrates and a strong party of Constables, and several of the ringleaders were taken into cus-

today. Some of the men who were captured were in full employ, and receiving 12s. per week.

Mr. Lockhart, the vicar of Stone, Bucks, has reduced the rent of the vicarage from 125l. to 80l. per annum.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

DARING RIOT.—On Thursday, a desperate riot took place in the village of *Stotfield, Bedfordshire*. For some days previous, indications of the pending storm were discoverable in the conduct and declarations of the labouring classes. On Wednesday evening, they began to assemble, and many of the more peaceable inhabitants were forcibly dragged from their beds, and compelled to join the rabble. They then proceeded to the residences of the more respectable inhabitants, demanding an increase of wages, &c. They separated for the night, on being informed that their complaints should be attended to in the morning. Long before daylight, however, they collected again, and compelled every man and boy that was willing to work to join them; those who proceeded with their horses to plough, &c. were forcibly taken away, and the horses turned adrift. About ten o'clock, when the vestry assembled, they demanded to be exempt from the payment of taxes (every house having been heretofore in the assessment, and the rates of those who were considered incapable, were allowed by the vestry in the overseers' accounts.) They next demanded the dismissal of the assistant-overseer; and they then demanded that every man should receive 2s. per day for his work. The vestry, finding they could not comply with the demands of the mob, broke up. The infuriated assembly (from 100 to 200 in number) then went through the village, demanding bread from the bakers, beer from the publicans, and money from the inhabitants generally; such as resisted their demands had a forcible entrance effected into their houses, and were eventually obliged to comply. Some violent remarks were levelled at the now resident Vicar, who had rendered himself obnoxious to them by an increase in his composition for tithes at the last audit. The tithes of the great tithes was also the object of their vilifying aspersions. On separating, they declared that if their demands were not complied with, they would have recourse to further violence. A great number of special constables were, however, in the interim, sworn in, and several of the ringleaders were taken into custody.

DORSETSHIRE.

At Preston, near Weymouth, on Tuesday, two hay-ricks were destroyed by fire; the supposed incendiary is in custody.

On Wednesday evening, 300 to 400 labourers assembled at Hensbridge and Toner Farm, and destroyed three thrashing-machines, the latter the property of *Sir William Medleycott, Bart.*

"Mr. Harding of Stinsford, has had two ricks, one of wheat and the other barley, consumed;

and a hay-rick, the property of Mr. Wallis, of Broadmayne, was burnt on Monday.

At Blandford and the eastern part of the county, the labourers dispersed on being assured that their wages should be increased.

WIMBORNE, Dec. 4.—On Wednesday morning a fire broke out at the farm at Old Lunn. I have been to the place; it is a very lone place; and I cannot find that any suspicious persons had been seen about the premises. A straw-rick caught fire, which was consumed, and without injuring any of the corn-ricks or premises which were very near. It must have been the act of an incendiary.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

SPALDING, Dec. 4.—There was a thrashing-machine burnt last night at Moulton, about four miles from this place, which a person there very foolishly used in thrashing his corn, and the straw and about seven quarters of wheat were destroyed.

—, *Lincolnshire, 7th Dec. 1830.*

DEAR SIR,

Your last Register mentions two fires that have occurred in this neighbourhood: since that account reached you there has been another fire, which took place upon a farm at *Saltdeethy*, a village situate in the centre of our immense and fertile marshes. In addition to these overt acts of revenge, numerous threatening letters have been sent to various individuals, so that dismay and consternation prevail all over; frightened magistrates sit in d.van; large rewards are offered for the discovery of offenders; police officers and local constables are prowling about (their palms itching for gold); every night-traveller is regarded with suspicion, and particularly if he be seen on horseback! the farm-houses are converted into sentry-boxes, and the farmers themselves sit up all night to watch, with candles burning and with their friends and relatives (where they are at hand) to assist them in the hour of apprehended danger, thus completely realising the picture drawn in one of your many slighted warnings eight or ten years ago. Farmers not insured are now anxious to insure, if they can. Ah! if they had treated their labourers justly, or, not being able to afford better wages, had explained to the men the real cause of their common grievances, and co-operated with them in seeking a common remedy; if they had done these things, they would have needed no other insurance from injury now. Those of the farmers (but they are few) who have acted this kind part towards the men, feel safe in the midst of all this danger. Some such honest fellows I know, and am only reporting their own confessions. But the mass of the farmers and landlords have acted a different part. It is impossible to forget the careering insolence of "Yeomanry Cavalry" during the times of high prices: they were then the loud-mouthed, the clamorous bulldogs of the aristocracy against "Jacobins and Levellers;" they then roared out in their

drunken toasts, (it is impossible to forget this!) "Here's Old England! and those who don't like it, damn 'em let 'em leave it!" How do they like Old England now? They ought to like it, for its present state is, in a great degree, of their own producing; however, if they don't like it, let them call in the reformers to mend it, for there is no other alternative. The labourers are already better off: they have obtained a rise of wages; they have gained a portion of their rights by making an appeal to the fears of their employers who have shown no sense of justice, and they will henceforward know how to prevent a relapse: it now remains for the farmers and landlords, for their own sakes rather than for the men's, to turn machine-breakers themselves, and to persevere until they have destroyed the machinery of boroughmongering.

An attempt has been made to raise a body of special constables, but though the object is proper enough, yet, out of a population of some thousands, not more than seventy or eighty persons have come forward, and most of them have come forward *because they dare not refuse*, having been solicited by wealthy customers, tax-eaters, and others of that well-known description. The truth is, that all men now perceive that the labourers have been starved into rebellion, or revenge, by a long course of cruel oppression: most persons, therefore, *compassionate* their case, and say: "The labourers have long been robbed of their wages, and the farmers and landlords are now losing the proceeds of the robbery." This consideration it is which diminishes the horrors of the fires; and as the sworn patrons of corruption have at length learnt that there is a certain limit which even their well-backed tyranny cannot transgress with impunity, reflecting men can draw consolation from this *excess of evil*, which will most assuredly bring its own cure, will most assuredly make Oppression relax its iron grasp, and prove the harbinger of a day of justice and retribution to injured millions. "If they had treated us poor creatures better, it would not have come to this," said the wife of a labouring man, who lives in the neighbourhood of a terrible parson-justice, in my hearing, the other day. Tyrants of all descriptions now tremble in their shoes, and there is one class, above all others, like condemned criminals, await their approaching end in silence.

There are base creatures hereabouts who would fain attribute these fires to you! Guilty wretches! Callous as their consciences are, it seems they are not callous enough to hear the intruding thought that all this evil is the result of the system which they have supported, and which you have denounced, for more than a quarter of a century! By way of comment, take the following fact. A farmer residing in a parish closely adjoining to the one (South Reson) in which nine stacks were burnt, a week ago, told me yesterday that one of his labourers observed to him, in a conversation about these fires, "Why the farmers

cannot give higher wages: I bought a little paper, for a halfpenny, a few weeks ago, at Louth market, called a 'Letter to the King,' and that paper showed me more about it than any thing I ever saw before: I now see that it is the taxes and the tithes that make the farmers poor and the wages low." Let all the farmers, then, read to their labourers "Cobbett's Manifesto of the Labouring Classes," (which has been republished under the title of a *Letter to the King*), and the fires will cease to blaze in an instant. However, the wretches who attribute blame to you, must, it seems, endure greater calamities still before they will act justly. They cannot yet believe that the labourer is oppressed, or that, being oppressed, he has the sense to know it, or the spirit to resent it.

Yours very truly,

Dear Sir,

P—— T——.

To the Editor of the Register.

SIR,

As the following short narrative affords a striking example of the grievous oppression of the tithelaws, and of the vigorous rapacity with which they are sometimes enforced, and as it is free from all personal invective, and unaccompanied with any comment or observation, I trust you will allow it a place in your Weekly Journal. A respectable freeholder in Herefordshire, who from the enormous rate demanded for Composition, judged it expedient to pay his tithes in kind, granted to his workmen (I believe 4 or 5 in number) a few roods of land for growing potatoes, for the use of themselves and families, and which these men cultivated with much toil and labour, chiefly in hours which they borrowed from those generally appropriated to rest and repose. When the fruit of their labour had come to maturity, and the season had arrived for laying up this little (though to them important) store of humble provision, they were informed a tenth belonged to the Rector. Nothing dismayed by this consideration, but confidently believing that under such circumstances he would readily grant them a remission of his claim, they applied to him for that purpose, and though he is a highly dignified divine, loaded with pluralities, and whose church revenues annually amount to many thousands, he sternly refused them, and insisted on his claim, even to the last potatoe. Is this in accordance with the emphatic precept of his great divine Master, "He who giveth to the poor, leudeth unto the Lord?"

A FREEHOLDER.

HOME OFFICE.

The following very proper and well-timed Notification has just been issued from the Home Secretary's Office:—

(CIRCULAR.)

Whitehall, 2th Dec. 1830.

SIR,—I am commanded by his Majesty to

lose no time in acquainting you that it has been observed with great regret that the Justices of Peace and others have in many instances, under the influence of threats and intimidation, and the apprehension of violence and outrage, advised the establishment of an uniform rate of wages to be paid for labour in their respective neighbourhoods, and have also, from the same motives, in many instances recommended the discontinuance of the employment of machines used for thrashing out corn and for other purposes.

Reason and experience concur in proving that a compliance with demands so unreasonable in themselves, and urged in such a manner, can only lead, and probably within a very short period of time, to the most disastrous results; and that the tranquillity which is obtained by concessions grounded upon principles so erroneous is likely to be of very transient duration.

The Justices of Peace must be aware that they are invested with no general legal authority to settle the amount of the wages of labour; and any interference in such a matter can only have the effect of exciting expectations which must be disappointed, and of ultimately producing, in an aggravated degree, a renewed spirit of discontent and insubordination.

Upon the second point it is only necessary to observe, that these machines are as much entitled to the protection of the law as any other description of property, and that the course which has been taken of prescribing, or recommending the discontinuance of them is, in fact, to connive at, or rather to assist in, the establishment of a tyranny of the most oppressive character.

His Majesty's Government are fully sensible that allowance is to be made for the new and difficult circumstances in which Magistrates have been placed, by the recent disturbances which have occurred in various parts of the kingdom; but under no difficulty, nor in any extremity, ought principles so contrary to the general interests of the community; and so injurious more especially to the welfare of those who have been deluded into the commission of these offences, to be recognized, still less to be sanctioned, by persons in authority, whose duty it is at all hazards to maintain the authority of the law, and to secure the liberty of the subject.

His Majesty's Government feel deeply for the sufferings and privations which have of late years pressed, and still continue to press, severely upon the labouring classes of the community. They are anxious to adopt, as speedily as possible, every practicable and reasonable measure for their alleviation; but they are also entirely convinced that these sufferings will only be increased and protracted by a course of concession to violence and tumult.

It is my duty, therefore, to recommend in the strongest manner, that, for the future, all Justices of Peace and other Magistrates will oppose a firm resistance to all demands of

the nature above described, more especially when accompanied with violence and menace; and that they will deem it their duty to maintain and uphold the rights of property of every description against violence and aggression.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
MELBOURNE.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1830.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

OGILVY, J., Fleeca-yard, Tothill-street, Westminster, and Barge-yard, Bucklersbury, tabacololet-proprietor.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ROSE, J. E., Bath, linen-dresser.

BANKRUPTS.

ALEWYN, J., Fenchurch-street, merchant.

ALLEN, S., Stratford, Essex, coal-merchant.

BRICKNELL, J. P. A., Exeter, haberdasher.

COPE, H., Barnet, tailor.

DELVES, R., Tunbridge-Wells, lodging-house-keeper.

DRYSDALE, J., Little Hermitage-street, Wapping, ship-chandler.

HUMFREY, J., Manningtree, Essex, wine-merchant.

JOSEPH, A., Pedzance, flour-dealer.

KNIGHT, C., Basinghall-street, dealer.

MUSTON, P. I., and T. P. Barlow, Austin-friars, commission-merchants.

OLDHAM, M., Stockport, Cheshire, inn-keeper.

PADLEY, W., Tetford, Lincolnshire, common brewer.

PLUMMER, J., and W. Wilson, Fenchurch-street, merchants.

SHIRKEFF, M. A., Mount-street, Berkley-square, milliner.

SINDREY, W., Mitre Tavern, Fish-street-hill, victualler.

SMITH, G. B., Bristol, corn-factor.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1830.

INSOLVENT.

Dec. 5.—MOORE, W. J., Derby, manufacturing Jeweller.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

KING, J., Lamb's Conduit-street, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BOOT, J., Nottingham, bleacher.

BRISTOW, W., 4, Milner-terrace, New-cut, Lambeth, baker.

DAYUS, H., Bankside, Southwark, engineer.

FUGG, J., Manchester, surgeon and apothecary.

FRIEND, L. A., Cambridge, livery-stable keeper.

GAMBLE, J. and T. KIDD, Sutton-in-Holderness, Yorkshire, wood-sawyers.

HENN, A. H., Holborn, hatter.

MACKENZIE, W., 260, Regent-street, Oxford-street, wine-merchant.

MANLEY, T., Wentworth-street, White-chapel, sugar-refiner and merchant.

PAGE, W. Back-hill, Clerkenwell, victualler.
 PARKIN, J., E. R. THOMAS, and J. D.
 WALFORD, Fenchurch-street, brokers.
 PRICE, G., Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, coal-merchant and seedsman.
 SWEETAPPLE, B. and SWEETAPPLE, T., Cotteshall Mill, Godalming, Surrey, paper-manufacturers and mealmen.
 VARLEY, J., Manchester, machine-maker.
 WHEREAT, J., Romsey, ironmonger.
 WHITBOURN, D., Darkhouse-lane, Lower Thames-street, fishmonger.
 WILLS, J. H., Bath, baker.
 WILLDER, J., Birmingham, victualler.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, DEC. 6.—Although we had not a very abundant arrival of English Wheat, yet it was much larger this morning than it has been for some weeks past, and we found great difficulty, even where the quality was good, in supporting last week's prices, while all the middling and inferior sorts were rather lower than otherwise, and the stands at the close were not quite cleared. Flour remains at our last quotations. Barley was taken off at prices fully equal to last Monday, and in some few instances of picked samples for malting, rather more money was obtained. Oats are ready sale, at an advance of 1s. per quarter. White and Grey Peas are dull, and scarcely maintain the prices of last week. In Beans of both sorts, or other articles, no variation.

Wheat	66s. to 72s.
Rye	28s. to 32s.
Barley	30s. to 36s.
— fine	37s. to 41s.
Peas, White	40s. to 50s.
— Boilers	51s. to 54s.
— Grey	30s. to 39s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 43s.
— Tick	30s. to 41s.
Oats, Potatoes	25s. to 26s.
— Poland	27s. to 28s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last	30s. to 44s.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

BOROUGH, Monday.—Our Hop market remains steady at last week's advance on New Pockets and rather more inquiry for good 1826's and 1827's. Currencies: New Sussex Pockets, 71. 15s. to 94; Kent, 84. to 104. 10s.; choice, 111. to 134. 13s. 1828, 51. to 71. 10s. 1827, 86s. to 96s. 1826, 80s. to 90s. In our last week's account of the Worcester duty, the amount is 2,029l. 10s. 5d., instead of 2,429l. 10s. 5d.

MAIDSTONE, Dec. 2.—Our Hop trade continues very dull, for, although the duty is come out and falls so much short of what it was laid at, still there has been little or no alteration in the trade worth notice.

WORCESTER, Dec. 1.—The amount of the Duty for this district is stated at 2,024l; New Hops are on the advance.

SMITHFIELD—Dec 6.

There is to-day a large market of Beef, and very fair of Mutton. Choice Scots obtain 4s., and the best selling Lincoln 3s. 8d. and 3s. 10d.; middling Beef is no better. The trade for Sheep may, doubtless, be considered a shade lower than last week, so that our last top-prices are only made for any thing very complete. For the general trade to-day we call Downs 4s. 4d.; half-breeds, with difficulty, 4s. 2d.; and the white-faced light weights, rather under 4s. There is but little alteration in Veal, the best in very few instances exceeding a crown. Beasts, 3,135; Calves, 100; Sheep, 21,680; Pigs 190.

SMITHFIELD—Thursday.

This day's market exhibited about 30 highly-fattened oxen and steers, of exceedingly fine symmetry; the best of which were 10 Herefords, estimated to weigh, on the average, about 175 stone, of 8 lbs. each, belonging to Mr. Rowland, of Crislip, Bucks; but was otherwise but indifferently supplied. The prime Beasts abovementioned went off slowly, at from 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d., whilst prime small Calves sold readily at an advance of 2d. per stone; but the trade was, otherwise, very dull, at little or any variation from Monday's quotations.—Prime Beef, from 3s. 4d. to 4s. 1d.; middling Beef, 2s. 6d. to 2s. 10d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d. Prime Mutton, 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d. Veal, 3s. 4d. to 5s. 4d. Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8 lbs., to fix the offal. Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 38s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each. Supply, as per Clerk's statement: Beasts, 506; Sheep, 3,700; Calves, 188; Pigs, 130.

PROVISIONS.

But little has been done in Bacon during the last week. The holders of Butter can sell only in small quantities at the prices quoted. The Cheese trade continues dull. Prices are higher in the country than here. Failures of small traders are taking place almost daily; and the wholesale dealers are apprehensive of an increase.

Bacon, Middle, old...	34s. to 37s. per cwt.
— new...	46s. to 47s.
— Sides, old...	35s. to 38s.
— new...	46s. to 48s.
Beef, India, new...	115s. to —s.—d. per tr.
— Mess, new...	69s. to —s. per barrel.
Pork, India, new...	117s. 6d.
— Mess, new...	58s. to 60s. per barrel.
— old...	63s. to 57s. 6d.
— India, old...	110s. per tierce.
Butter, Belfast...	102s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlisle...	100s. to 105s.
— Cork...	102s. to 105s.
— Limerick...	102s. to 105s.
— Waterford...	96s. to 98s.
— Dublin...	100s.
— Dutch...	106s. to 102s.
Cheese, Cheshire, new...	48s. to 70s.
— old...	56s. to 81s.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	82½	83½	82½	83½	83½	83

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 10.

The supplies are small, but the prices have not altered since Monday. There is but little demand to-day for any thing.

COBBETT'S LECTURES.

On *Wednesday next, the 15th instant*, at EIGHT o'clock in the evening, I shall give a Lecture at the Great Theatre, at the Rotunda, Blackfriars Bridge (Surrey side), on the CASE OF THE LABOURERS OF ENGLAND. Having always, since I had the ability to do it, maintained the cause of this part of our countrymen, I *will not now neglect* my duty towards them, a duty the sacredness of which yields to no duty that imposes itself on man. In every possible way in which I have the power to aid them, that power shall be employed; and I call upon all just

Englishmen to second my efforts. New arrangements have been made for accommodation at the Rotunda, which has made a difference in the expense. There are a PIT, a GALLERY, and BOXES, the price of admission to the two former 8d., to the Boxes 6d.

HISTORY OF GEORGE IV.—I cannot promise No. 4 till the 1st of January. This case of the labourers demands all my time. I will devote it all to them, except what is absolutely demanded by my weekly dutise.

THE BALLOT. TAXES ON LITERATURE, &c. The Article on the Ballot, from the *Westminster Review*, has been carefully abridged, and is now published at the low price of One Penny, for extensive distribution. Persons in the Country, desirous of aiding forward the good cause, will be supplied at 6s. per hundred.

Also may be had, the Article on THE SIX ACTS especially TAXES ON LITERATURE, sixteen pages 8vo. 2d.

W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-row, and all Booksellers.



This day is published, price 1d. twelve pages 12mo.

WOE to the LEGISLATIVE ANARCHISTS or, Frogs, from the Laws of the Land, and from the flagitious Abuse of usurped Power; that the "Radical Sweeping Reform," denounced by Mr. BROUGHAM, is the only Reform with which the Starving People of England ought to be satisfied.

"Is any thing complained of as amiss?—Instead of redress they give you an ORATION."

LORD LITTLETON.
London: W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-row, and all Booksellers.

at his contemptuous language; look at the aristocratical prig, crammed with the conceit that he had just entered on the career of official power; see the future Pitt in idea, and wonder how the insulted crowd could have kept their hands off him. The proud reptile has, however, got the best sort of blow, and in the best place; and now let him, after being dragged through some villanous hole of corruption, go over to regale the noses of the potato-eaters on the other side of St. George's Channel, where the people lie down and receive the extreme unction in preparation for death from starvation. Let him go covered, as I saw him, with the spittle of the pretty girls of Preston.

THIRD. The triumph over the base and greedy and ferocious *attorneys* is no trifling matter. These at once insolent and servile vagabonds; these hard, these brow-beating, these impudent vagabonds; now complain of having been rudely treated, overawed, and even *beaten*. I have only one single question to ask on this subject. Is there a whole bone left in any one of the skins of any one of these odious vagabonds? If there be, they have been treated with too much lenity. OLS GRIMSHAW, too, was the Mayor again! What a triumph over Old Nic!

FOURTH. And where are now the rich ruffians of *MASTERS*, who bade their men not to vote for me on pain of starvation? I told them, only last winter, and to their faces, that *their day of humiliation was near at hand*. And the *Manchester magistrates and Parson Hay*, and the yeomanry-cavalry, who chopped down, or shot or trampled under foot, hundreds of innocent persons who met to petition for parliamentary reform? Where are the managers of the inquest at Oldham? Where are the magistrates of Bolton, who put John Hayes in prison for ten weeks, for announcing that I was come home in good health? And where are the rich ruffians of Manchester, who came in crowds to insult me as I come back from Preston? And where is Squire Lavender, who knocked the people down like cattle, because they gathered about the door to shake

me by the hand? Where are they all? Do they not begin to think that the hour of retribution is arrived?

FIFTH. But the fellows in the House itself! What will they do? Will they all run out of it? And yet, if they do not, what are Hobhouse, Burdett and Scarlett and Baring to do? And will Baring, or, rather, the four *Barings*, call Hunt "the honourable gentleman?" and yet they must do it, or leave all he says unnoticed. But, Baring! How is this fellow to get down the bitter bolus! He and SCARLETT, in particular, have taken occasion, in that House, to speak contemptuously of "the blacking-man," more especially Baring; and here, in order to show to what an extent this loan-monger will now be mortified, I must stop to take from the Register a letter from me to Baring, enclosing a letter from "the blacking-man" to the loan-man. The letters are curious, particularly as relating to the warnings which they contain. How serious Baring will look as he re-peruses these letters now! He will begin to think, that the profit of loans, and that rotten borough are not every thing. He will begin to imagine, that "the itinerant patriots" had, after all, some little foresight. And will he not begin to smell, that that inquiry, which I tell him will come, is not a thing wholly impossible? For my part, if I thought that inquiry, a strict inquiry, as to how men, without any visible means, came to gain millions of money, while the industrious farmer, tradesman, artizan and labourer were sinking down into poverty and starvation; if I thought that strict inquiry would not be made into this matter; if I thought that parliamentary reform would not, and right speedily too, produce such inquiry, I should despair of the country. But, now, before I go any further, let us see those letters of and about "the blacking-man" to the loan-man. What a convenient thing the Register is! It serves every-body to dip into. It has said every thing beforehand. When any event takes place, I have only to look back to the time when I foretold it.

liament. Now, then, call the "black-ing-in-m" the "honourable gentleman"; and from that day lead what life you may. From the moment you pronounce those words, you will feel yourself an altered man, and you will begin seriously to calculate the consequences. I wish (God forgive me!) that the saucy and calumnious Canning were *still alive*! How many of these fellows have been cunning enough to slip out of the way! There are some, however, who remain; and let us hope that the day of reckoning with them is not far off.

These, my excellent friends, are amongst the many reasons for which I offer you my thanks upon this occasion, and for which you merit, and will receive, the thanks of every good and sensible man in the country. Then, it must be such a gratification to the good fellows of the North, who have, for so many years, been kept down like so many slaves, who have been dragged and crammed into jails and dungeons by scores; who have been knocked about by police fellows, as if they had been so many cattle, under goads and cudgels of drovers. I remember that, in 1817, a weaver, who was going over the bridge at Blackburn, in Lancashire, met a drunken Irish soldier, who, in a frolic perhaps, snatched the hat off his head, and flung it over the bridge. The poor weaver, thus robbed of his hat (in a cold winter's day), seized the soldier, who instantly drew forth his bayonet, which made the weaver let go his hold, but it did not prevent him from reproaching the ruffian. A parson happening to come up, "That's right," said he to the soldier. "that's right," *trample them under your feet*!"

You, my good friends, have, in this one act, avenged all your ill-treated countrymen as well as yourselves. You have given pleasure to every oppressed man in the country, and, which is more valuable still, pain to every corrupt villain. So that here is a *positive good*. You have given a pang to the heart of every parson in Hampshire and Wiltshire; and to ninety-nine hundredths of the rest. I will not anticipate *disappointment* on your part; but, be the

future what it may, here is a good *done*; here is a *pleasure enjoyed*. The devil himself, if left to work his free will, cannot take *that* from us. I enjoy of this pleasure a greater portion than any other man; and, therefore, I owe you a greater portion of gratitude.

But, now, **WHAT PART AM I PREPARED TO ACT** towards the man that you have chosen? I dare say that this question has been put a hundred thousand times; and I will answer it frankly and fully. In the first place every *private consideration* shall be banished from my mind; the remembrance of all things injurious, or intended to be injurious, to me, shall be blotted out of that mind. But, this is on the condition that he *do his duty*, the contrary of which I will not anticipate, and which contrary would be exceedingly mortifying to me, because it would be mortifying to you, and because it would cast a slur on the cause of radical reform. This, however, as I said before, I will not anticipate even hypothetically; and, therefore, I am prepared to give him all the support in my power in the effecting of every good that he shall attempt to effect.

Nay, I shall even go further than this, for I shall be ready to call upon you for patience and indulgence towards him, knowing, as I do, the great *difficulties* that he will have to encounter. You will expect a *great deal at his hands*, and a great deal you will have a *right to expect*; but, observe, there must be *time* for it: and, if the effort does not, *all at once*, come up to your expectations, it will be but reasonable in you to see the impediments that are to be overcome. A length of time, indeed, such as the "city-cock," Waltham, has taken would be a little too much. *fourteen years* I should not like to see you wait for the fruit of your labours and sacrifices; and not to get it even then; No: that would certainly be to carry patience to too great an extent. But still I say that you ought to be patient; and that you ought to put, as I shall, the most candid construction upon every act, whether of commission or of omission.

Such shall be my conduct, and such, I hope, will be yours. As to the petition against the return, which the fool STANLEY is talking about, on what ground are the fellows to petition? They are pretty fellows, indeed, to talk about petitioning! They are the Old GRIMSHAW'S TRAPS and DRAGGERS to keep me out; they consider that you have beaten the *electors*. Have you left a morsel of the carcass of those base ruffians unburied? Have you? If you have, I shall never forgive you, unless you prove to me that you could not get at those carcasses. What! is an election to be set aside because you have thumped those brassy vagabonds who so baited you at my election; fellows that *scare* *scare* have made to be food for *carion* *carion*? Is an election to be set aside for this? STANLEY "protested," did he? and so did I, and he laughed at me, and Old Nic laughed, and Corruption laughed.

A petition, indeed! Those who have given him his fat place and a good parcel of the public money, *my*, indeed, let him petition; but he will not do it without their assent, and I do not think it likely that he will get that. There was, indeed, a time when such a petition would have been sure to succeed; but that time is gone by. But, suppose the petition to come, and to succeed, all the world will see that you will have been beaten by foul means; and the effect will be universal indignation, against STANLEY and his patrons. Besides, this petition cannot be presented until after the recess. It will be the month of May before it can pass Baring's "blacking-man" out. He will be amongst them, sitting alongside of Baring and Scarlett, for *three months*, at the least; and three months is a pretty good spell; it is length of time sufficient for the doing of something. By that time, too, the great question of parliamentary reform will have been discussed, if not finally settled. The Parliament will adjourn in about a week; but there is plenty of time for taking the seat before that, and for making a

beginning, at any rate. Old shilly-shilly Burdett used to tell us, that no man could do any thing in that House. Every one said, "You'd better not go there, then." His seat certainly has been of no use to any body but himself. It has given him about 200*l.* a year in the night by retelling and receiving letters from all that mob, which his constituents have had to pay all the while. But, though he could do nothing, another may do something.

When WARRENHAM got into Parliament, I, who was then in Long Island, wrote over to say, that he would now be put to the test, and would be found to be worth nothing; or, at least, that *my* I feared, would be the result. I suspected that he was the city-cock, plumed and spurred for the battle; that all eyes were upon him; that the expectation was very great, and that as great would be the disappointment. Warham, however, had brass; but, as I reminded him, though brass was a good thing, in such a case, "bare brass, brass and NOTHING ELSE," would certainly not do. And such has been the result. He has been in the House thirteen or fourteen years, and we do not experience a feather less of calamity and disgrace than we should have suffered if he had never been there. However, those were to blame who expected any thing good from him; for, however honest he might have been, what good ever there might be in his wishes, men should have seen, as I saw, that he wanted the talent necessary to the effecting of any good; and by talent I did not mean the faculty of pouring words, however volubly and at whatever length, to the delight and wonder of the Guildhall auditors; I did not mean this capacity of pouring out words, but I meant the possession of knowledge. A man that knows nothing can do nothing, except injure any cause that he attempts to support; and this was precisely the case with Warham. The worst of it is, too, that, in proportion to the lack of knowledge is always the conceit; that is to say, that the latter is great in the exact proportion that the former is small. What, in all the world,

did this poor vain man, though amply supplied with brass, know what did what could, he *know* about the various important matters that concern his fellow-him? What knew he about the causes of the public decline and decay? What knew he about the relative interests and power of foreign states? What knew he about the effects of our colonial system? And, will he really know what reforms we need? The boroughmongers say that if we had a radical reform, we should choose men *but not men as that*. Several might be chosen at first; but the people would quickly detect their error; they would see that a false friendship is more dangerous than his wrath; and Wallman, never, would have been elected a second time. If the people of London had been free to choose whom they pleased, the man in the fall, who had seen a vision of god, prayed to him a long while for various purposes, and for various agencies, but finding this god did nothing for him, he took his axe and chopped him up for fuel. We could not chop Wallman up without a violation of the law; but his fall has long been of no more consequence than the rattles of the hackney coach.

Let us hope that we are now to have better things. At any rate, my friends, you have done your duty, and you particularly Messrs. Hart and Morgan, have the hearty thanks of

Your faithful Friend,
And most obedient Servant,

Wm. LEBBELL.

P. S.—I have, from the *Freston Pictor*, inserted, at full length, an account of all the proceedings at the election, which no London paper has done. No, no, they see the blow falling, and they know where it will alight. They will, when Mr. Hunt takes his seat, do every thing that they can to sink him, and to render his efforts of no avail, because, if our cause triumph, they *fall*; their foul monopoly is extinguished. They will, therefore, make use of their time *reporters*, to misrepresent him, to hold

him up in *studious light*; to get a laugh set on against him; or they will suppose what he says, as they have done with regard to O'Connell. However, they will not, and they *shall* not, succeed in any of these things. There is nothing *discreditable*, single or in sets, *mixed and sundry*, and put into *print*, and they may be treated to a string of this sort every three or four days. In this manner the *good things* go by all these families may be exposed, and some subject of indignation may occasionally be kept before the public. In the course of a Session, the whole thing may be, by *two men*, laid to rest as a calumny mouse. I do hope that a *good man* will be found; but I think that one man can do much; yes, and very nearly break up the *concern*, or make them break it up themselves. And now I dismiss the matter for the present, leaving Baring and Scarlett to call Mr. Hunt "*honourable gentleman*." Come, come, open your shoulders, and swallow the bolus with a good grace. And there is one Baring is *offer* too! Just making a *term*, a little nibble at us. Oh! what a pity to mar so fair a prospect! However, down the thing must come.

THE FRESTON ELECTION.

Our radical Reformers put out a placard, calling upon the electors to return Mr. Hunt; but nothing occurred till Sunday, when we observed posted on the walls two great ones, being the transcript of a letter from Mr. Baring, of the *Leeds Mercury*, headed "Mr. Mitchell, the companion of Oliver, the Spy," and containing a notice requesting the subscribers of the right hon. E. G. Stanley to meet him at the Ball Room at ten o'clock the following morning. Mr. Stanley arrived on Sunday evening.

MORNING.

Mr. Stanley's friends made their calls at the Ball Room in the course of the morning, and handbills were issued stating that the right hon. candidate had signified his intention of speaking at one o'clock. At that hour some thousands had assembled in front of the inn, and shortly after the right hon. candidate appeared at one of the windows, and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen.—When I last addressed you from this place I certainly had very little expectation that, in so short a time, I should have occasion to address you again. We meet

bers of the late government sat for any place of more consequence than a rotten borough, such places merely to which the right of free election has not extended. I will now recite to you a few of the places for which the members of the new government sit, and, having done so, I think I may venture to appeal to public opinion for its support. Amongst the first, I need scarcely state that the highest office is filled by a man too well known to require any observation here. When I say the Lord Chancellor is Mr. Brougham, who has been more distinguished for his exertions in the cause of the people than any other man, and that he was gratuitously returned as one of the members for Yorkshire, I need say nothing more to convince you that public opinion is at least here on the side of the people and the government. Next there is Lord Althorp, the member for Northamptonshire; Sir James Graham, one of the members for the county of Cumberland; Mr. Wynne, member for the county of Montgomery; Mr. Charles Grant, member for the county of Inverness; Lord Palmerston, one of the members for the University of Cambridge; Mr. Poulett Thomson, one of the members for Dover; Mr. Elliot, one of the members for the city of Coventry; Mr. Robert Grant, one of the members for the city of Norwich; Mr. Spring Rice, member for the city of Limerick; and I hope to be able to add Mr. Stanley, the member for Preston. (Hear, and laughter.) Now, gentlemen, when I tell you there are all men in whom the great towns and counties have placed the confidence to return them at the last election, I have not stated above half the case, because in all the elections that have since taken place not only has not one been turned out, but every one has been re-elected by his constituents, without the administration being offered the shadow of opposition. I say it is a proud gratification to this administration that it can so appeal to public opinion. With regard to the measures on which the present administration are pledged, they stand pledged to maintain peace by all means in their power, consistently with the safety of the state, to keep at peace with all foreign powers; they stand pledged to bring forward a decided, sound, and effectual measure of parliamentary reform; they stand pledged to the strictest economy and retrenchment, and to begin that retrenchment in the higher situations of the government. It is my earnest and anxious wish, as it must be the most anxious and earnest wish of all who feel it impossible that the burdens of the country can be added to, that peace, at whatever hazard, shall be maintained; and I think I may say that it is chiefly owing to the change of administration that peace has been maintained. Previous to the declaration of the late government, we have reason to believe that Russia, Prussia, and Austria, frightened at the turn of affairs in France, alarmed at the progress of better opinions, and fearing for the safety of all despotic governments, would have

interfered in the affairs of Belgium. They hoped that England would remain at all events neuter, and so give them support in opposition to liberated France and liberated Belgium; but when the change took place they knew they had no such hopes. They know the present administration is not one to take up the cause of despotism against the cause of the people. They know that if they press that circumstance they will have against them, heart and hand together, the people and government of England. They know that England and France are united, and they know that if France and England be combined, they may defy the efforts of Europe and the world. (Applause.) I say by the great and cordial union which exists between France and England, but which would not have been the case with the late government, we have the means of restoring the repose of Europe. Gentlemen, I will now address you on the important and difficult question of parliamentary reform. Gentlemen, it may be known to you that amongst those who support the doctrines of parliamentary reform there are some who go further than I can, others who stop short, and some who wish to confine their reform within such limits that I can consider it no reform at all; again, there are those who stand pledged to oppose all reform. Now, the present government are pledged to bring forward a specific measure. They are pledged to bring it forward; and if so, it may be considered carried; and it can only be delayed or defeated by discord and dissension. This is the time when the government has a right to call on all reformers to give them their hearts and hands in carrying this measure. There is now such an opportunity for reform as never before occurred, and it will be the fault of all Reformers themselves if by their dissensions they prevent the carrying this great principle into effect. Gentlemen, I hold in my hand an address, which I believe has been circulated and is signed by individuals of no very high pretensions, calling upon you not to support me, and bringing forward two charges against me, which, though insignificant, and contemptible as I may think this paper to be, I shall, in deference to you, say a few words upon. You are told that since you elected me I have sold you. (You hear?) I am told that I am unworthy of being returned by you because I am called a placeman. There are, gentlemen, a certain number of persons who learn certain terms by heart, and who can apply them with about as much understanding as a parrot taught to repeat the same words. I meet with these expressions in this paper, and I ask them what they mean? Sell you? How? You elected me as your representative at the last election; I went to Parliament, and carried into effect the principles I avowed here: I accepted office under a government whose principles I uniformly supported; and then I resigned my seat and came back to ask you to exercise again your privilege, and return me or not. I say the man when he wrote this, un-

derstood no more what he was writing about than a parrot would. Now, Gentlemen, one word about place. That I hold one under the Government is very true; that I hope to do some good is my humble but very confident feeling. I am not much absent from my duty; never I hope when wanted, but whenever I can, I do get away to enjoy the pleasures and amusements of a country life, and a person with those feelings is not very likely to prefer the anxieties of a responsible and laborious office, which requires my knowledge, not merely during the sittings of Parliament, but for the remainder of the year. I should be open to low office and obnoxious to the charges generally made against placemen if I were one of those who took the money of the country and did nothing for it. This paper desires you to beware of a placid administration, that it will bring forward no practical reform. How they obtained knowledge of this I know not, because I believe it impossible that the Cabinet could have agreed upon what they are going to propose. But so far as the general scheme and substance is to be collected from what has been said by Lord Grey, a man, by the way, not in the habit of saying one thing, and meaning another, he said that reform would be carried to the extent of satisfying the wishes of the public, consistent with the safety of the existing establishments of the country. I am told in this paper, that by those establishments are meant the rotten boroughs. It is really ludicrous so to pervert the plainest terms. Lord Grey only wishes to limit his reform to that point which shall be necessary to preserve to each of the three estates of King, Lords and Commons, its due share of power, and those who wish to throw into any one of them such a preponderating influence that may destroy the balance, seek not reform but revolution. Such reform and such revolution will never, I am confident, be supported by the good sense of the people; and I trust there is not one in ten thousand who would not raise by every means in their power a *revolutionary reform*. (Applause.) Lord Grey has a right to demand that you will not condemn him unheard, and that you ought to consider the difficulties of carrying an extended measure through Parliament; and to rely on his sincerity to do every thing consistently with the safety of the institutions of the country. Not three nights ago, the Duke of Newcastle appeared to Lord Grey, and counselled that noble Lord to see the propriety, in the present disturbed state of the country, of not pressing the question just now, something intimating that his conduct and that of other noble Lords would be regulated accordingly. Without one moment's delay his Lordship said the state of the country was one reason why it should be done, and that the question must be brought forward now. I hope that this declaration given in such a place and at such a time will be taken as further evidence of the sincerity of Lord Grey. Gentlemen, I have a very few

words to say with respect to economy and retrenchment. It is further earnest of the future, that in the short fortnight since the present Government have been in office many places of amount have been suppressed; places not bestowed upon the lower ranks, or supporting poor clerks, but places giving power to the holders and influence to Ministers. I may enumerate a few. There is the office of Post-master General of Ireland, lately held by Lord Rosse, has now been abolished; and the Vice-treasurer and Deputy Vice-treasurer of Ireland, the two making a year, have been abolished, and the duties are to be performed by a clerk receiving 200*l.* a year. The office of Master of the Mint has also been added to another office, and the duties of both are performed for one salary. The official Treasurer of the Navy is in like manner held with that of Vice-president of the Board of Trade, and one gentleman performs the duties of the two departments. Now, thus far the Government affords pretty safe evidence of its intentions with regard to economy and retrenchment. Naming the gentleman who fills the office of Vice-president of the Board of Trade leads me to another question of importance to you who live in manufacturing districts. I mean free-trade, the question of removing all those burdens and shackles which hang upon trade without producing any benefit. Although no specific measures have as yet been taken, the appointment of Mr. Powlett Thomson is a sufficient security for amongst the many able advocates of free-trade, there is no man who has expressed himself more strongly or more ably than that gentleman. Gentlemen, I believe I have now called your attention to all the principal features in which the present government is materially at variance with the late. I have only to say, that as the present government rests exclusively on public opinion, it can only hope to carry its wise and salutary measures by the aid of the members of large places. Confident that, as those places will institute inquiry into the conduct of those they send, their members become so many testimonials in favour of the conduct of the Government. (The right hon. Gentleman here again alluded to his political principles, and repeated his explanations respecting his appointment to office, after which he proceeded as follows.) I do not understand that any real and substantive opposition will be offered. (A cry of "Hunt" was here raised.) Those who called out "Hunt" must remember that he said the time was not come when the people of Preston could elect him. He has, therefore, no hope of success, and you will not see him here. If he does come here, it will not be as a candidate, and I feel assured that this putting him in nomination is done merely with a view of creating some trifling disturbance in the town, and for the disgraceful purpose of occasioning that expense which is my firm determination to avoid if possible. I hope the good sense of

Preston will come forward as one man to scout this silly opposition, and I hope it will be put down by a strong expression of that opinion which, I am sure, the respectable part of the people entertain. The right hon. Gentleman then thanked the electors for the attention they had bestowed, and was about to retire, when he returned to say that he heard that some notion was entertained that votes might be split upon Mr. Hunt and himself. He was shortly going to attend to his duties in Ireland, and if the proposition had come from natives of that country he should not have been surprised. He begged to remind the electors that there were no split votes in the election. The contest was between himself and a nameless candidate, and to split votes was only throwing away the exercise of the franchise.

The crowd heard the right hon. Gentleman with the most respectful attention, and when he had concluded, they dispersed. Nothing particular transpired during the day.

TUESDAY.—THE NOMINATION.

This being the day of nomination, there was much hurrying towards the Court-house at an early hour, and by about half-past nine half the street was closely occupied with electors. Just after ten, the Reading Officers, Nicholas Grimshaw, the Mayor, and Mr. S. H. Grimshaw, and Mr. W. F. Edeywood, (M.P.), accompanied by the members of the corporation, arrived, and took their places just in the centre of the gallery on the western side. On the right stood the right hon. E. G. Stanley and his friends, and on the left we observed Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Irvin, Mr. Johnston, and other known supporters of Mr. Hunt.

The Court was then opened, and the proclamation, act of parliament, &c., read by R. Palmer, Esq., the Town clerk. There being nothing disposed of, there was nothing left to do but to proceed with the more interesting matters of the day.

The Mayor.—"If any gentleman has a candidate to offer he must offer him now; and I have to request that you will all keep silence, and conduct yourselves decently and wisely during this election."

W. SHAW, Esq.—The electors had so recently exercised their privilege in the election of representatives for the borough, that he trusted he should not be deemed presumptuous in soliciting a renewal of their comments in favour of the same individual whom he had the honour of proposing as a candidate. Mr. Stanley had been called by his friends to assist in the councils of the State, and had obeyed that call, and gone forward to give his talents and his services to his King and country at this important crisis. He was destined to assist in the Government of an important part of the empire, and to fulfil the duties of an office of great importance, and which would occupy a considerable portion of his time. In accepting office, he was bound by the sanction of the constitution to resign his seat. He had

resigned accordingly, and again appeared before the electors to ask them for a renewal of their confidence. Mr. Shaw proceeded, and considered an interruption, to enquire the principles and conduct of Mr. Stanley, and usually proposed the right hon. Gentleman as a fit and proper person to be one of the representatives of Preston. (The nomination was received with approbation from the audience, and much applause from the area.)

J. LAYNE, Esq., briefly seconded the nomination.

The Mayor.—Is any other candidate proposed?

Mr. Irvin rose to address the electors.

The Mayor said it was his duty to inform Mr. Irvin that if he nominated a candidate in his absence, and that candidate refused to undertake the expenses of the booths, &c., he (Mr. Irvin) made himself liable to be called upon for payment of half.

Mr. Irvin.—I understand that is the case, sir. Gentleman, I am here once more before you, this is the fourth time I am come to nominate a man for your adoption or rejection. It is so my opinion, and belief, the man most eligible, if you are masters of your own minds, (from the crowd, "We are not.") He is a man who will serve you honestly and faithfully. The man I mean to nominate always stood forward honestly and disinterestedly in behalf of the rights and liberties of the people. He has always advocated them on constitutional grounds. Mr. Stanley says the Government have adopted temperate reform. Now, gentlemen, what is temperate reform? (A voice, "To fill the pockets full of gold.") Temperate reform amounts to this: to moderate a moderate thing. Now, I will just ask him in the way of a little *anomaly*. (Loud laughter.) "If I use bad grammar, I trust the electors will excuse me. I was not bred up classically like some of the gentlemen on my right hand, but if I speak plain English that will do for you. (Cheers.) Now to the next moderate. Now, if either of you had a bad wife, in need of reform, would you have her moderately or really good? ("Good, good," and laughter.) Now, if you want the parliament changed, would you have it moderately good or really good? ("Really good.") I should think so. That is plain sense. And if you can get really good person it is better than a moderately good person, and so we would have real reform instead of moderate reform. That is plain sense. The other I call nominal reform. And yet after that he says it is in the abstract. Now, if I understand you right (much laughter), efficacious means that we have obstacles to surmount, and efficacious means that some obstacle has been surmounted. Now, I wish to know this from the right hon. Gentleman. I wish to ask him a few questions. Mr. Stanley says he is for moderate reform. When he sat for Manchester, and Stockbridge, I believe it was. As I learned Disraeli read their sermons, I may refer to my paper, I suppose. (Mr.

Irwin here referred to a paper in his hand. When he was member for Stroudbridge, I think it was Mr. Hume who brought on a motion only to inquire into the enormous revenues of the bishops of Scotland, what, as I forget, and Mr. Stanley had the goodness to vote against that very inquiry. Now I wish him to answer that that is what I want to see the truth. I have two or three more. Now, I wish to ask Mr. Stanley relative to the rectifying of abuses and corruptions. Another thing, he voted against the Beer-bill. He said it would demoralize and corrupt the morals of the people. He was not willing that you should get your ale at 1s. 6d. or 1s. 8d. a gallon. That would be too cheap for you. But he buys it and is charged 2s. 6d. a gallon, and he is obliged to pay, and he grudges you 1s. 8d. I told you last time not to drink, but this time, if he opens his liquor, I tell you to drink as much as you can. I did not hear Mr. Stanley yesterday, a gentleman from the north called upon the and detained me at home on business, but I understand he alluded to something; I was not present, and I do not wish to say anything that is untrue, he alluded to some contrary to the people who had signed a paper. He made use of the word contemptible. That was a hard attack upon me, for that individual to call us contemptible. I believe the authorities will not hold me in a contemptible light because I am poor. I am poor that is true. Now, gentlemen, if you take my advice you will get as much drunk as you can, and please yourselves about voting afterwards. (Laughter.) Now, I ask how he come to oppose universal suffrage so in the when, in his address, he is calling you independent but of this. Here we enjoy universal suffrage, and here he raises his voice against universal suffrage. That is not very consistent. He has been some time standing before you to solicit your support on the ground of universal suffrage. I like to be consistent, and if you prefer moderate reform to real, support Mr. Stanley. Why not if you will have moderation? I believe the Bill of Rights says no parliament shall sit in the Commons' House of Parliament. He has accepted place, had the Bill of Rights says no place man shall sit. Now, another question I have got to put to Mr. Stanley. I have told you before that he is for temperate measures. I am for Radical Reform. Now, will Mr. Stanley, on this point, pledge himself to you that he will vote for cutting up some of those pretty, little, nice, neat rotten-boroughs, and extend the suffrage to other towns? Will he cut up Old Sarum, Gilling, Huddersfield, Newnham, and others, and Stockbridge itself? Will he cut up these boroughs and give the franchise to towns where there are a great many inhabitants? Every man in the country has a right to vote, as well as we have. Every man pays taxes. Every man is liable to be called out to fight in case of invasion by the foreign enemy, and why not a right to vote at elections in order to elect a parliament? Why should not black-

burn, Bolton, Manchester, and other places, have the right to vote as well as Preston? Now, gentlemen, Mr. Stanley will probably answer these questions, and I trust Mr. Stanley will act as a consistent part at this election. I am a strict man for morality. I do not want his pocket to suffer, but, if we have fair play, we will run him a good race. I think we shall run him pretty hard. I only oppose him because we differ in opinion. I think he will give me credit for that. I like it, otherwise there would be a dearth of monotony. It would not do for all things alike, because opposition is the life and soul of a community, on peaceable grounds, not fighting about, and on the Sunday too. The peace is in danger when men are out of their senses. Mr. Irwin here again alluded to Mr. Stanley, complaining that that right hon. gentleman voted against the Motion of Bunsford's motion on Reform, and that he was unfavourable to the vote by him, and concluded by nominating Mr. Henry Hunt. (Cheers.)

Mr. Mitchell rose and asked permission to address the Mayor with respect to the arrangements.

The Mayor asked if it was on the subject of the meeting.

Mr. Mitchell.—On the subject of the meeting and the expenses by law allowed. On that subject will you allow us to consult with you respecting the carrying of the meeting on the most economical plan, and to avoid the shameful squabs which took place in this matter at the last election. I am anxious myself of it. The most shameful of all frauds were practised by those who voted on behalf of Mr. Stanley last time. As we are likely to have a share in the expense, I should like to consult on the subject.

The Mayor.—I cannot allow anybody to consult with me, because I must be independent of both sides. If the parties themselves wish to agree to any thing by their mutual honesty, very well, but I cannot take the recommendation of any, without taking that of the other. I know nothing of the last, but I can say that if there are any frauds we will get them done in the most economical way. I know of no better way than the last.

Mr. Mitchell disapproved of the plan adopted on the last occasion.

The Mayor observed, that if the parties could arrange, he would take care that no partiality was shown.

Mr. Laws.—Mr. Stanley leaves it to the returning officers.

The Mayor.—Then I think it should be as it was last time.

Mr. Mitchell then turned to address the electors, and was received with loud acclamations. Gentlemen, the last allusion that has been going on is to this effect that if Mr. Irwin and I nominate and accept Mr. Hunt, we are liable to the payment of the booth—

The Mayor.—The half

Mr. Mitchell.—The half?

THE MAYOR.—If they are called for.
MR. MITCHELL. The half, if on the present occasion a poll is demanded and booths insisted on, I am not myself a lawyer, nor a legislator, like Mr. Stanley, I am not sufficiently a lawyer to say whether it is enacted that you shall be obliged to poll in places like butchers' shops, or that you should poll in wretched holes like horses, in things that may be called stalls in stables. I believe the law does not require that there shall be polling in districts, and I believe that if you are prevented from polling, and you carry the barricades before you, you can legally do it. (Applause.) On this act, gentlemen, I have requested to speak with the Mayor, and he says he will not interfere on either side. That is honourable and correct. He says as honestly and conscientiously, that if the parties interested choose to meet and consult, quite right. Mr. Stanley says he leaves it to the returning officers. I have no objection to that, but I have no prospect of retiring to Ireland with a place of many thousands a year to enable me to pay my share of the hustings. Mr. Mitchell here digressed to observe that Mr. Stanley belonged to that contemptible party who had posted him up in the street as "Mitchell the Spy." He then returned, and proceeded to inform the electors, that he had asked to have the hustings erected on an economical plan as possible, and stated the result. It had been said, he continued, that if they came forward on that occasion, to vote for Mr. Stanley, on account of his having joined the administration which succeeded the Duke of Wellington's, they would be factious. The fact was, their successors were the Whigs, who were always greater enemies to the liberties of the people than the Tories ever were. ("Right, right" and approbation.) The Whigs! how were they (the people) to be benefitted in the case? Were they to be benefitted by Mr. Stanley taking place and going to Ireland? He asked how the right hon. Gentleman was to serve them by going to Ireland? Had they noticed the proclamation and the other document read by the town clerk? One stated that Mr. Stanley having taken a place under the government, had rendered himself incapable of holding a seat in the House of Commons, and yet in the face of that act of parliament, he came there to ask them to send him back again. (Applause.) Mr. Stanley's place was in Ireland, and they would be guilty of that sort of blundering for which the Irish were celebrated. If they believed he could serve them (the people of Preston) while he was in Ireland, except by taking from them 5 or 6000*l.* and putting it into his own pocket. In answer to the charge of being factious, he would refer to the sufferings of the country, which he thought would increase more and more till Reform was carried. He would call their attention to the number of fires. The week before last fires were raging in 16 different counties, fires burning up the very stamina, the stacks

of corn from which they got their bread. And what was the first act of the new administration? In a few hours after those gentlemen came into office, they, with Lord Grey at their head, advised the King to issue a proclamation against those who were so suffering. And what had been the result? Had it quelled the disturbances and put out the flames? No. The week before last there was an account of the fires being in sixteen counties, but the last week they heard of their having spread into six and twenty. It was actually alarming. As he had observed, the proclamation was issued to prosecute the persons who were guilty of those things. (A voice in the gallery, "And serve them right.") True, but it was dreadful to hear of those fires raging around them. A rick had been burnt at Carlisle, and how did they know that those fires might not spread? How did they know that they might not come nearer home, and particularly as he had heard that a great many factories—six and twenty he had heard—were about to be stopped for the purpose of destroying the Trades' Union. How did they know that those fires might not come nearer home, and that some of themselves might be sacrificed to them? It was on that account he seconded the nomination of Mr. Hunt, considering him a more fitting person than Mr. Stanley to apply the remedy, and as proof of what he asserted, he reminded the electors of the circumstances attending Mr. Hunt's recent visit to Andover, and of the influence he had exercised on that occasion. That was the difference between Mr. Hunt and Mr. Stanley, when the former was quelling disturbances in Hampshire, the latter was taking office to go to Ireland; and he must say that unless they one and all stuck to themselves, took the case into their own hands, and elected a man more fitting than Mr. Stanley, they might yet have to fear those dire results, which he, for one, could not look to without considerable alarm. And what had Mr. Stanley done since the last election? He had watched his conduct, and he found he had done no one act calculated to benefit this country. He (Mr. Stanley) said they would do nothing but by temperate means; but he contended that when relief was wanted it was no good to stand temporising. They must send a man to parliament who would pledge himself immediately to bring forward measures, and those measures of reform which the people had a right to expect. It was on those accounts that he urged upon them to return Mr. Hunt in preference to Mr. Stanley. He knew Mr. Hunt would not take office, and that he would serve them independently, honestly, and with courage. He (Mr. Mitchell) happened to be one of those who were not absent the day before when Mr. Stanley made his speech; and he knew that the right hon. Gentleman did think of the contemptible individuals who had signed that paper. God knew, he (Mr. Mitchell) was contemptible enough. (Loud

laughter.) He could not boast of a long line of ancestry, nor was he one of those who held great property and had a great stake in the country: he had no property but what proceeded from the labour of his own hands, but he was descended from honest people who, for the mother, the grandmother, and even the great grandmother, (laughter) were as honourable as Mr. Stanley. With respect to the paper, the right hon. Gentleman complained that he had been accused of selling the electors. He said a great deal about selling, but not a word about buying the electors with drink. No, he was not so honest as the member of Parliament returned for one of the rotten boroughs, who, when applied to by his constituents, replied "I have bought you, and now I will sell you again as you deserve to be sold, and you may go to the devil together." (Laughter.) But Mr. Stanley had another charge against them; they used words which they repeated like a parrot: that they could write words but attach no ideas to them. If they had no ideas attached to them, he supposed then it was by accident that those words had the truth attached to them. It was no doubt by accident that it was true that he bought the electors with drink and spent 7 or 8000*l.* at the last election? He did not answer that. But they used words and had no ideas; and how happened it they had no ideas? He would tell them. It was because there was not one amongst them who had had a shilling expended for his education at any public seminary, and that would have been the case if Mr. Stanley's father and grandfather had not. (Here the speaker made some allusion to "the butchers of Manchester," the precise meaning of which we could not catch.) His father was foreman of the grand jury which approved the measures taken at Manchester, and his grandfather thanked the magistrates for their conduct on that occasion. Mr. Mitchell then observed that if Mr. Stanley could attach ideas to his words better than they, it was on account of his education only, and he afterwards proceeded to say that he opposed the present administration because he had always found the party of which it was formed arrayed against the liberties of the country. Lord Grey had declared that he would not meddle with the existing institutions, and that meant he would not meddle with the rotten boroughs. That was his meaning. And with respect to the debt he would have, and that was what he proposed when Balmis chose to accuse him of recommending the seizure of Lord Fitzwilliam's property, an equitable adjustment. His first measure, on entering the House, would be to settle the debt, and then have the pension list put away, and provide that no placeman should be paid more than his services demanded. If Mr. Stanley had done that, he would have been the first to vote for him. Mr. Mitchell continued, at some length, to complain that Mr. Stanley had not performed his duty in Par-

liament, and then went on to speak of the new administration. For his part, he would rather have the Duke of Wellington at the head of affairs pointing the sword at him, than have a Whig administration, who, with an oily tongue concealed the dagger under the coat. He said, give him the sword; that he may see his end, in place of having to languish along in pain and with struggles. (Applause.) On the subject of Mr. Hunt being present, he would candidly tell them that he most honestly believed Mr. Hunt would be there the next day. That was his opinion. But whether he would be present or not, they had the power to elect him. In Preston, they had the power, and he hoped they would exercise it. He knew that if the electors did but come forward, they would have a race for it. He would take care there should be no man-traps; and there should be a race. Although they had not Mr. Stanley's money to oil the wheels, they would tease him before Saturday night. But he could also communicate to them that he had that morning received intelligence that the greatest efforts were making to provide the means for oiling the wheels. Their poor brethren were every where collecting their penny subscriptions, and they were determined that the electors should exercise their rights. And further, if any man was afraid to vote, he could take upon himself to tell them that, in the event of any man losing his work, the reformers and Trade's Union were pledged, they were one and all pledged, that not one man should suffer in consequence of his vote on that occasion. (Vehement cheering.) It was not worth while going into the details of Mr. Stanley's life, short as it was, but there was one fact he could not overlook, and they should consider it properly. His grandfather, the Earl of Derby, bore a most excellent character in this town as a landlord. He did not know of one who bore a better; but he observed that that character was the reason of getting votes for his son and grandson, by which they were sent to Parliament to vote money into their own pockets. So that frauds were practiced because the Earl was a good landlord. He would have them beware how they gave credit to any thing promised by a placeman, and especially by a Whig. When such came, and smiled upon them, let them put their hands on their pockets. The moment he smiled, that moment they were in danger. It was Mr. Stanley who had to do with the act of parliament which put the friends of Mr. Hunt, at the last election, to 57*l.* expense for the erection of a meeting. Now, in place of Mr. Stanley being the means of passing such an act, why did he not say the whole expenses of the election should be paid by the candidate who had the show of hands against him? Why did he not say the man who demanded the poll should have all to pay? If he had so worded that act as to make it binding on those who demanded the poll, he would have given him credit, but the act amounted to this: that if

Mr. Irvin and himself had not come forward, for there was not one shopkeeper ready to come forward besides, not one of the tradesmen on this side, nor of the wine-merchants on that, there was not one to come forward to advocate the cause and make himself liable. Mr. Mitchell then proceeded to complain of the cost of the last election, and after observing that from estimates he had received the work might be done for 20*l.* or 30*l.* (instead of 189*l.*), he remarked that the act, by the provision adverted to, went to deprive the electors of their rights. Because Mr. Irvin and himself nominated and re-elected Mr. Hunt, they were to be liable to expense, and in his opinion if it was for having a hand in that act only, that was enough to disqualify Mr. Stanley from ever sitting in that House again. It was a full attack upon the constitution. There was another matter. They knew that several things were taxed, and amongst others the shopkeeper could keep a man in his shop without paying a guinea a year. Then there was the rosy-faced tax-gatherer, who was at one time a real radical, a down-with-church and King radical; he got into a snug office and was enabled to go about and tax people. He was a thorough radical before he got into office (laughter), and what did they think he was doing? He (Mr. Mitchell) had two boys and a man in his shop, and the radical tax-gatherer had called upon him to tell him, that he must pay a guinea a year for the boys as well as the man. Mr. Stanley knew that the shopkeepers were so oppressed, and also men often, by the same means, kept out of situations, but he never once rose to lift his voice against such things. And yet if Mr. Stanley were to send his lowest menial to any of those tradesmen for a yard of tape or a pair of stockings, they would agree to be his humble servant for life. He was charged with speaking against time on the last occasion. How did they know he was not speaking against time then? But he had little more to say. He wished Mr. Hunt to come when Mr. Stanley was about and through his speech. The constitution said he ought not to be in the House: let it be their act to disfranchise them; but never let it disgrace the working community. However, a plebeian has the impudence to come before them to break the law! He was incompetent also. Because he was against universal suffrage and because of his acts in the House. The fact is in the upper House, and the son and grandson in the lower. They had no right to meddle with the Commons; and the act required that they should return a burgess and not a plebeian, one from amongst the people and who had a fellow-feeling with them. Mr. Mitchell then called upon the electors to elect Mr. Stanley and elect Mr. Hunt, to inform them that the right hon. Gentleman stood there to answer questions, and that any of them had a right to put any that he pleased, and concluded an address of very great length by seconding the nomination of Mr. Hunt. (Loud and continued cheering.)

The Mayor.—Is there any other candidate to be proposed?

Mr. JOHNSTON here stepped forward to say that he had two questions to put to Mr. Stanley, the answers to which would probably cause all opposition to cease.

Mr. Stanley drew near.

Mr. JOHNSTON then proceeded to observe that he had two questions to put, and that if the answers were given affirmatively, he, in the name of all the radicals of Preston, would undertake that all further opposition should cease. In the first place, would the right hon. Gentleman vote for the immediate abolition of the corn bill? Secondly, would he support that measure of reform which would include the vote by ballot? Mr. JOHNSTON then addressed himself to the electors very shortly, and in the course of the few observations he made hinted that without the vote by ballot universal suffrage was to Preston a curse instead of a blessing.

Mr. STANLEY.—Gentlemen, I find that since the last election Mr. Mitchell has not lost his talent for making long speeches which exceedingly bore in them. (Great laughter and interruption.)

The Mayor.—My lady, let me say a word. You have heard with great patience Mr. Mitchell, and now it would ill become you not to hear Mr. Stanley on the other side.

Mr. STANLEY was about to resume, but the clamour was renewed, and in the midst the right hon. Gentleman observed, If I am not to be heard, it will be equally agreeable to go on with the election. If you desire to hear what I have to say, I am ready to go, but if not, I am equally ready to go on with the election. The interruption shortly after subsided, and the right hon. Gentleman continued. Gentlemen, in what I have to say I must now declare that I shall confine myself to answer those questions which have been touched upon by the three persons who have addressed you, with reference to my political conduct. I will not go further; first because I had an opportunity yesterday of alluding to my general principles; and, secondly, because I shall not condescend to bandy revilings and personal abuse with any man living. (Applause.) Gentlemen, for those reasons I shall not make any apology to Mr. Mitchell, because I happen to belong to a renewed interruption, because I happen to belong to a family of considerable property, and which has long been settled in this county. I claim no merit on that account, but I shall not apologise to Mr. Mitchell, or any man for belonging to a family of a high business reputation and high character in this county. (Loud applause from the galleries, mixed with clamour from below.) Lord Derby has been nearly 50 years the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and Lord Stanley has been your representative in that of the county, and they can stand in no need of my advocacy against the attacks and abuse, and what is, if possible, more astounding still, the eulogiums of Mr.

Mitchell. (Applause from the right hon. Gentleman's friends, and loud disapprobation from the rest.) It has pleased Mr. Mitchell to allude to a paper—(renewed clamour)—It has pleased Mr. Mitchell to speak of the paper in his hand, and cast some abusive imputations, with reference to what I said last evening upon it. *To this praise and his censure I am equally indifferent*, but I did not make use of the terms he has alleged to have been spoken by me. I said Mr. Hunt was supported by a party who have no claim to your attention or respect, and I said the allegations in that paper were utterly contemptible. (The interruption from below was here recommenced with very great violence, and the two or three concluding words of the right hon. gentleman's sentence did not reach us.)

The Mayor.—For shame! you disgrace yourselves every moment.

Mr. Stanley.—Mr. Mitchell has told you, and has quoted the words of the act and proclamation in order to prove to you, that I have not the right of sitting in the House of Commons. (Clamour.) He has, with his usual correctness, totally misrepresented the meaning of the words of the act and the proclamation. According to law and the proclamation, I, upon accepting office, resigned my seat, and now come here to ask you for a renewal of your support. Mr. Mitchell knows, and if he does not he knows he can appeal against the return after it is made,—that I have no moral right to my seat as another man. (Renewed clamour.) But more of this man's candour or his ignorance, he has told you that by having accepted an office in Ireland I cannot give attention to your interests in parliament. If he had known any thing of what he was talking about he must have known that the situation is one which entails on me the obligation of attending in my place in parliament all through the session, and that I go in the performance of my duties in Ireland when parliament is not sitting. (More clamour.) I could pass over all the rest of Mr. Mitchell's very long speech, without any observation whatever, but he has made some allusions respecting the first act of the new administration. I am proud to say that the first act of the new administration was to advise his Majesty to issue his proclamation to disabuse the minds of those individuals who had been deluded by demagogues and rascals (markedly apparent from the gallery, and most violent expressions of disapprobation from below)—to express the first determination of the government to put down by the strong hand of the law those outrages so destructive to property, and so ruinous to individuals; and moreover, if they had not taken these steps they would not have been worthy of the confidence which their king and their country repose in them. (Applause and clamour.) I tell Mr. Mitchell that this is not a government who will encourage or support men guilty of deluding the people into acts of violence. It is their determination, actuated by the most humane motives, to extend every leniency to the deluded, but

at the same time to punish with the utmost severity the deluders. (With a significant look at Mr. Mitchell.) (Applause and clamour.) There have been put to me two questions, and, if my answers are to the affirmative, I am assured that all opposition will cease from those persons who assume the power of leading the whole body of radical reformers in this town. (Laughter and interruption.) My opinions on radical reform are well known: It is known also that the government intend to carry into effect as large a measure of reform as it is possible to carry with due regard to the existing institutions of this country, and consistently with the due balance of King, Lords and Commons. I have never been of opinion, nor am I now of opinion, that the vote by ballot will afford any additional security to the exercise of the elective franchise. (Great interruption.) I have no reason to believe that it forms any part of the plan of reform under consideration. (Clamour.) I have hitherto voted against the vote by ballot, and in defence of the threat that the reformers will oppose me, I shall think I am doing my duty if I still continue to oppose the vote by ballot. (Applause and clamour, repeated as before.) You have been told by the gentleman who proposed Mr. Hunt,—whose speech, by the way, is much easier to answer than his grammar is to be understood, that gentleman has talked about an *omnium*, a word that I do not understand, nor do you, and yet that is what he calls plain English. He has told you what moderate reform means, and has asked you, if you have a wife who needs mending, whether you would not rather have her really or temperately reformed. You told him really; and now I have another question to ask you on that subject. If you have a wife would you rather that she should be temperate or intemperate? (Laughter.) It is my firm belief that by temper and temperate measures alone the great object is to be carried, and I warn the reformers to beware of those who would advise them to intemperate measures now that the government is disposed to carry into effect reform. (Mr. Stanley here said something, the precise meaning of which we did not catch, in reprobation of violent measures, and in reference to what Mr. Mitchell had said in the way of anticipation with respect to what he considered the alarming state of the country; there were some cries of "false" and Mr. Mitchell said, "What is this with alarm?" but the clamour and confusion were so great that we could not hear either one or the other of the two sentences that were uttered on the instant.) Mr. Stanley resumed.—It is impossible to go into the details, but this I may say, that I shall be greatly disappointed if the plan under consideration does not include the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs and the transfer of the privilege to some of the great towns in favour of that proposition I always voted, and I have told you my opinions upon the subject, which are the same I have held as well in as out of office. The second question

is whether I will vote for the abolition of the corn laws. That question can be put to me only if I may declare, as I do now declare, my conviction that it is impossible, with due regard to the interests of all classes, that *those laws can be utterly abolished*. (Loud and continued disapprobation.) I feel that the existing corn laws give a greater degree of protection to the agricultural interest than to any other, but still it is impossible that the law can be abolished. I know the declaration is an unpopular one, but it is one that I feel I can conscientiously and consistently make. I have only to entreat that you will pause before you give ear to insults and imputations on the existing government. It is a government that relies for support on public opinion, and I entreat you to pause before you decide that I am not worthy of your confidence because I form a part of it, and by that means throw slurs upon the government which the great towns have not thrown. It has been the opinion of the reformers of Norwich, of Dover, of Coventry, and other places, that the fact of their members belonging to the administration did not make it necessary for them to withdraw their confidence, and they returned them again in every instance; and will may the reformers of Preston pause before they set up their judgment against that expressed by all other reformers wherever they have been appealed to on this occasion, Gentlemen, one word and I have done. You have been told to expect Mr. Hunt immediately. Now those gentlemen know that there is not the remotest chance that he will appear amongst you. (From the crowd—"There was not last time.") His parting words at the last election were that the time was not come when he was to be returned member for this town. Depend upon it, you will not see him here. (Mr. Mitchell—"But the time may be come.") Those persons who have put him in nomination have taken the responsibility upon their own hands, without either his knowledge or consent. (Some tokens of dissent were here manifested by the Hudders—) the previous calm was again disturbed, and, in the midst of renewed and general clamour, Mr. Stanley concluded by calling upon the intelligent classes of the town to scout an opposition raised merely for the purpose of creating expenses, and upon the electors, generally, to replace in him that confidence which, by more than 3000 votes, they bestowed at the last election.)

MINISTERIAL PROJECTS.

WHEN I wrote the last Register, which was on this day week, I had some little hope (it was not great), that the New Ministry would pursue a new course. I am sorry to see, already that I deceived myself. The avowed intention of adding to the standing army in time of peace, and while they profess

their intention not to go to war; this measure, now openly avowed, and the intention avowed of not lessening the amount of the taxes; these two things convince me, as they must convince every man of any sense, that *no real change is intended*; and that there is to be a mere change of persons, as at Paris. Nay, if one look well into the matter, the Duke's has been a sort of *friendly abdication*; we have been quietly handed over to his successor; the Duke's declaration against reform, like Charles's Ordinance, excited the rage of the people, and then the Duke abdicated, and let in Lord Grey; and it is curious, that, in both cases, the first thing that the new Chambers did was to declare in favour of "*national faith*." Both say, that *no taxes can be taken off*; both keep and propose to keep, all the laws of their predecessors in full force; and to make no change whatever, except in the *mere names* of the principal men in power. And there is, still, Horace Twiss, by Jesus! There he is, in place under the new set as well as under the old set; still *taking our money*, and, like Fox, at retires, calling pensions *vested interests*! These things should be remembered. We are apt to forget; and this is a great fault.

I was willing to wait, and give these ministers time; but the *augmentation of the standing army*, under the present circumstances, is *quite enough for any man*. This shows their intentions; this shows how they mean to act. It is a sure, a certain standard whereby to judge of their designs. But, the *whole of their intentions*, as to the most weighty matters, are developed in the speeches made by Lord ALBANY on the 13th instant. On the subject of the army the report (in the *Bloody Old Times*) makes him say: "that he thought it by no means so desirable to vote the estimates for so long a period as the hon. member for Cricklade had mentioned. *He and his friends had certainly felt it their duty to increase the army, and they had done this in the cheapest way possible. When it was considered what the state of the country really was, no person could be surprised*

at an increase of the military force. He would not wish to govern the country by any military power, but when riots and disorders existed, such as had recently been witnessed, it was necessary to suppress them at once, and by the most effectual means. The hon. Gentleman had averted to the subject of the Duchy of Lancaster, and to the opinion expressed by the present Lord Chancellor upon that subject. Now the argument of the Lord Chancellor, when in that house, was this—that His Majesty's speech had raised expectations in the country that the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster were among those to be given up, and he disapproved of expectations being raised which it was not intended to fulfil. He (*the Chancellor of the Exchequer*) confessed that he had taken the same view of the subject as his noble and learned friend. But it would be most unfair, if by the wording of the King's speech, which was the speech of the late ministers, expectation had been raised which it was never intended to fulfil, for the House to require that those expectations, so falsely raised, should be realized. (Hear.) The Duchy of Lancaster had always been considered as a distinct property of the King, as Duke of Lancaster; it constituted one of the few rights which belonged to the King, and had never hitherto been interfered with by Parliament. Would it then be a gracious return to His Majesty, when surrendering other interests, certainly of less importance, for him to be called upon—the first king that ever was—to make such a sacrifice? (Hear.)

This is what we have been hearing for the last forty years. It does not seem to enter into the minds of these men, that there is any other means of ruling people than those of force! All the world know, that the riots and fires too have been occasioned by the starving state of the labouring people; and yet the cure is, an augmentation of the army! "More soldiers," as the old hack, Burke, said, when he was abusing the National Assembly of France. "More

soldiers." The people are resolved not to live any longer on potatoes and salt. "More soldiers." They will not do it, however; they will have some meat and some bread; and, in the end, they will have both, and in plenty too. It is the push at the *parsons* that frightens the aristocracy; and a desperate dig it is into the bowels of the system; it reaches its very vitals; and has stung the haughty crew to madness. I beg the reader to look (under my *Domestic* head) at the petition of the *farmers* of Stoke Holy Cross, in Norfolk. Look at that Holy Alliance, and if you have one grain of sense left, *beat a retreat* with all imaginable despatch.

Lord Althorp's two speeches (same day) in answer to questions by Mr. Arwwood, are of vast importance. They relate to the CURRENCY and the TAXES. Let me put their words down here; for they are of vast importance. With regard to the Currency,

Mr. Arwwood wished to know from the noble Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it was the intention of Ministers, in their inquiry into the causes of the distress under which the country was now unhappily suffering, to propose any specific motion of inquiry into the chief of those causes—the mischievous tamperings with the Currency, which Ministers and Parliament had been introducing and sanctioning since 1819?—The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.—

In answer to the hon. Member's question I have to state, that it is not the intention of Ministers to propose any inquiry with a view to altering the standard of our circulating medium. (Hear, hear.) If the hon. Gentleman be of opinion that such an inquiry is necessary, let him bring forward a motion to that effect before the House, so as to enable us to pronounce a decisive opinion on its merits. (Hear.) If the hon. Member do so, let me express a hope that he will favour the House with instead of the vague, and general, and untangible allegations of those who usually advocate the expediency of a small note currency—a statement of the grounds of

"his complaint against the present system, of the change he would propose in it, and of his views as to the effects of his change. (Hear, hear.) I should like to know what alteration the hon. Member would propose to us to make in our monetary system, and how he would apply himself to effect it? Whether, for example, he would issue a small note currency, or propose another Bank restriction, or whether he would alter the value, the standard value, of the currency? (Hear.) After the best attention I could bestow on the subject, and I assure the hon. Member I have long and maturely considered it, I have arrived at the conclusion, that it would be impossible for us to alter the present value of the currency, so important and necessary is it to the interests of commerce that the standard of our Currency should be fixed and permanent, without entailing serious mischief on the country; (Hear, hear.) For this reason, I for one will not consent to any alteration in our monetary system like to that which the hon. Member evidently has in view." (Cheers.)

Well, then, that is settled, one would think. But the words respecting the Taxes are of still more importance. Pray observe them, reader, and pray do bear them in recollection. There never was delusion, infatuation, equal to that under which this Ministry is about to blunder along. Experience seems to have no weight with them, and not the smallest effect upon them. They go on just in the old way, though they have the fall of the Duke just under their noses; and though, if not afflicted with total blindness, they must see that he fell in an attempt to uphold that system of taxation which they now express their determination to uphold. But let us hear them:

"Mr. ARTHUR said it was a gross delusion for the Government to talk about economy and retrenchment, if they intended to add to the military force for the purpose of putting an end to the disturbances, and the cause of which they refused to inquire. He believed that it could be shown to

"demonstration, the cause of the present distress, and of the disturbances arising therefrom, to be that unfortunate measure by which an alteration was effected in the Currency. He was convinced that the distresses of the country could not be relieved by retrenchment."

"The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that it was not by retrenchment alone that the Government intended to relieve the country, but also by looking at the financial state of the country, and the manner in which taxes pressed on the industry of the people, and by reducing those taxes which, by their excessive amount, reduced themselves. He believed that the revenue would be increased, and relief afforded to the people, not by laying on new taxes, but by altering those which pressed heavily on industry; (Hear, hear.) For, when he compared the amount of taxation and the amount of capital and wealth at present existing, with the amount of taxation and capital existing at any former period, he felt confident that the amount of taxes was not so great that, if properly imposed, it could not be borne by the people. The hon. Gentleman had said, that the evils of the country were owing, in some degree, to the alteration of the standard of value. That alteration had been unintentionally effected, but the hon. Gentleman proposed to the House deliberately to reduce the standard of value. Such a proposition as that could never be adopted in any commercial country without destruction. It was of the greatest importance to a commercial country to have a fixed standard of value. For these reasons the Ministry were determined not to go into that question. (Hear.) They would endeavour to alleviate the distresses of the country in the way they had pointed out, and if they failed in their object, he for one would not attempt to make an intentional depreciation in the standard of value. (Hear.)"

Mr. ARTHUR was perfectly right; it is a gross delusion to talk of economy

and of augmenting the army at the same time. 'But, good God!' only think of the notions of this poor man about *gassing* the people by adding to the revenue! Really one would think that they were mad, if one did not know to the contrary. However, here is the ELLIOTT ministry that I have seen, and I do think that this is the last that I shall see under this taxing and standing-army-system. How this poor man has had his head cramped with the stuff about the *capital of the country*! The Scotch feeloosers have got him in their net, and out of it will he come in sorry pickle! Oh! the "alteration in the value of the currency was made *unintentionally*," was it? It was made by the House of which you were a member, and you voted for it! So that, if it were done unintentionally, you did what you did not intend to do; in other words, you did not know what you were doing, but I did, and I pretty quickly sold you too. Will you listen to me now, then? No, that you will not. I told the Duke's fortune, when he took hold of the helm. I have not time and room to tell yours to-day; but, I will tell it next week, and, when you have it, you may rely on it being verified. Lord Grey and you have not got your names on the corners of streets and squares, and your pictures on the sign-posts, and, therefore, your fall may not be so very signal; but it will be signal enough, unless you immediately bolt out of this of course, and do the right thing; unless you cause the farmers and other employers to have the means of giving the working people meat and bread. One of the Sussex emigrants, writing home (see *Emigrants' Guide*) to his father, says, "Tell Thomas Agar to 'come to America,' and tell him to 'leave his STRAP (what he wears when he has nothing to eat) in England, for some other half-starved fellow.'" Tell Miriam that there is no sending "children to bed without supper," or "husbands to work without dinner," or "their bags. Come away from that 'land of tithes and taxes.'" This was a Sussex pauper! Only think of the STRAP! Oh! are there, even in the

infernal regions, monsters equal to those who can wish to keep the working people of England in this state! And they are as well off as they ever were, are they, Baring? And it is the French revolution that has stirred them up, is it, Wellington? But the STRAP, then: think of the STRAP! Ah! but the *sublime words* have not read EMIGRANT'S GRIND! No! they, indeed, if they had, they would not have been surprised at what has taken place, and is yet to take place. Not they, indeed, they have no time to throw away upon EMIGRANT'S GRINDS: they have quite enough to do to read Ricardo, Parnell, Peter McCulloch, Paul Senior of Oxford, Cooke, and other such profound economists. Quite enough to do to read these.

But why, now, Lord Althorp, was it that THOMAS AGAR was told not to carry his STRAP to America? And why do the children there not go to bed without supper, and the men to work without dinners in their bags? Why is this? Because the Government there is cheap; because it discharged the army as soon as the war was over; because the whole of the civil government does not cost more than a couple of families of our aristocracy; because, in short, the people choose those who lay on the taxes, and because there are no tithes and no law-established clergy. That's it, Lord Althorp; and if you do not wilfully shut your eyes, if you be not resolved to be blind, you must see that we must, by some means or other, get A CHEAP GOVERNMENT, as our forefathers had. You say, "If we fail!" Pray believe that there is no if in the case: you are sure to fail; and therefore, look out in time for what is to follow. Go on paying the interest of the Debt, in full tale, and in gold of full weight and fineness; do these things for a little while longer and we shall have a cheap government, and THOMAS AGAR may lay aside his STRAP. Is Burke's pension still to be paid? If it be, that's enough to convince any man that under this Ministry there will be no change for the better.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S FARMING.

FIRST OF THE CORN.—The last spring and summer were the worst of the three worst that England has known for many years. Yet this corn has succeeded very well all along the coast of Sussex. Mr. PLUMLEY of PLYMSEY, gave me some very fine corn, when I was at that place; it was of this year's growth. I had some very fine given me at Lewes, and have excellent specimens sent me from other parts of England. I had to quit my farm at Michaelmas, and, therefore, could not have any corn there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop that ever grew, I believe, in the world. It was *harvested about three weeks ago*; and, though, from my other occupations, and from the piece-meal manner in which the work was done, and from giving the small and soft ears to hogs as we proceeded, I cannot tell the exact quantity, I am sure there were at the rate of 120 or 130 bushels of shelled corn to the acre. Any gentleman who has the curiosity to see this crop, may now see a part of it at Bolt-Court, where it is, in part, tied up in bunches of *six ears in a bunch*, and for sale at a *shilling a bunch*. I never saw so fine a crop as this in my life. There was enough grew on *ten rods* of ground, to fat a hog of *ten score*. The greater part of labourers have each ten rods of garden ground for this purpose; and these might produce twenty bushels of bass potatoes instead of 200 pounds of bacon! The crop needs no barn; it is all the work of women and children. If we have a *real reform in the House of Commons*, my design is to go myself, and see corn planted in 50 labourers' gardens in each of the counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Wilts. All my endeavours to better the lot of the labourers have been on the presumption that this reform is to take place; for, without that and its consequent reduction of taxation and abolition of tithes, nothing can better the lot of the labourers. If you give him this, as things now are, you only *increase the hired overseer to give him less than he gives him now*, while you

enable the *parson* to take another bite out of his bones. Suppose a hundred gardens in a parish, each with its ten bushels of corn; the parson gets a hundred bushels; and this takes ten fat hogs from the labouring men. However, this *must cease*; it will cease: and when it does, this corn will be grown all over the kingdom. I am *sure* of this; and I hope that I shall live to see fat hogs from it in thousands of styes of labouring men. Apropos of fat hogs! I wonder whether the LORD CHANCELLOR NOW thinks that I was right, when I told him that he ought to be endeavouring to fill the bellies of the working people, before he troubled himself about the stuffing of their heads! BORDERT (always for talk and no do) used to say, that he did not like the *belly-patriots*. No, to be sure not! He did not like any thing that tended to produce the thing he was *pretending to want* to have done. Burdett liked the *patriots* that would *bawl*, and bawl for him too, and for nobody else, and who were content to live upon "*tatties*." I always hated the sight of the debasing "*tatties*." It is now just 14 years since I put forth my general and elaborate protest against this soul-degrading root, which, I did under the title of "*SHAKESPEARE, MILTON and POTATOES*," in which article I expressed my hope that the *people of England* would *never be reduced to such fare*. They were, however, reduced to it at last; but, thank God and the native spirit that he has given them, they will endure the infernal "*tatties*" no longer.

SECOND, OF OTHER CROPS.—The public knows what the *Bloody Old Times* and the "*Anti-Frog's Blunderer*," commonly called the *FARMER'S JOURNAL*, have put forth about my farm; they have, and particularly a malignant and stupid wretch under the signature of T., said that my land was all a *bed of weeds*, that my *swedish turnips* (that were on the land last fall) were small and like so many plants of grass, so thick on the ground; that I had no straw on the premises; and that *every thing had the hue of misery itself*. This is a species of calumny that even this infamous press

never resorted to in the case of any other man. As to the base people who conduct these newspapers, though they deserve to be knocked on the head and left on the highways or on commons for the carrion-crows to eat, they are not worthy of my vengeance: it is their infamous *setters-on* and *backers-on* that call for my vengeance; and on these I inflict it whenever I can, and rejoice when I see it inflicted by others. The Bloody Old Times attacks me on behalf of the loan-mongers and stock-jobbers and Jews; and the Bull-frog's Blunderer attacks me on behalf of the bullet-headed, monopolising, greedy, gividing, cruel Bull-frog farmers and their equally cruel landlords and parsons. Therefore, *on them* my vengeance is due; and on them I inflict it, when I can, and I always rejoice when it is inflicted on them by others. It is not the *stick*, but the *hand* that wields it, that the sensible dog always bites. To put on record a clear proof of the malignity of these base people, the best way will be to give an account of my crops at the end of my lease. If I were to say any thing about the state of the land, there might be room for difference of opinion; but the amount of the crop, and that amount to be verified by reference to a third party, can leave no doubt. The following, then, is the statement, in answer to the bloody tool of the Jews and the base tool of the Bull-frogs, the whole of whom I challenge to equal the crops of this calumniated farm—

The meadows were grazed during the year.

The arable land consisted of

Wheat—5 acres, rather short measure.

Barley—18 acres.

Potatoes 6, which Mrs. Cobbell (I being away) was persuaded, by some of our gardening neighbours, to believe a source of immense wealth. However, as she was farmer, she had a right to do what she pleased with the land.

Swedish Turnip seed . . . 13

Swedish Turnips . . . 6

White Turnips . . . 4

Mangel Wurzel . . . 8

And this was the whole of the arable land. The produce was as follows:—

Wheat 25 quarters, besides a sack to an acre, which all the care in the world could not prevent the birds from eating.

Swedish Turnip seed, 320 bushels.

Barley 108 quarters.

Only a part has been thrashed out yet.

The wheat has been sold for 78s. a quarter, the barley (wet a little part of it) for 36s. what has been sold.

The potatoes were sold for 12l. an acre, being compelled to get them off the land by Michaelmas-day. I estimate the barley, it not being all thrashed yet; but,

I am sure that I am under the mark. The wheat was the handsomest piece of wheat I ever saw in my whole life. It was what we call, in Hampshire, "the old-fashioned white straw": it has white straw, white ear, and brown small grain.

It is the very sort of wheat that is grown in Virginia, and that makes the finest flour.

A neighbour, who sold me the seed, got it from Wiltshire. Every body said that they never saw such a piece of wheat.

The eight acres of barley that grew in the same field, Sir Thomas Bevor saw in full ear, and said it was the finest piece of barley he had ever seen in his life, though all his life, observe,

he has been in Norfolk. The other ten acres of barley grew where there had been two crops of Cobbell's Corn succeeding each other.

The Swedish Turnip seed had succeeded as fine a crop of mangel wurzel as ever was seen.

The potatoes had succeeded a crop of cabbages much finer than I ever saw before.

The potatoes had 12 loads of manure to the acre, but all the other crops not only had no manure for them, but the land never had any while it was in my possession.

The manure I found on the farm was not sufficient for an acre of land, and I left, in the yard, enough for the 13 acres where the turnips had stood, and that land I left ploughed and harrowed and ready for wheat.

The turnips and mangel wurzel left for winter consumption on the land, had been put on manure to the amount of 12 loads to the acre. So that there were 24 (with the potatoes

ground) well manured, and manure for 13 acres more; and never was farm left in such beautiful condition. But the crops speak for the farm. The scoundrel T., one of whose paragraphs my foolish landlord had the emptiness to send to me, said that my Swedish turnips were *thick on ground*! The base, broken-down sponger, whom I know very well, and whose name I keep out of print for the sake of those who have the misfortune to be related to him, saw those turnips on ridges six feet apart, two rows on a ridge a foot apart, and the plants a foot apart in the row; and this is what the stupid and malignant villain called *thick upon the ground*! This piece of seed was the finest, I believe, that ever was seen. The land, between the plants, was ploughed in the winter; then twice in the spring. The seed stalks were six feet high; the flower of the Swedish Turnip is a very beautiful pale yellow, and the piece being so large, it attracted all eyes that came near the spot; people used to stand in groups on the Thames bank and look at it. But did ever any farmer before grow 320 bushels of Swedish turnip seed on 13 acres of land, in one piece? I never heard of such a thing; and the finest in seed too; and the land a fallow at the same time. The wide distances let in the air and sun; and the inter-tillage fed the plants so as to fill the top ends of the branches. A fact worth the attention of farmers is, that the seed from which these plants came was at least seven years old! It was a bag of seed given to me in 1825 by Mr. PERRINSON, who then rented a farm of the Warringtons, in Bedfordshire. He gave it me as being extremely fine. I had tried it in my garden, and found it to be so; but never had an opportunity of raising a lot of seed from it before. There was but one single false plant in the whole piece, and that I had pulled up before the blight appeared. The seed is the finest sample that I ever saw. I shall, by and by, offer this seed for sale, in any quantities, great or small; and also *winter-sown seed*, grown by me, the autumn before, from plants of the deep red sort,

carefully selected for the purpose.— Besides the seeds, I have some *locust seed*; and these are all the seeds I have, or shall have, for sale. Of APPLE and PEAR trees, and some others, I have a good parcel; but it is too troublesome to be selling these in the winter; I shall, therefore, not attempt it till towards March.

I make no apology for this article. It contains useful information. In the first place, it is useful to show up the baseness of the tools of the people's worst enemies; and, in the next place, here is information that may be useful to many persons who cultivate the land, and particularly to such as raise seeds in great quantities. It is, too, of the greatest importance, that it be known that CANNON'S CORN will succeed in any summer in England. I have the crop to show to any one that may choose to see it; and this is the best of answers to all gainsayers.

MIDDLESEX MEETING.

I have no time to comment on this very important Meeting; but cannot deny to thank Mr. WAKLEY for his uncloudedness of the resolutions.

PARLIAMENT.

Thursday, 9th December, 1830.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

STATE OF THE NATION.—Lord Wynford moved, that a Committee should be appointed instantly to inquire into the causes of the present distressed state of the country, and, as far as might be, into the nature of the remedies to be adopted. He introduced this motion by a long speech, which, for confusion and contradiction, is without a parallel in speech-making. Judge W. summed up the case of the country, taking all the nonsense that has ever been uttered as to the causes of distress, as if it were evidence given from the witness-box; of course, he failed in reconciling any one piece of nonsense to any other, and he also, of course, failed in making out any-

thing from the whole. He imputed the recent burplings and breakings to *excessive distress*, to *foreigners* (that is, he called the means made use of by the labourers an *exotic*, which is, a thing *foreign*), and to *designing and vicious investigators*. He quoted the words of Peel, Huskisson, and the Duke of Wellington, spoken last year, that there was no want of money (or *capital*, as money is so ludicrously called), but that the money is in "an *unhealthy state*." (You must read their stuff, reader, if you won't believe that I give their words.) That it is shut up in boxes instead of being going about the country transacting affairs; that it is in too few hands. Now, this notion has more truth in it than any other that they have blundered upon; but what has caused this state of things? How comes all the money of the country in the hands of those who do none of the work of the country? How comes it that those who pour out their sweat in the fields starve, while those who slumber, or who wake only to revel, live in luxury? How comes this state of things? My readers don't want to be told. This learned Lord was for machinery and against machinery, his mind seems to have been pretty nearly equally divided in this particular; he thought taxation certainly did operate to cause distress too; for Mr. P. E. had declared that the Excise alone took away two-fifths of the poor man's wages; but he was for giving relief no further than was consistent with *faith to the public creditor*. He asserted that those who pressed heaviest by the poor, were "the *inferior tradesmen and shopkeepers*, who took more from the pocket of the poor man than the landlord or the *taxes*." Good God, what a notion!

What does this man think the shopkeeper can get out of the potatoes and salt that the poor creatures are now reduced to? It is gone beyond that. What did the shopkeeper get out of the poor creatures who died with nothing but sour porridge in their bellies? What did the shopkeeper get out of this, Best? But this report is the

grossest mass of absurdity that I ever read. The difficulty is to point out the most absurd of its absurdities. Why, ALL is ruin, Best: the shopkeeper is a ruined man, as well as the labourer and the farmer; go ask him. The shopkeeper ought to have gain, and great gain, too; and always does when the thing is in a proper state. The wages of the labourer must all go through his hands, to be sure, and it is by squeezing him that the Government first comes at the labourer. In this same speech, Lord Wynford said, that, "in his opinion, *protection ought to be equally given to every species of labour*;" and then he went on to say, that "he would not diminish the *security of the fundholder*—he would not deny that persons just demands upon the state; but he was persuaded that if things went on as they now did, though the fundholder might now have his dividend, the *security of his property would be worth nothing*." Labour cannot be protected, rents and tithes received, and the *security of the fundholder protected*: that is what I say.—Lord Stanhope wished the motion to be agreed to. He said that, "as to the pledges that the Ministers had held out respecting economy and retrenchment, he very much feared that this would only excite very delusive hopes in others, and that the noble Earl at the head of the Administration laboured under great delusion himself, if he expected that any sensible relief would be afforded to existing distresses from this source. But the measure of retrenchment was in itself a correct one. As to the question of the Currency, the Ministers were aware of his opinions, and they ought not to disguise from themselves the situation in which they stood with reference to this question. It could not be denied that they had but two alternatives, both of which were difficult, but from which they could not escape. The one alternative was, by a return to a paper circulation, to raise prices; or, if they rejected that, and persevered in supporting the present currency, then the only other alternative was, to reduce all payments

"to the same scale. If they maintained the metallic currency, they must diminish all payments in the debt, and all the establishments to the scale at which they stood in 1792; and then they must consider the consequences, for the thing could not be done without a convulsion." And I am sure that it cannot be left undone without a convulsion.

The Earl of RADNOR said, that as he had voted for inquiry last Session, and was now about to vote against it, perhaps it might be necessary for him to make a few observations in explanation of a line of proceeding which might, if he did not, wear the appearance of inconsistency. In fact, he always had, upon principle, an aversion to Committees of Inquiry (which, in his opinion, were of late years much too frequent), because he considered that they tended, in many cases, to take the government of the country out of the hands of his Majesty's servants, where it ought to be placed, and to relieve ministers from a large portion of that responsibility which they were constitutionally bound to bear. Situated as he now was, he avowed himself, upon principle, averse to inquiry; but if he happened to be in the other House, where he had passed the greater part of his life, he should, most probably, be a friend to inquiry, but it would be with a view to impeachment. For he really thought it was a thing not to be silently endured, that the late Administration should leave the country to their successors in a state of utter confusion and dissolution of society, without having vengeance taken on them.

Several noble Lords rose to order.

LORD TRYNNHAM having risen first, was heard. He put it to their Lordships if the noble Earl had not transgressed the rules of that House, by using such a term as vengeance in reference to any noble Lord?

EARL STANHOPE read a passage bearing upon the subject from the Order Book.

EARL RADNOR resumed. He did not mean to allude personally to any noble Lord. He spoke merely of the late Administration. He retracted the term vengeance, and was sorry he had used it; but their Lordships must have observed that words did not come very freely to him. To the opinion, however, he adhered, that there should be some examination with a view to the punishment of those who had brought the country into its present state. To return to the question moved by the noble and learned Lord, he would not now vote for a Committee of Inquiry, although he had done so last session, because he thought circumstances were most materially changed. The present administration had only been three weeks in office, and on the first day of their accession, the noble Earl had taken occasion to declare, that he would take the state

of the country into his earliest consideration, and that he would as speedily as possible propose some remedy. He was therefore, justified in maintaining that they were in a totally different state from that of last year, when all inquiry was refused. In saying this, however, he begged to be understood as having no blind confidence in the Government; he would watch their measures, though he was anxious at all times to give them his support. There was yet another objection to a committee being voted at present. Parliament was likely to be adjourned in a few days (indeed he might observe incidentally, that it was a great hardship that Government could not have adjourned it at once, for its sitting must be a great cause of distraction to them, from the anxious attention they were required to devote to the state of affairs, arising from the lamentable condition in which the country had been left by their predecessors), and from this early adjournment the committee could only sit once or two days. And he was convinced each noble Lord would do better service by going down to their estates and mixing with their tenants, than by sitting there and examining witnesses upon things which they could learn better by personal observation. He ridiculed the idea of fixing a limit either as regarded machinery or the currency. If the noble Earl did not redeem his pledges after Christmas, it would then be time enough for the noble and learned Lord to bring forward a motion. He regretted to observe, that the links which bound society together were broken. The whole State was sore, and its wounds required to be treated with a healing hand. He trusted they would be so treated, although some strokes of severity would, he lamented to think, be necessary at first. For fifty years the people had been treated by the Government of this country, not as the children who were to be loved and cherished, but as enemies who were to be kept at a distance. The noble and learned Earl well knew this was the case. It was urged by noble Lords that the distressed people should have pursued another course—that they should have petitioned; but did they not petition, and were not their petitions disregarded? For ten years they had petitioned for some Reform in Parliament, but their petitions were not even read. After this long endurance of evil, it was not to be wondered at that they were disturbed. Of his own knowledge he could declare the distress was frightful. An able-bodied and industrious young man in the parish in which he was connected had in vain applied for work. His allowance from the parish was 2s. 6d. a week. Could he subsist on this? What was he to do? The condition of the country was lamentable; but he hoped from the zeal and talents of the Administration that they would be able to establish peace. He trusted they might go on and prosper. The last thing in his desires would be to embarrass the present Government.

The Duke of WELLINGTON:—My Lords, having voted against a similar motion in the last Session, it is not my intention to vote for the inquiry now proposed by the noble and learned Lord. I am perfectly aware of the difficulties and dangers in which the country is placed. It is not my intention, and it never has been my desire, to extenuate any of them; but I challenge the noble Earl who accuses the late Administration to come to an inquiry upon any part of the conduct of that Administration, to which he attributes the difficulties and dangers of the country, and from which he declares that they proceed. I object to the inquiry in this Session, as I did in the last year, for precisely the same reasons, and for the very reasons stated by the noble Earl. This inquiry, as proposed by the noble and learned Lord, is to extend to the finances of the country—to the system of administering and executing the laws—to the state of the commercial and manufacturing interests—and, as the noble Earl observed, even to machinery. Now, my Lords, it is impossible you can have an inquiry on all these subjects, without exciting expectations, and involving the country in difficulties and dangers ten times greater than those under which it at present suffers. In addition to these reasons, it is not just towards the Administration who have so lately taken upon themselves the conduct of affairs, that I should seek to involve them in difficulties in which I, myself, objected to be involved last Session. (Hear, hear.) Besides, there is already a Committee sitting above stairs for the purpose of inquiring into the poor-laws, which can enter upon many of the points urged by the noble and learned Lord. That point particularly as to levying rates from manufacturing property, as well as from the land, would, I imagine, come under their attention; together with many other points referred to by the noble and learned Lord, to which I shall not advert from the lateness of the hour, but into which the Committee will undoubtedly enter; as they will into that point I have mentioned. My Lords, as I said before, I do not wish to extenuate the dangers and difficulties of the country; but I must say that the dangers and difficulties of the country did not originate from anything that was done by the late Administration. They originated from the difficulties abroad, and the example, the bad example, given by neighbouring countries, and from the misrepresentations that went forth, and the false ideas that were entertained respecting what had passed in these countries, and from the want of knowledge here of the mischief brought on these countries by misfortunes which had occurred in the course of the last few months. The noble Earl attributes them to us; but I challenge him to say on what point he sounds his charge. With what does he find fault? How could we have acted otherwise than we did? I challenge him to come forward, let him bring his charge, and I shall be ready to answer it. (Hear, hear.)

I am aware of the distress of the labouring poor; but I want to know in what manner Government can interfere so as to procure a remedy for the condition of the poor? In what way could the last or even the present administration remedy the administration of the poor-laws, except by precepts such as those inculcated in the documents which I have heard this night ridiculed, and by the example of each in his own particular station. Legislation on this subject has gone as far as legislation can go. Mischief arises from the mal-administration of the poor-laws by persons who are beyond the control of the Government of the country. I am aware, my Lords, that it has been whispered about that we were not sufficiently attentive to the disturbances when they first occurred. My Lords, from the first moment they occurred the greatest attention was paid to them by the Government. All possible means were adopted to enable the magistrates to get rid of them. Government cannot interfere in the details of justice, which must be administered by the magistrates. It is the business of Government to aid the magistrates with counsel, and with sufficient force (whenver force may be unfortunately necessary); but they cannot interfere in the details. I know, my Lords, that it is whispered by our enemies, that we did not sufficiently attend to the disturbances in the country; but I do declare, that from the first moment I received an intimation of them from my noble Friend, the Lord Lieutenant of Kent (and I believe the circumstances were mentioned to me before any other of his Majesty's servants), every thing was done to get the better of them. The noble Earl has been pleased to call for vengeance on us. He laid all the distress and disturbance of the country to our charge. Afterwards he referred these calamities to the mal-administration of the last 50 years, which he seemed at least in part to charge upon my noble and learned Friend on the cross benches. He certainly has as much as I to do with it. (Hear, and a laugh.) Until the occurrence of the misfortunes abroad in the months of July and August, all was tranquil here; but since these misfortunes took place, and the lower classes here were taught to think they should follow the bad examples of neighbouring nations, while they were not made aware of the evils which the people of these countries had brought on themselves, difficulties and dangers have existed, and have been increased. During our Administration, we did all we could to relieve the people. In last Session three millions nine hundred thousand pounds' worth of taxation was taken off; and since, the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country generally were in a state of prosperity and tranquillity, except in those districts where there were gross and disgraceful disturbances. My Lords, I have, in consequence of the attack of the noble Earl, trampled longer on your attention than I otherwise would have done,

or than I trust I shall again find necessary.

The Earl of ELDON observed, that the great consolation to him in his long career was, that he had always been opposed to the noble Earl.

The Motion was not agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

REFORM—BALLOT.—Mr. O'Connell presented three petitions for Reform in Parliament; and he took occasion to say, that, without the Ballot, it was impossible to prevent members being nominated by the House of Lords, in the present state of the country; and that he could not believe that that mode of voting would be opposed by any but those who desired the influence of the Aristocracy over the votes of the people. Whereupon

"Sir ROBERT WILSON rose with considerable vehemence. He felt it imperative upon him to contradict the assertion of the hon. and learned Member who had imputed bad motives to all who did not profess to hold the same opinion with himself (Mr. O'Connell). That learned Gentleman had chosen to denounce as insincere and dishonest the avowed opinions of men whose whole public lives had proved their integrity to be quite equal to that of the Member for Waterford himself. The Ballot was opposed by gentlemen who had come into that House with the sanction of their constituents for that opposition. In the House they did no more than to maintain the opinions which they had professed out of it. (Hear, hear.) It was well known that in the United States of America the ballot had proved to be a deception—a cloak—and encouragement to corruption. By the privacy which it secured, it induced men to sell their votes. (Hear.) The most honourable men had pronounced the ballot to be fallacious and injurious; and, at this moment, there was more fraud practised in those States of America in which the votes were concealed by ballot, than in those in which they were given openly. (Hear.) When the New States of Mexico were about to institute a republic, and some of their wisest and best patriots deliberated upon the best mode of making

votes, the ballot was adopted. When the hon. and learned Member ventured to impugn the integrity of men as honourable as himself, and as attached to liberty, he arrogated to himself a license to which he had no title. (Cheers.) For his part, he (Sir R. Wilson) had, throughout his life, done quite as much as the learned Gentleman for the advancement of freedom; and he, therefore, could not suffer such accusations, which applied to himself, to pass unanswered. While he had the honour of a seat in that House, he would not allow any gentleman's reproaches to daunt him, nor would he suffer any man to direct him in the discharge of his duty. (Cheers, and hear, hear.) He would be influenced only by a conscientious regard for the interests of his constituents. (Hear.)"

Never mind America, Robert, look at France, Robert. And when the ballot is adopted in England, you will not see one single hypocrite—"patriot" in that place, Robert. A Mr. Ruthven very sarcastically told you that you need not put yourself in such a pet, and he tweaked your ear for not being in the House when the division came on which bundled out the late Ministry. Ah! Robert,

COMMENDAM.—Lord Althorp announced that the Ministers had advised the King "to abstain from issuing the instrument required for the purpose of suffering Dr. Phillips to hold the flying of Stanhope together with the Bishopric of Exeter."

SALARIES.—Lord Althorp moved for a Committee "to inquire what reductions can be made in the salaries and emoluments of office held during pleasure of the Crown by Members of either House of Parliament." After a long deliberation, this was agreed to.

Friday, 9th December.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

DUTY OF THE COUNTRY.—Lord RADNOR, on presenting a petition from the Vestry of the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, praying a reduction of taxes pressing particularly upon the poor and industrious part of the

community, referred to something that had passed last night on the subject of the neglect of the Distresses of the people by the Administration of the Duke of Wellington. The noble Lord had said, that the petition he now brought forward had been agreed to in June last, and upon the authority of a most respectable timber merchant, he was able to assert that the condition of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was most deplorable. The rental of the parish was 132,000*l.*, and the poor rates in June last were 34,000*l.*, while the inhabitants were reduced to the lowest state of demoralization by the recklessness occasioned by extreme distress. Shopkeepers formerly taking at the rate of 20*s.* per week did not even in June last do business to the extent of 20*s.* per week. This was a condition that ought to have received the attention of the noble Duke and his colleagues, but they had disregarded it, like the distresses of other parts of the kingdom, and the responsibility of Ministers was but a word, a mere farce, if they were not punishable for such neglect. If they were ignorant of the fact, their ignorance was culpable; if they were not ignorant of it, their apathy was criminal.

The Duke of WELLINGTON called upon the noble Lord in candour to admit that he had not last night alluded to St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, nor to any particular parish; nor, indeed, to all the parishes of the kingdom put together; what the noble Lord had said was, that the country was in a dangerous and difficult situation, that the late Administration found it so, that it was responsible for not having relieved it from that situation; and that it ought to be impeached for its misconduct in this respect. He now again required the noble Lord to bring forward some distinct charge, and to put it in a tangible shape, and when he had done so, he (the Duke of Wellington) should be most ready to meet it, and to vindicate the late servants of the Crown. It was not because the noble Lord now brought forward a petition from Shoreditch and supported it by the assertions of a nameless person, that Ministers were to be made responsible for neglect of duty and disregard of the distresses of the country. He (the Duke of Wellington) had said before, and he repeated now, that he could not and would not make himself responsible for any acts but his own. If he had had the power of putting matters to rights, and had failed at the proper time to exercise that power, he agreed that he was so far culpable. He had had nothing to do with the parish of Shoreditch; and were its situation twenty times worse than the noble Lord had described it, as he had nothing to do with the parish offices, he could not be answerable. He was sure that the noble Lords opposite must feel that they could do nothing upon such a subject. They might subscribe for the partial relief of distress, and recommend his Majesty to subscribe, but they could do no more; and he believes it would be found, that the late Ministry had not failed in its duty in this

respect, particularly as far as regarded recommendations to his late Majesty. Ministers had, by law, no right to interfere with matters of parish detail, which belonged only to the overseers of the poor. He repeated, that if the noble Lord would make any distinct charge, he should be ready to meet and to refute it.

How obstinate this unfortunate Prince has been in verifying my predictions about him! Step by step he has walked just where I asked him not to walk, and I am sure I warned him in language courteous enough; I never abused him; I gave him no "*coarse language*." I always called him "*Prince*," (when I thought of it), and I exhorted him, for the sake of his name and his picture, to mind what he did. If he had taken my warnings, he need not now have been listening to the scoldings in the House, the hissings and hootings out of it; he need not have audied away from the people in the very streets, nor have had guards in his dwelling. But he would not listen!

NEGRO SLAVERY.—Lord NAPIER presented a petition against the continuance of negro slavery; and in doing so, took the opportunity of referring to the proposition he had made on a former night, that a committee of their Lordships should go out to the West India Islands, in order to furnish the House with the best information upon the question of negro slavery, before they undertook to legislate upon it. Before he made that proposition he had had no communication whatever with anybody upon the subject. He had no West India property, he never had had any, and he ever expected to have any; but still he felt interested on the subject, from the knowledge of the colonies which his professional life had given him. Since he made the proposition to which he now referred, he had had communications with different gentlemen connected with those places, and he found that they much approved of his plan. As there were several noble Lords who strongly supported the question of the manumission of slaves, and no doubt, whenever the country called upon them to undertake the duty of going out as a committee of inquiry to examine into the subject, they would show their perfect readiness to obey the call. He had never once expressed his opinion on the matter, but he would now do so, and would state distinctly, that in his mind slavery in all its branches was a curse, and a heavy curse; but how to remove it was a question which their Lordships could never learn to answer properly in this country alone. Their Lordships must remember, that the colonies were composed of islands taken from other countries during the war, as well as of those which had long

been in possession of this country; and he would defy their Lordships, by any regulation they might make here, to embrace all the different interests that existed in these various islands. It was impossible they could justly understand all these differences, unless they sent out a body of their own members to go there. He was ready, for one, to become a member of that committee; and he was satisfied, that when this appeal was made to those noble Lords, to whom he had before alluded, they would come forward and show their readiness to give their services in favour of the cause they had so often advocated; or, if they did not, they must for ever after hold their peace. (Hear, and a laugh.)

I am so pleased when I come across a piece of common sense, that I cannot help sticking it in at full length. This is sense as to this subject. Nobody can be other than against slavery, whether of whites or blacks; but the question of Negro-slavery, as it comes to our ears here in England, contains hypocrisy, falsehood, and impracticability, all at the same time, and in a degree astonishing. In the first place, the fellows are hypocrites that prate about the *suffering blacks*, and see with their own eyes the suffering labouring people of England with callous hearts. They publish lies; I have detected and exposed their deliberate lies. They pretend to wish for that which is impracticable; for they pretend to want the practice of keeping slaves in the West Indies to be given up, when they know that they must either remunerate the Planters (which they cannot), or that the West Indies must be suffered to transfer itself to America, which it would be treason in them to effect. The same fellows that are foremost in this, are also foremost in denouncing the reformers as *wild, visionary, designing!* Always mind that. And it is enough for me to see a man sweating and tearing for liberty on *the other side of the world*. I observed Wilberforce very early in my life: always saw him at this; and always saw him the deadliest foe of any approach to liberty at home.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CHURCH.—Nothing important, except that Mr. Wellesley moved for a “re- turn of all the livings (church) in the

“gift of the Crown, stating the value “of each at the present time, and the “amount at which each is rated in the “King’s books.” Mr. Fyler suggested that this should be extended to all livings; but Mr. Wellesley was not disposed, at present, to do any thing which “would “have the effect of exciting prejudices “against the Hierarchy. It was for that “reason he had limited his return to “livings in the gift of the Crown.” But we must have the whole, sooner or later, Mr. Wellesley, whether it be prejudicial to the Hierarchy or not. A curious reason to give, by-the-by, and one that the parsons will hardly thank you for; for, of course, then, it would be a disclosure that would *prejudice them!* They had better bring it out at once, for if it is worse than the people suspect, it must be bad indeed!

Saturday, 11th December.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House met, contrary to custom, on this day; but nothing of great consequence, that I see, occurred, excepting that

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved for Returns of the population of all cities and boroughs in England sending members to Parliament; also a Return of the population of all the towns in England not sending members to Parliament, and containing 10,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1821; and a Return of the population of all the cities and boroughs in Scotland returning members to Parliament; and a Return of the population of all the towns in Scotland not sending members to Parliament, and containing 5,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1821.—Agreed to.

I suppose this is to be the groundwork of the Reform; and now we shall see the accursed rotten boroughs, the source of all the villany, all the speculation, the squandering, and of all the tyranny that was necessary to keep the thing a-going; we shall see these vile things destroyed. But we shall not see much done, unless we see the voting by ballot. Look out for that, therefore; and, perhaps, it will not be amiss, throughout the discussion, to look to the notable member for Southwark, the *patriotic soldier*, as a *barometer*: when his quick-silver is up (as it was about the ballot the other night), then all is

right; but when it is down, quiescent, look to it! No man on earth has faculties more alive to No. 1. Eyes, ears, and nose—no one deceives him. The House was quite astonished, the other night, at the life he displayed on Mr. O'Connell's eulogy on the ballot! He raved, and then even quitted the House. He took, all that O'Connell had said, as pointed at him. To be sure! all his senses told him that *Robert Wilson* would not be member for Southwark any longer than voting by ballot could be kept off. I am not surprised at his dudgeon, faith!

Monday, 13th December.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

LORD GROSVENOR rose to notice some of the new appointments to offices; but he soon went off to the question of the distress of the country, and said, "If the lauded interest were not relieved from some part of the burdens by which it was borne down, it would be completely destroyed; and then, he would ask, what other interest could be upheld? "The mortgaged interest would melt into air. "It was indispensable to the welfare of the country that the lauded interest should be maintained. Those who were interested in the land, being attached to the soil, were not only of necessity devoted to preserve the institutions of the state, but were unable to evade their share of the public burdens. "But the mortgaged interest was composed, to a great extent, of persons having no connexion with the country—Jews and Gentiles, inhabitants of France, of Russia, of Germany, in a word, of every part of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, who could at any time withdraw the money from the funds, and escape from any share in the burdens of this country; or, if they should even be inhabitants of England, they might lock up their money in that famous box, of which so much had been said in the House on a former evening, and shelter it from those taxes from which the lauded interest had no means of escaping." This Lord has, I suppose, begun to find out that he is only a partner in his own estate. I told them all that they would find it out, sooner or later. The estates are being now as quietly transferred from Lords to loan-mongers as heart could wish; and this is one of the symptoms of uneasiness felt by this particular Lord. He flatters himself that what he calls his, is really his! Poor man! he has now only a good, a pretty good, stewardship over it. Nothing more important than this was said, in this House, during the rest of the evening.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY.—The Marquess of CHANDOS presented a petition from the West India Plan-

ters, Merchants, and others, praying the House not to take steps towards destroying their property until it had afforded them compensation. No one was a greater friend to the slaves than he was, but he could not help seeing that there were two ways proposed of getting rid of slavery in the West Indies—the one was by popular clamour, and the other by remunerating the planter for the loss that he must necessarily sustain. When the question came to be decided, he should unquestionably give his support to the latter of these ways. So great was the clamour on this subject throughout the country, that the West India Proprietors had no chance of having their cause heard, the most vigorous attempts had been made to fetter the Representatives of each borough and county, by a pledge on this subject, and to which no gentleman ought to submit. He himself had at once told his constituents, that though he would vote for the emancipation of the slaves, he could not for a moment disjoin that measure from the question of compensation to their owners. With respect to the other interests of the West Indians, he knew that Government was called on in every direction to make reductions; but he, nevertheless, trusted that they would be able to afford some consideration to the cause of the West Indies, so as to allow its produce to stand a better chance in the market. The petitioners whose cause he was advocating were in no way afraid of inquiry; and he, therefore, hoped that the House, and his Majesty's Ministers, would come forward with a plan for the settlement of the slave-question, and the general remuneration of the planters.

Mr. Marriott complained of the outcry against the West-Indian planters, and illustrated the outcry by stating that a petition against them had been presented to the House by a noble Lord "on the 4th of November," which spoke of the impropriety of suffering "traffickers in human flesh to hold seats in that House, where they appeared like Satan seated among the sons of God." None of these howling, hypocritical wretches have seen English labourers put up to auction then! None of them have seen them let at auction for the day, week, or month; and, at the expiration of the term put up again, and again let! None of them have seen or heard of their being, in default of bidders, employed to do some degrading thing, some harassing thing, as it were just to remind them of their horrid slavery; something wholly useless, such as carrying a heavy stone for a certain distance and back again, so many times in the day; none of the wretches have heard of these things, I suppose? And of their being shut up away from their wives? None of them have heard of all this? Not one word has ever escaped them about all this, even though it happens in their own country, their own parish; under their own noses. No, on the contrary, the men who are foremost in this hypocritical howl are the loudest bawlers

against "the insubordinate," the "disaffected," and the "deserving," who would gladly change all the liberty that they possess to be as well fed and well treated as the negroes are in the West Indies. I am confident that the English labourers, if they could but once conquer the natural repugnance to the term "slave," would, if they could see the condition of the slaves of the West Indies, gladly change lots with them. — But there is a branch topic connected with this affair. It is proposed to do away with slavery, because it is against the laws of God to deal in human flesh, and yet the people of England are to be taxed to make compensation to the West India planters for the LOSS OF THEIR PROPERTY! Well done, THING: you want best that! Well done, "envy of surrounding nations!" But stop — it is not done yet.

SALARIES. — There being a good deal of talk about reducing salaries, and getting rid of useless places, something was said about that of the Lord Privy Seal, whereupon Mr. H. Twiss contended, that it was a great mistake to suppose that the office of Lord Privy Seal was a needless office. With respect to pensions, he begged to say that it was his hope the new Government would not be inclined to place the Sovereign in the position of creating an immense mass of private pensions. Reduction, he insisted, ought to be confined to offices during pleasure. Those emoluments ought not to be taken away which might be considered as vested interests. If the advocates of retrenchment and reform proceeded too far in their demands, they would entirely defeat their own object.

I put this in for fun's sake. This person was one of the Under-Secretaries of State in the last Ministry, and is Examiner of Patents in the present Ministry. His ideas of distress are truly amusing; but by this we may measure the degree of feeling for the country that is entertained by this class of persons. And this is a representative of the people's mind, and has been for many years so.

ARMY. — Mr. Hume asked Lord Althorp if it was true, as rumoured, that the Government meant to increase the army, by adding 5,000 men to the present establishment. To which Lord Althorp replied, that "as to the question which had been asked by the hon. Gent. it was with regret that he should give a reply to it, for he felt sorry to disappoint him; but truth compelled him to state, that the circumstances of the country had reduced his Majesty's Government to the necessity of making up their minds to propose the increase of the army to the extent mentioned. (Heat, hear.) But he could at the same time assure the House, that every effort would be made to effect this addition in the cheapest manner possible. He was sure the House would concur with him in thinking, that at the present moment it was no matter of surprise that the Government should come forward with a proposition for the increase of the army. His was averse

as any man could be to desiring to govern by military force; but when riot and disorder everywhere prevailed, the first duty of the Government was to put it down."

Sir MATTHEW W. RIDLEY said, "he would gladly learn how there could be any saving, so long as the country had to pay 30,000,000*l.* for interest of the Debt? The establishments of the country did not amount to more than 17,000,000*l.* He earnestly wished to see taxes reduced, but he confessed frankly that he saw no hope of any such happy consummation." That's it, Sir Matthew; that's the truth. It's all your own mess. What! have you nothing to hope for but in the peaceable starving of the labouring people, and in their turn, the farmers and tradesmen? But that won't take place; they will shove it more and more upon your shoulders, and down you, or the funds, go.

Tuesday 14th December.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Jews. — Lord Buxley presented a petition from English Jews, calling for a removal of civil disabilities. His Lordship "concurred in the prayer, and believed that the petitioners yielded to no other subjects of the Crown so loyally and good conduct."

Tithes. — Lord King presented a petition from Southampton praying for the redress of grievances, and especially for the removal of tithes. Lord King supported the petition, and characterised tithes as "a public nuisance, injurious to the landlord, as it made a positive deduction from his rent, oppressive to the cultivator, as it rendered the gains of his labours uncertain, injurious to the capitalists, as it prevented the employment of capital upon the land. He wished to see some arrangement by which the lands of Deans and Chapters, who were utterly useless as Ministers of religion, should be made available for the support of the working clergy." He hoped to see entirely cleared away from the Church all the cumbrous lumber of golden and of brazen Prebends, together with the Deans and Chapters."

The Bishop of London said, that the noble Lord (King) had stated, with truth, that repeated and vehement attacks had of late been made upon the system of tithes. May that sort of property should be attacked more than other property in land, which, as well as tithes, was possessed only by virtue of the laws (hear), he (the Bishop of London) could not explain, unless it were, because the Clergy, of whom they were the property, were the weaker party. No man more than the right rev. Prelate could be convinced of the claims of the country in its present state on the consideration of their Lordships. He knew from many years' experience as a parochial clergyman, that the agricultural labourers generally were suffering under great distress; which, however, was attributable not to the tithe-system, but to the unfortunate administration of the poor-laws

fear; concerning which great mistakes had been committed. Another important cause of the distress would be found in the years of false prosperity, during which all classes, both clergy and laity, except the lower orders, had acquired habits of luxury, from which it was very difficult to descend, when the appearance of prosperity had passed away. But all those classes were now prepared to make any arrangements which, after due deliberation, might seem likely to relieve the distress. He admitted that tithes had been raised in the same proportion as rents had been raised, and he thought it reasonable that both should go on *pari passu*. Every sound economist knew that tithes were really a second rent. If they should cease to be collected, their amount would go to increase the rent of the landlord. The Clergy were entitled to their rent not only by immemorial usage, but by tithes, as ancient and as legitimate as those by which the landlords themselves held their estates.

I used to tell the Hampshire parsons that they would have their tithes taken from them one day or other, if they did not mind. I need to warn them; and, oh, God! how they did abuse and blackguard me for my warnings!

MIDDLESEX MEETING.

At this meeting on Wednesday which was very numerously attended, the following petition was agreed to.

"To the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The humble Petition of the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, at a meeting duly convened by the Sheriffs, and held at the Mermaid Tavern, Hackney, the 10th day of December, 1830.

"Sheweth—That your Petitioners are deeply and anxiously impressed with alarm at the present unparalleled distressed condition of the people of this once happy, prosperous, and flourishing country.

"That they have seen that commerce has long been carried on upon an insecure basis, that distrust has for many years past pervaded all ranks of tradesmen, and that the productive classes have been, year after year, sinking into deep misery and misfortune, and that at last, unable any longer to bear up under their numberless oppressions and privations, and stimulated by hunger and resentment, the poor have become the reckless destroyers of that food and property, which they heretofore industriously laboured to produce and protect.

"That, in the opinion of your humble Petitioners, these evils, and many others which have long afflicted the country, have been produced by wasteful expenditure of money, which has been extracted under the sanction of oppressive Law from the labour of our industrious people. By the enormous expenses incurred for wars carried on against the

rights and liberties of mankind; by the ruinous transition in the nominal value of properties, consequent upon unreasonable changes in the currency; by the transition from a restrictive system of commerce, to one of comparative freedom, unaccompanied by a reservation for cheap bread; by the cruelly oppressive character of the Corn Laws, through which the landlord was enabled to extract high rents from the farmer; and hence the farmers were compelled to reduce the wages of the labourers almost to starvation; by the pernicious tithe-system, under the operation of which, the cultivators of the land had been reduced to look upon those who should be their best friends as their bitterest enemies; by a system which has in many instances prevented the cultivation of land—thereby lessened the quantity of the labourers' food; by the cruel and sanguinary Game Laws, from the effects of which the labourers have been converted into poachers, and the poachers into nocturnal thieves; by the maladministration of the just and humane Poor Laws; which, in thousands of instances, have caused the labourer to be deprived of his wages, and his half-starved family to be deprived of that relief to which they were justly entitled by law; by the expense of supporting unnecessarily a large standing army during fifteen years of undisturbed peace; by the extravagant and unwarranted salaries, sinecures, and pensions, paid to public men, their wives and their daughters.

"That these and many other abuses exist, which your Petitioners will not occupy your time by describing, because your humble Petitioners have already repeatedly laid them before your Honourable House.

"Your humble Petitioners, therefore, earnestly pray that they may be spared the further misery of such abuses, and protected against similar inflictions for the future, by such Reform in your Honourable House as shall give to the people their due influence in framing every measure of Parliament; which Reform, in the opinion of your Petitioners, can neither be useful nor satisfactory to the people, if it do not secure to them such Parliaments, the right of voting to every man who contributes to the taxes and parochial rates, and that only security for pure and incorruptible elections—vote by ballot: and it is the firm opinion of your humble Petitioners, that if Reform to this extent be not speedily adopted, the people of this country will become the victims of all the calamities and horrors of a civil war."

A similar one to the King was carried.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1830.

INSOLVENT.

Dec. 10.—KENNY, J. H., South Sea chambers, Threadneedle-street, merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

PARRIS, J. F., Maidenhill, Paddington, clock-maker.

THORINGTON, H. J., Battle-bridge-wharf, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

BAGLEY, D., Sedgley, Staffordshire, pig-iron-melter.

BEDFALL, J. and P., High Holborn, carpenters.

FENN, W. H., Old Change, tea-dealer.

HODSOLL, J., Farringham, Kent, miller.

JACKSON, D. and P., Manchester, carvers and gilders.

KELLY, T., Liverpool, grocer.

KETTEL, G., Tunbridge-Wells, coal-dealer.

LAING, J., Colleydean, Fife-shire, and Stanmore, Middlesex, grazier.

MALYON, J., Old Kent-road, pawnbroker.

MARSHALL, J., Dartford, paper-mould-maker.

MATTHEWS, J., Bristol and Bath, picture-dealer.

NICOLL, J., Liverpool, sail-maker.

SCHOFIELD, W., Clerkenwell-close, silver-spoon manufacturer.

SMITH, B., jun., Birmingham, factor.

TAYLER, J., London-road, St. George's-fields, cheesemonger.

WALKER, J., Portsmouth, merchant.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1830.

INSOLVENT.

DEC. 13.—BALDWIN, E., Manningham, Yorkshire, worsted-spinner.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

SPURRIER, W. J., Poole, merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

POCOCK, S., Brighthelmston, painter.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, J., Cock-lane, West Smithfield, brass-founder.

BROOKS, T., Manchester, haberdasher.

DONALD, J., Hayton, Cumberland, cattle-salesman.

GLOVER, J., Wigan, Lancashire, draper.

GLOVER, S., Portland-road, Marylebone, bricklayer.

HAGART, J., Lawrence-lane, Cheapside, tea-dealer.

HAWES, R. B., and C. Smith, Horsley-street, Watworth, builders.

HEDDON, J., and H. Heddon, Westminster Bridge-road, linen-draper.

HODSOLL, J., Farringham, Kent, miller.

KILLAM, W., Kirtton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, victualler.

LANGFORD, J., Dorrington-grove, Shropshire, farmer.

SEAMAN, J., Tooting, Surrey, brewer.

THICK, T., Little Randolph-street, Camden-town, plasterer.

TRIPIN, J., and George Armitage, Doncaster, coach-makers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, DEC. 13.—The quantity of English Wheat we had fresh in for this morning's market was rather large than otherwise; but for fine samples we had a tolerably free demand, and on full as high

terms, as were obtained last Monday; the middling and inferior sorts were very unsaleable, and if any thing rather lower, with some quantity remaining unsold. No alteration in Flour. Fine malting Barley sold readily this morning at an advance of 1s. per quarter since this day sen'night: the inferior sort, are not saleable. Beans of both sorts, both Old and New, are also from 1s. to 2s. per quarter dearer, and Oats 1s.; but White and Grey Peas are cheaper, the former full 1s. per quarter, and the latter 1s. per quarter. For other articles we refer to the annexed currency.

Wheat	55s. to 60s.
Rye	28s. to 32s.
Barley	30s. to 37s.
— fine	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White	49s. to 16s.
— Boilers	48s. to 50s.
— Grey	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 40s.
— Tick	35s. to 43s.
Oats, Potatoes	30s. to 33s.
— Poland	22s. to 29s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last	30l. to 11l.

SMITHFIELD—Dec. 13.

There was to-day a very large Christmas show of cattle, and of course much good meat. The top price of the general trade is about 4s. 6d.; but those who pick the market for particular things have, no doubt, given more, as they justly should. Middling beef has experienced no improvement, not being the sort just now looked after, and many will be turned out. This is the largest market of beasts, we have had for several years. There was a good show from the West country, and, as usual, some excellent Herefords. The Durhams, or improved short-horns, seldom form an item in the trade of this market.—The mutton trade is much the same as last week, with the exception of choice Downs, which have obtained 4s. 6d. A few prime big Lincolns for show at the shops have also sold well. The top price for the best Veal was 5s. 4d. The number at market this day were—Beasts, 4,557; Calves, 160; Sheep, 20,560; Pigs, 230.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 17.

The supplies are larger than for some time past, but the prices remain the same as on Monday, with but little business doing.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour	7,600	
Wheat	2,250	1,150
Barley	2,350	1,450
Oats	7,500	350
		2,900

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson-street, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



"By a d by, the middle class will find themselves sinking so fast, and in such a dangerous state, that they will no longer desire to keep down the working class; and when that case arises, the Aristocracy and the Church will have their hands full. Hitherto they have been able to persuade the middle class, that it is their interest that the working class should be kept down; but a time will come, when the middle class will see the falsehood of this; and when that time comes, forward to tithes at least, or to feuds, if not to something still more important."—REGISTER, 26TH APRIL, 1828.

TO THE READER.

It is necessary, for purposes of convenience in printing, that the part which I write myself should come into pages further on in each Number. The reader will, therefore, please to look for that part in another part of the Register of this and of every week.

HURRY you will see, that a parson, and even a *Hampshire Parson*, has found out that the labourers have been savagely treated! This man, who appears to be a good man, ought to have said this *yours ago*, when his brethren were persecuting me for saying it. And, in the face of all this, the infamous, place-hunting *Scotch* are swearing, that the labourers of England are as well off as their forefathers were! Base and degraded indeed are we, if we suffer in silence those beggarly burgoo-eaters, to swagger over us, while they are sucking our blood. Thank God, their fangs and their teeth *must* now be taken out of our flesh. These vagabonds have contributed largely towards the ruin of England: they have been sucking its

blood ever since James I., by connivance of the *base abbey-land owners*, brought them into our rich and before happy country; but, ever since George III. mounted the throne, they have been eating up our very flesh. They will be ejected now, very soon. They will *not* work; they depend on the taxes in all countries whither they go; they are always the *tools of tyranny*; and the moment that the people get their rights, away they scamper. To collect large masses of taxes, there must be great severity inflicted on the people; this requires hard-hearted tools; and of such tools Scotland furnishes a greater number than all the rest of the world. Even those who employ them hate them; but they *must* be had; for the taxes must be collected.

CASE OF THE LABOURERS.

WINCHESTER-PAMPHLET.—A pamphlet was published in this city on Friday afternoon, which has caused considerable sensation, and has given rise to much discussion, as to whether the plans therein laid down are such as could, with advantage to all classes, be brought into play. The work is from the pen of a clergyman of first-rate talent, who has, on several occasions, signalised himself by his able writings. The reverend Gentleman entitles the pamphlet, "A Plain Statement of the Case of the Labourer," and addresses it to the consideration of the Yeomen and Gentlemen of the Southern Districts of England. The reverend author contends that the labourer, as a citizen, is a member of the state, and therefore entitled to the paternal care of the Government, possessing as he does a *property and right in the land*. "That property," observes the learned divine, "is his labour," and it is a moderate statement of the extent of his right to say, that the sweat of his brow ought to obtain for himself, his wife, and his little ones, a comfortable maintenance. The simple question therefore, to determine will be, first—What is a comfortable maintenance for a poor man and his family? Second,—Who is to give it to him?

"First, then, let us take the case of an able-bodied labourer, receiving the wages he demands, and with which he declares himself satisfied, namely, 12s. per week (whether married or not). The reverend author then proceeds to show that a sum of 9s. a week, the present average of labourers' wages, will fur-

nish a trifle more than 1½d. per meal for each person, viz., for a labourer, his wife, and two children."

"There is not a friend to humanity," continues the author, "who will not say *this is too little*, and there ought not to be an Englishman who deserves the comforts of his own fire-side, who would not *join the labourer*, by all the good means in his power, to obtain an improvement of his condition.

"Taking the wages at 12s. per week, and the expenditure at the rate already named, there will then remain 3s. for the weekly supply of soap, candles, salt, and fuel.

"If by his hardest work in the summer, and a pig in the sty in the winter, he can earn 6s. more to discharge his rent, and purchase a load of wood, he must be called an industrious and hard-working man, well meriting the care of his master, and the regard of the Government.

"If, besides this, he has an active and frugal wife, whose earnings, added to those of her children, provide the family with clothes, &c. he must be considered fortunate beyond the common lot of his neighbours.

"And here let us observe, that one inch below the level of this good fortune, there is want and discomfort; take one shilling from it, or add one child to the family, and you produce distress. Industry, frugality, health, and 12s. a week, are all included in it. If any one of these requisites be found wanting, it is plain that debt and degradation must be the consequence.

"Shall we, not, then, be ashamed to hear that, to a very late period, even in the Southern districts of England, the labour of the peasant, from daylight to dark, has been insufficient to satisfy the hunger of his family, much less to provide them with the decencies and comforts to which every honest man is entitled? Can we hear, without indignation, that weekly wages of 8s., 7s. and even 6s. have been in some places paid by the farmers; and 4s. and even 3s. a week by the parish, for the work of an able-bodied labourer on the road? Add to this, that the father of a numerous family is paid like a pauper from the poor-rates, in aid of his wages; that even this allowance has been in many places stinted and reduced by the overseers, and that in two many instances the earnings of the wife, and the little gainings of the children, have been deducted from that allowance. Let us again ask whether the yeomen and gentlemen of England can read these statements without shame and self-reproach? *Shame for the country and the Government, under which such things have been permitted to exist, and self-reproach on ourselves, who have continued in the enjoyment of our own comforts and luxuries, indolent, ignorant, and almost incredulous of the general distress, till we were startled and alarmed by the cry of starving multitudes at the doors.*

"Let us thank God, that we have been led by this, or any other motive, to make the present inquiry; and let us conclude this part

of it with the assertion of this unavoidable result, that the very least and lowest wages which the labourer ought to receive, for his weekly service, is the sum of twelve shillings, under the present circumstances of the land. *We say the very least and lowest*, because it has been made evident, that it is only by the additional help we have mentioned, and by a rare concurrence of good qualities and good fortune, that even this can duly satisfy the wants of his family.

"May it please the new Government, that this pittance of twelve shillings may have its full worth; and that not one penny of it, which is laid out in the necessities of life, may pass into the hands of the excise.

"Let the peasant, like the rest of us, pay for his luxuries if he chooses to buy them, let *spirits and tobacco* be taxed as high as ever; but let us hope that a benevolent minister will relieve the pound of soap and the pound of candles from their present heavy imposts, and make his bread and his flour as cheap as justice and good policy can effect.

"One or two other modes of relief, which have been recommended by many experienced friends, the poor, deserve to be mentioned in this place. Let the cottager be permitted to rent from a rood to an acre of land, according to his family, to be cultivated by the spade, and kept clean by his wife and children. The delightful effects of this plan, in increasing the comforts of the poor, will bless the eye of those who are so kind as to promote it. Let the payment of the labourer be regularly and punctually made, if practicable, on every Friday night; but at least, as the Scripture says, 'at his day,' so that the shop-debt may be avoided, and he may have money in his hand to buy at the cheapest market.

"Under these cheering hopes, we pass on to the second question—and a most important one it is, namely: if 12s. be the proper wages of the labourer, *who is to pay it?* The answer is on every person's lips.—The occupier of the land. True, but he must live also; and his interests are quite as valuable to the community as those which we have been before considering.

"In order, therefore, to arrive at a fair estimate of that respective share, let us cast up the accounts of the farm, and begin afresh with the purchase of the land.

"The worth of a thing is what it will bring; and the land must, therefore, be tried by a comparison of its actual produce with its actual expenditure; for no good can be expected by an invidious reference to the *good old times*, when soils were unproductive, and prices ill understood.

"An estimate is here made of the cost and produce of a farm of 200 acres, let by an owner, he not being conversant with the business of farming, to one who is a practical man. The farm is let at a rent of 160l. per annum, which will yield him 4 per cent. interest of his capital expended.

"The balance sheet will stand as follows:—
 "Let us first take all the charges on the land, and then all the profits, setting down each charge in the precedence of their claim—the result ought to be an income supplying a decent maintenance to his neighbours the yeoman."

Yearly Expenditure of a Farm of Two Hundred Acres chiefly Arable.

	£	s.	d.
Five able-bodied labourers at 12s. a week	156	0	0
One lad at 7s.	18	0	0
One boy at 3s.	7	16	0
Extra labour at harvest	40	0	0
Keep of six horses	150	0	0
Wear and tear	40	0	0
Interest at four per cent. on £1400, laid out by the tenant in stock on the farm, including seeds, &c.	56	0	0
Tithe, at 4s. 6d. an acre	45	0	0
Rates of all kinds, at 1s. 6d. an acre ..	44	0	0
Assessed taxes	3	0	0
Rent	160	0	0
Casualties	35	0	0
Total	£ 725	0	0

Average profits on the same farm, by the four-field system.

	£	s.	d.
Thirty loads of wheat, at 15s. per lt. 400 ..	450	0	0
One hundred and fifty quarters of oats, at 22s. per quarter	165	0	0
Fifty quarters of barley, at 32s.	80	0	0
Two hundred sheep, wool included 280 ..	280	0	0
Dairy, poultry, hogs	40	0	0
Total	915	0	0
Balance	£ 190	0	0

"Which in addition to 5s. interest on capital, and clear of all rent and taxes, remains for the maintenance of the farmer's family."

"If this balance be less than in former years by reason of the increased price of labour, let the farmer expect a proportionate decrease in the poor rates—let him reckon something on the improved strength of a well-fed labourer, and much on the moral effect which contentment and independence have been ever known to produce on the human character."

"Live and let live," is the only intelligible maxim in settling these accounts—and if, in these days of rates and taxes, we must put ourselves for sometime on half-pay, let us remember, that conscience is the best substitute for the other half."

"It is the object of these few pages, to produce this conviction upon the mind of the reader, and by regulating our dealings with each other on Christian principles, to apply the best remedy to the evils which, at present, press, with so great severity, on almost all the industrious classes of the community."

"But patience does not mean sufficiency. The care of the disease, after all, lies with the

legislature, and the public voice must be exerted to rouse it to length to a sense of its most important duty—the care, regulation, and employment of the most numerous and helpless class of society."

"Let every parish, township, and hamlet, voice its temperate, but firm petitions, for a sound and effectual reform in the Commons House of Parliament."

"From that measure may reasonably be expected the wholesome remedies of which the landed interest is in much in need—retrenchments, and abatement of taxes—the revision of the poor laws—the abolition of the wastes—the establishment of home colonies for the redundant population of our parishes—a fair and equitable law for the composition of tithes—and, it may be, a law to regulate the minimum price of daily labour according to the price of bread."

"In conclusion, if we are desired to declare the cause of the late disorder and distress, we point to the increased and increasing population of the country, which ought to be its blessing and its strength, but which, for want of the care and foresight of a paternal Government, has become its burden and its weakness."

Hence it has followed, that machinery, the source of wealth and plenty to a people, has been placed in direct hostility to their daily subsistence."

"If the thousands of indigent hands, which are now unemployed, had been long since directed by a wise Government to other objects of productive labour, the machine might have gone on unobscured, to add to the stock of national prosperity."

"But while the labourers are starving upon the roads, we wait in charity desks to snuff out the movements."

"To return to our answer—the Government have made the profits of the land too little."

"Of that little, the landlord, the tithe-owner, and the tenant have expended too much."

"One word, in kindness, on the subject of tithes—which in this estimate, have been set down, like all the rest, on the principle of mutual concession."

"It cannot, indeed, be denied, that the amount of composition paid by the farmer, in lieu of tithes, is a very material question in appertaining to the labourer, the landlord and the tenant, their respective shares in the produce of the farm."

"If a money payment is made to the tithe-owner, an abatement may fairly be required of him, on these two grounds:—first, the farm labourer being paid at higher wages, a greater expense in the collection is incurred by the farmer—secondly, by improving the condition of the unemployed poor, you increase the Poor Rate upon the tithe; and this, under the composition, is charged upon the farmer."

"When labour is cheap," said an excellent judge, "the times are evil, and ought to be changed."

"On the contrary, if the tithe-owner collects his own tenth,† he will, of course, pay his own expenses in the collection, and his own increased poor-rate upon it; and, in this case, the tithe forms no part of the question between the farmer, the landlord and the labourer.

"For what is tithe? Why a very ancient kind of property, consisting of the tenth of the produce of the land, by which the monasteries and other religious establishments were, in former times, supported.

"When monasteries were abolished, a large portion of the tithes were sold by the Government to certain individuals, and have become a property, as much as our freehold lands and houses, and are frequently bought and sold and leased like other parts of our estates.

"Another portion of them has been set apart for the maintenance of the Church, and possesses, therefore, a still stronger claim to our respect.

"Of their nature and effects upon the land, and upon all concerned in it, whether in the hands of private persons, or as a mode of paying the clergy, we confess ourselves to be unadmirers; and sincerely hope, that the day is not far distant, when its evils and inconveniences will be mitigated or removed.

"Still, as it stands, it is a distinct property, and can no more be reduced, or even gradded to its rightful owner, without injustice, than the wheaten loaf of the labourer, which we have been before considering.

"That part of it which has been appointed for the maintenance of the Church is not large, and people who are used to clamour on these subjects would be surprised to know how inadequate a sum, after equal division, would remain for the support and service of each parish church in the country.

"That a better distribution and arrangement of the wealth of the church may hereafter be made by a wise and cautious Government, we may also sincerely desire; but whether this clergyman has too much, or this clergyman too little, is certainly not at this time a question between the farmer and his labourer, except as men, who may freely think and speak on questions of general concern.

"One thing is plain, that no men of good sense and right feeling can think much upon it, without adding his thanks to God for the blessed effects of an institution, which tends to reside amongst us in every remote corner of the country; well-educated, and, humanly speaking, good and pious men, to be the poor

† "This, indeed, is the best mode for the poor—since another farming establishment must be set up. There must be the servant of trust, the thrasher, and the team to carry the produce to the market or the mill; and, in every way, more must be expended in the parish.

"Composition saves labour and saves money, either to the farmer, or the tithe-owner, or both."

man's friends, and guides and monitors to us all, on subjects which will most surely come home to every one, when these little matters of profit and loss are passing into nothing.

APPENDIX.

Proper Food for the Able-bodied Labourer in Full Employment per Week.

	£	s.	d.
Three half-gallon loaves at 1s. 6d.	0	2	3
Two lbs. of bacon at 7d. per lb.	0	1	2
One lb. of butter, at 18d.	0	0	10
One lb. of cheese at 6d.	0	0	6
Potatoes, salt, &c.	0	0	6
Seven quarts of beer, at 2d. per quart	0	1	2

Food of one man per week	0	6	5
Lodgings for the labourer, if single	0	1	0
Washing and mending	0	0	9

Expenses of the unmarried labourer per week, in food and lodging 0 8 2

Clothes of the Labourer.

One hat	£0	3	0
One jacket	0	10	0
One waistcoat	0	5	0
Two cravats	0	2	0
One pair of trousers	0	10	0
Three shirts	0	10	0
Two pair of stockings	0	3	6
One pair of short gaiters	0	2	0
Shoes	0	13	0
Mending shoes and clothes for the yr.	0	10	0
Round frock	0	6	0

£3 14 6

Clothes of the Woman.

One pair of shoes and mending	£0	8	0
Two changes	0	4	0
Two pair of stockings	0	2	0
Twelve yards of print	0	10	0
Five ditto flannel, at 10d.	0	4	2
Stuff for jetticoats	0	5	0
Bonnet	0	2	0
Two neckerchiefs and two aprons	0	3	8
Cap	0	2	4
Coat	0	12	0
Stays	0	5	0

£3 18 2

Clothes of a Male Child.

Average, according to his growth, from 10s. to 20s. per year.

Clothes of a Female Child.

Average, according to her growth, from 9s. to 15s. per year.

Additional bedding, and repairs for each year	1	0	0
Towels, house-cloths, and other linen for the year	0	5	0
Brooms for the year	0	2	6
Scrubbing brush	0	0	10
Replacing crockery for the year	0	2	6
Needles, tape, worsted (3d. a-week), for the year	0	13	0

£2 3 10

This list must necessarily be imperfect.

Proper Food for the Able-bodied Labourer, with a Wife and Four Children per Week.

Five gallons of bread	£0 7 6
Three lbs. of bacon, at 7d. per lb. ..	0 1 9
Two lbs. of butter, at 10d.	0 1 8
Two lbs. of cheese, at 6d.	0 1 0
Tea	0 0 9
One lb. of sugar	0 0 7
Beer, seven quarts, at 2d. per quart	0 1 2
	£0 14 5

Other Necessaries, per Week.

One bushel of coals	0 1 2
Three faggots	0 0 9
Half a pound of soap	0 0 4
Half a pound of candles	0 0 4
	£0 2 7

Total weekly expense of the family .. 0 17 6

The rent of the cottage .. 5 4 0

Total of clothes and other necessaries, according to the above statement, deductions being made for articles not wanted every year, and the whole on a reduced scale, about 10 0 0

£15 4 6

"This sum, if raised at all, must be raised by the extra work of the labourer, by his profits in the hay and corn harvest, by the produce of his garden, by the savings of his family, and by the earnings, if any, of his wife and children.

"It must, however, be confessed, that the above is a statement of comforts, not such as are within the reach of the labourer, under the present circumstances of the land, but such as we should endeavour by all the good means in our power to bestow upon him.

"In conclusion, therefore, let us briefly recapitulate some of those means which have appeared practicable to many experienced friends of the poor.

"1. By the removal of the taxes on soap and candles, and by the mitigation of the corn and malt taxes, to reduce his weekly expense, as above, from 17s. to 14s.

"2. To raise the present price of labour to 12s.

"3. If more than 12s. cannot now be afforded by the land, to add parish relief for the fourth child, 2s., making 14s.

"4. By regular payment at his day?

"5. By building cottages on the farm at the rent of 1s., or, at the most, at 1s. 6d. a week.

"6. By letting to each labourer half an acre or more of land, to enable him to pay it.

"7. By removal of the assessed taxes, to encourage residence in the country, and to create a demand for labour.

"8. By the inclosure of the wastes, and by home colonies on an extended scale, to remove the surplus population of the parishes; and thus, while we render the task-work and the harvest-work of the labourer more certain, to add to the general happiness of the industrious classes, and to the collective wealth and commerce of the country."

POTTER MACQUEEN'S

Description of the state of the Labourers.

THE following is taken from a pamphlet of this man, who was lately a member for BARNSTAPLE. This very man, in 1819, upon receiving a sword, as the commander of a band of YEMMYN CAVALLAY, told them in an address, which will be found in the Register (it records every thing!) that he would employ it against those "who, lending themselves to evil counsel, would act in open defiance of the laws and peace of the community." Then he talked about the "mischievous purposes," and about all the other stuff in fashion at that time. I, in an address to the reformers, in which I inserted this stuff of POTTER, said, "These men openly challenge the people to combat, which I hope they will not accept, but let the cash-payments do their work, and you will see how Macqueen and his yemen will prance then." And how do they prance NOW! He has now laid by the sword and taken up the pen. Let us hear him then, let us hear this man, who in 1819, did not talk of the sufferings of the people, but of their evil designs. Pray read the latter part of his pamphlet, Pray read it; and then say, whether it would not be better for the island to be sunk in the sea than that such things should take place in it. The blood of every man of common humanity will become chill in his veins as he reads.

"I have always been of opinion that, for many years past, the labourer has not been sufficiently paid, so as to induce, or warrant, compulsory measures to urge him to make provision in the days of his strength for the support of his family, or for the comfort of his own declining years. The increased value of the land, founded on the high prices of provisions, may be traced to about these years 1790. At that period, farmers began to assume higher pretensions than heretofore; they despised the society of servants in their houses, and regarded them as a distinct and separate body. The labourer, driven from the comforts of his master's fire-side, and no longer held under the domestic restraint which had formerly regulated his conduct, married prematurely in his own defence, to obtain the comforts of a home. The unavoidable consequent increase of parochial assist-

ance to married labourers enabled the farmer to employ these persons at a low rate, and partly at the expense of those who cultivated small farms, the tradesmen, the shop-keeper, and the private house-keepers, for the last-mentioned parties, being adhered to the poor's-rate, and the family of the labourer rather maintained from such rate than from fair wages, all was in favour of the large occupier, and the valuable race of small yeomen became gradually extinguished. Thus, in the years of prominent agricultural prosperity, from 1800 to 1815, although rates were enormously high, and the price of corn was comparatively higher, the labourer was underpaid in his regular work, and superfluous charges of family illness, accidents, funerals, &c., defrayed by a parish fund, to which many others, as well as the great farmers, were liable. To illustrate this position, I will assume that the value of one-fifth of a quarter of wheat, or 102 pints, is the fair equivalent of weekly wages for an agricultural labourer. Then, in 1802, the average price of wheat being 25s. 3d. per quarter, at this estimate the fair rate of weekly wages should be 6s. Now, we find that it was the average wages for the year, notwithstanding the relative proportion was kept up, and the poor's-rate next to nothing. In the year 1800, the price of wheat was 35s. per quarter, but the average rate of wages, instead of being, to preserve the proportion, 102s. 6d. per week, were only 6s., leaving a deficiency of 24s. 6d., or one-fourth. In 1801, wheat being 11s. 4d., wages ought to have reached 2s. 4d., whereas they only averaged 11s.; and in 1815, with wheat at 122s. 8d., wages which ought to have been 24s. 6d., were only 11s.; but in 1820, wheat being only 57s. 10d., wages were 6s. Again, in 1784, wheat being 45s. 10d., the sum of 1,000,000l. was expended in relief; which, taken in quarters of wheat amounted to 780,000 quarters. In 1812, with wheat at 122s. 8d., 4,660,000l. being expended in relief, the comparative value amounted to 1,060,000 quarters of wheat. In 1823, wheat being 43s., and 5,270,000l. actually expended for relief alone, was equal to 2,670,000 quarters; and the whole sum levied under poor's rate in the course of that year, being 5,970,000l., equalled 2,900,000 quarters of wheat, being one fourth part of the entire quantity required for the yearly consumption of England and Wales.

These calculations, then, will strongly demonstrate the unnatural subsidization of rate for wages; but they will not point out that which cannot be denied, that this change has been accompanied by the most extending effects to the poor man, who has become habituated to relief, has lost all conception that such relief is incompatible with his independence, has dismissed all dread of the workhouse, and is induced from his unwilling to consider the overseer of the parish as the legitimate distributor of means in which he has a vested and indisputable right.

"The consequence of such low rate of remuneration, and the dependence on a provision unwillingly wrung from the proprietor by the parish officers, is also manifested in the increase of crime, for self-respect, a due sense of shame, and regard for character, being destroyed, the great moral barrier to vice is broken down. The first principle of nature, self-preservation, is but too frequently called into action, and an unfortunate wretch, with his children crying for bread, is prepared for the violation of the law, regardless of the extent of crime to which he may be urged.— This consideration leads me to a subject which it is impossible to separate from the present misery of the people, namely, the state of our criminal laws, and the effects of our present mode of punishment. I have made it a practice of late years to attend our prisons at certain periods, and have generally examined the prisoners a short time previous to the assizes; and I will add some facts which forcibly struck me in the course of this practice. In January, 1829, there were 20 prisoners for trial in Bedford gaol; of whom 20 were able-bodied men, in the prime of life, and, therefore, of general good character, who were driven to crime by sheer want, and who would have been valuable subjects had they been placed in a situation where, by the exercise of their health and strength, they could have earned a subsistence. There were in this number 18 poachers awaiting trial for the capital offence of using arms in self-defence when attacked by game-keepers; of these 18 men, one only was not a parish pauper, and he was the agent of the London poulterers, who, residing under the apparent vocation of a game-keeper, paid these poor creatures more in one night than they could gain from the over-tenure of a week's labour. I conversed with each of these men singly, and made minutes of their mode of life. The two first I will mention are the two brothers, the Elleys, in custody under a charge of being an and wounding a keeper, who endeavoured to apprehend them whilst poaching. They were two remarkably fine young men, and very respectably connected. The elder, 23 years of age, married, with two small children. When I inquired how he could wind himself to such a wretched course of life, the poor fellow replied, 'Sir, I had a pregnant wife, with one infant at her knee, and another at her breast; I was anxious to obtain work; I looked myself in all directions, but without success; if I went to a distance I was told to go back to my parish, and when I did so, I was allowed—What? Why, for myself, my father, and a wife in a situation requiring more than common support, and unable to labour, I was allowed 7s. a week for all; for which I was expected to work on the roads from light to dark, and to pay 3 guineas a year for the horse that carried me.' The other brother, aged 22, unmarried, received 6d. a day. These two men were hanged at the spring assizes. Of the others, 10 were single men, their ages varying from 17 to 27. Many

had never been in goal before, and were considered of good character. Six of these were on the roads at 6d per day. Two could not obtain even this pittance. One had been refused relief on the ground that he had previously obtained a profitable piece of job work, and thus had existed on 1s 6d. during the fortnight before he had joined the gang in question. Of five married men, two, with wife and two children, received 7s. Two, with wife and one child, 6s., and one, with wife and four small children, 11s."

PRESTON ELECTION.

LAST DAY, Wednesday.—It was soon after complained that a person had come up in a coach to poll, but that he was threatened by the crowd, and was obliged to go away. The mayor said he thought any person who resided in the town, had had many opportunities of coming to the poll during the election. Some conversation ensued upon the subject, and Mr. Hunt declared his belief, that these complaints were merely inventions on the other side.

THE MAYOR.—Really, if any person wants to poll, I will go to the booth and poll him. I use all exertion I can, and I can do no more.

At a few minutes after eleven, the mayor gave directions for calling in the clerks, and at a quarter after, three cheers in the area announced that the booths were clearing, but as a vote or two still continued to drop in at No. 6, it was more than half past eleven before the polling entirely ceased.

MR. STANLEY.—Mr. Mayor, I believe it is understood the poll is now finally closed.

MR. HUNT.—No, you must have the numbers.

THE MAYOR.—The clerks have taken all their books up.

MR. HUNT.—But it cannot be called closed. It is not the proper time till you have the numbers. It is an intimation, sir.

MR. STANLEY.—I beg pardon; the poll is closed before the numbers can be given.

MR. HUNT.—I hat is true.

MR. STANLEY.—I wish you to say, sir, when the poll is considered closed.

THE MAYOR.—When the poll-clerks are withdrawn.

MR. HUNT.—I shall object to any intimation till the mayor has announced the numbers.

MR. STANLEY.—I am prevented by law to make a proposition before proclamation is made of the return.

THE MAYOR.—Oh! certainly.

MR. HUNT.—Of course; no advantage of that can be taken.

The books were soon after cast up, and the state of the day's poll was declared to be

For Mr. Stanley	74
For Mr. Hunt	46
And the gross poll to be	
For Mr. Hunt	3730
For Mr. Stanley	3392

leaving a majority for Mr. Hunt, at the close of the poll, of 338.

On the result being known, the cheering was loud and long continued; and the clapping of hands succeeded. The acclamations having subsided,

MR. STANLEY rose to address the Court.—Mr. Mayor, the poll being now finally closed and the numbers being declared, it is now the time for me to do an act of justice to the three thousand and nearly four hundred electors who have done me the honour of giving me their votes. I beg to say, in the first place, that I bear no ill-will to Mr. Hunt. Since he has complained I have kept up ground personally to him, and I shall consequently resign to him the honor of representing this borough. (Applause.) I am anxious only that justice and nothing but justice be done to all parties. That I have not submitted to a vexatious protraction of the poll may I think be fairly inferred from the circumstance that for the last four days I have had the majority; and if I now take that which in this borough is an unusual course, it is because the circumstances of the election have been extraordinary. I hope, Mr. Mayor, that in consideration of the enormous number of votes—so far beyond that which was supposed to be in the town, or what what has been polled at any previous election,—in consideration also of the difficulty of proving the legality or illegality of the votes as they are rendered, I shall be deemed justified by you in doing that which I consider an act of duty, and I have to request; therefore, that a scrutiny may be taken of all the votes polled on the part of my opponent, Mr. Henry Hunt.

MR. HUNT.—Hah! Hah! (Clamour and confusion.)

MR. STANLEY.—It is my anxious wish that all the real electors of Preston should have an opportunity of exercising their elective franchise, and for the purpose of doing so it is necessary that the electors should be confined to those who have the right, and therefore, Mr. Mayor, I have to request that you and your brother returning officers will scrutinize the votes offered for Mr. Hunt, with a view of doing justice to all parties; and if it appears that Mr. Hunt is duly returned, I shall, of course, resign the representation to him. (Loud clamour.)

THE MAYOR.—Hear, while the demand for a scrutiny is heard.

MR. STANLEY's written demand was here formally read by one of the returning officers.

MR. HUNT.—Mr. Mayor, and gentlemen; you have heard what the right hon. something Stanley has said to you, and it ends in this, that he demands a scrutiny into the votes polled by Mr. Henry Hunt. I only submit to the Mayor whether it is scrupulously demanded, it is not the practice to have a scrutiny into all the votes?

THE MAYOR.—You may demand also.

Mr. HUNT.—That you think, sir, on this one point. If ever foul play was intended, this is that act. A right hon. Gentleman to demand a scrutiny on one side, and not on the other! It is one of the foulest attempts to insult the electors. (Cheers and clamour.) Gentlemen, I say also that since I have been in Preston, either now or on any other occasion, I never met with any personal insult from Mr. Stanley, and I never willingly offered one to him; but, Gentlemen, I only speak of him agreeably to his acts and his professions. He is envious, he says, that all the electors shall have an opportunity of giving their votes, and he has resorted to means never before resorted to in Preston. And why does he do this? Is it because the Mayor has chosen a set of poll-clerks who are interested for me, and have therefore a bias? No it cannot be, for—without meaning the slightest disrespect to him—he has chosen a number of persons, a great portion of whom have polled for Mr. Stanley,—they being men ultimately paid for their services by the candidates. (Hear.) Is it because I have employed a number of check-clerks and a number of other persons to look over him? (No.) We have no person employed—not a single check-clerk during the whole election.—We have trusted entirely to his clerks and check-clerks. And what would they have? It is one of the most gross insults. On a former occasion there was nothing but foul play; but I do say that from what I have seen, and from what I understand occurred before I arrived in the face of the whole country there never was more honourable or more impartial and fair returning officers presiding at any election in this country. (Loud cheering.) The scrutiny! Is it demanded because we have exerted any influence—because we have given five shilling tickets or bribed the voters? No; for I believe out of the honourable number of thirteen thousand seven hundred and thirty votes, which you have done me the immortal honour of polling for me, not one has received the amount of a pot of porter. Mr. Stanley says it is one of the most extraordinary elections. It is indeed one, and your exertions have made an impression throughout all England. Your exertions have been a death-blow to the House of Stanley. (Laughter.) He thought that by the influence of his grandfather's good character, and by his own personal exertions, and by his money; and by employing all the pettifogging lawyers in the town,—he thought it impossible that a man standing on my principles should have succeeded; and that you should have in so honourable a manner set him down with all his power and influence tacked to him, and that the people of Preston should have returned me by a majority of 338. He thought it impossible; and I can truly forgive him his personal attack. I think it incredible. He is appointed a Right Honourable. He is made one of the Privy Council, and appointed to a lucrative post in Ireland, and the first act he does is to insult

the character of the people he is appointed to pre-ide over. ("Hedid, hedid.") Well, he has got a lucrative post, and he is sent down here to buy your votes, but as he is not elected for Preston it is doubtful whether he will not be sent about his business, after all. Gentlemen, what influence have we exercised? He had all the poll clerks in his favour and check-clerks and agents. We have had none—nothing but the electors themselves; and it is for this Mr. Stanley demands a scrutiny. But he demands it not with any idea that it will turn out more satisfactorily to himself. He knows that of the foul votes, there are two or three to one on his side. Why then should he ask for a scrutiny? Oh! another little thing; his delicate ears could not bear the sound—his delicate colleagues could not bear to have it said that the Mayor had proclaimed and declared Henry Hunt duly returned for Preston. (Applause.) He knows that all who have polled for me and have been working on my behalf have been working for themselves. He thinks that in prosecuting this scrutiny he shall wring the electors out, and starve you into compliance, because he will have to pay all who come up to give evidence for him. Now, gentlemen, are you afraid of the right hon. Mr. Stanley on any grounds? ("No, no.") You will meet him there, and I call upon the Mayor to say how he will proceed.

The Mayor.—Each, as he may be brought up, we will examine into the case. (Bravo, Mayor.)

Mr. HUNT.—I ask the Mayor.—It has been indeed a very unusual election. Very extraordinary circumstances have taken place. The people of Preston have been held in the trainings of the House of Stanley and of the master-manufacturers and others, and they have resisted themselves and boldly come forward to assert their rights, and it is a punishment to them that you have dared to act like free men, and that you have dared to act in this way. But I appeal to you, sir, whether on the scrutiny, you can issue your summons for bringing up all the electors?

The Mayor.—I apprehend I cannot.

Mr. HUNT.—Then I apprehend it is futile; for if you have no power to bring up voters, how can you have a scrutiny? (Laughter.)

The Mayor.—The voters must be brought up by the candidates themselves.

Mr. HUNT.—What power have I to bring up Mr. Stanley's voters? What power have I to bring up that pretty little gentleman, Mr. Blackburne, there?

Mr. W. Blackburne said he would readily attend if needed.

Mr. HUNT.—I dare say, sir, but what power have I over others?

The Mayor.—I cannot say, but when they do come up they shall be listened to with temper and impartiality.

Mr. HUNT.—Must the voters be brought up here?

The Mayor.—That is for them to say

Mr. HUNT asked the Mayor if he could disqualify a man in his absence?

The Mayor.—Yes, if there be witnesses and any thing against him.

Mr. HUNT.—What, in his absence?

The Mayor.—Yes, but he has a right to be present.

Mr. HUNT.—But it is contrary to the constitution and to all principles that a man should be disfranchised in his absence. Gentlemen, I believe it is impossible that there can be any intention of prosecuting this scrutiny, and I believe it impossible that it can be proceeded in, and it can be proposed only because the people have constitutionally exercised their rights. The very first man that is brought up to be disfranchised, I shall contend against it for five hours. I will maintain the rights of the honourable people of Preston, as they have done since the very first, that I brought up I shall contend for five hours that the man shall not be condemned in his absence. I shall submit to any thing under the direction of the Mayor, because I have seen quite sufficient of him to know that he will do his duty conscientiously, fairly, and with perfect talent, and knowledge of the law, and that he will act with justice. Gentlemen, the Mayor will not read the usual proclamation to return me, and Mr. Stanley will have the advantage, that I shall not have the opportunity of telling my tale in the house till after the holidays. However, I am at your disposal, my friends. Whether for one day, two days, or months, I shall stand by and maintain your rights, and if it be the purpose to go into this scrutiny, I will take care the rights of the people of Preston are not frittered away by the right hon. Mr. Stanley. I feel the object is to harass the voters who have polled for me. They must be anxious to oppress my voters, and all that I ask is that the Mayor will begin this inquiry as soon as he can with convenience to himself.

The Mayor.—That I certainly will.

Mr. HUNT.—His time is more valuable than mine, gentlemen. I shall be ready and willing to abide by his decision, but I will pledge my life to you that I will die on the spot before I will suffer one man to be disfranchised unfairly. We have proof upon proof that voters who polled for me at the beginning of the election afterwards polled for Mr. Stanley, because they were afraid of their masters. Gentlemen, I must call upon you to join in this proceeding. I can do nothing without you. Now can I do any thing without you in the House of Commons? I can poll you, a man of Preston and people of England, to come forward and protest against the unconstitutional conduct of Mr. Stanley. It is the greatest insult offered to a body of elections ever recorded in the history of this country. Sometimes, in rotten boroughs, there is an occasional scrutiny, but here, a scrutiny before you had this right to yourself. (Hah!) Now this man—*for he is but a man*, although he is right honourable—this man

had not the sense to observe the signs of the times. This election is one of the great signs of the times, and the class, the grade to which he belongs, has received a great blow from it, and he ought to know and must feel that by persevering in the present course it must tend to the overthrow of this overruling aristocracy. "Oh!" somebody will say, "Is Mr. Hunt going to take the rights of the aristocracy away?" No, not I. I will not take away the rights of any man. I am willing to maintain with my blood the rights of the aristocracy, but I want to strip them of the revolting and horrid covering with which they have covered themselves by the sweat of the brow of the people of England. He has told you he will not vote either for the ballot or for the repeal of the corn laws. Ever since the corn laws have been in existence the people have paid double as much money for their bread as the aristocracy have themselves paid in taxes. Let the jay wear his own plumes, but I wish to strip him of the borrowed plumes he has taken away from the people. I shall be now more for business than for talking, and having said this much, I urge you all to be on your guard, and be on the alert, for your rights are attacked in the very tenderest quarter. *It is the first time that an attempt has been made to put down the people by the means of money and influence*, but I hope that if you have this scrutiny that you will be able to show this gentleman that, as he says, he must resign his pretensions to Preston, and get a seat for some rotten borough where he ought to be. (Cheers.) He has no right to sit in the House at all. He accused my friend Mitchell of ignorance. The law says, no man having a place shall have a seat. Is my friend Mitchell ignorant because he construes the law according to common sense? But how does Mr. Stanley construe it? Why, he says, he must resign, and he comes down here to get the electors to cause a violation of the law, by giving him their votes to send him back again to sit there contrary to law. It is contrary to law that a man, having a place, shall sit. Oh! but how are the ministers to do the business of the country? Why they should sit down apart as other servants do, and take part in the discussions, but no more. Besides the peers are represented in the House of Lords, and it is a gross violation of the constitution that Mr. Stanley's father should represent this county, and that he himself should offer to sit for this borough. He smiles, but he may be assured that that is my honest feeling, and the feeling of nineteen-twentieths of all the honest men in the country. Let them enjoy their dignity, but shall a hundred and fifty-four peers return the House of Commons? Why there is no House of Commons. Gentlemen, I am not at all afraid of a scrutiny, and my opinion is that it is not done with the intention of having any scrutiny, but to annoy you. I now leave to ask, sir, if it is necessary to put it (the demand for a scrutiny) in writing?

The Mayor.—It is not required.]

farmer to afford full wages to his labourers, even 50 per cent. should be taken off the rents of his farms; at the same time his Lordship expressed a wish that thrashing-machines should be dispensed with.

Tuesday evening two hay-stays were set fire to at Heath, near Whitechurch, Cheshire; the fire extended to a barn and cowhouse, both of which, with the hay, and three cows and a calf, were totally consumed; they belonged to a cow-keeper named Heath, who resided in Whitechurch, and who is not insured. The next morning (Wednesday), the stables of Mr. Green, the landlord of the Swan Inn, in that town, were totally consumed by fire. A horse and two ponies were with much difficulty saved; Mr. Green, like his fellow-sufferer Heath, is not insured. Threatening notices have been received by farmers near Malpas, who have established a system of watch and ward, the Mayor and Magistrates of Chester have called on all the out-pensioners of Cheshire to attend on Friday, to be sworn in as special constables.

THE FIRE AT WARRINGTON.—It is now suspected, upon reasons which are said to be conclusive, that the fire at Mr. Dumbellson's mills here, last week, was the act of an incendiary; the loss is estimated at not less than 30,000*l*.

HERTFORDSHIRE.—A servant girl in the house of Mr. Mill., of Bedmar, which was set on fire last week, has since undergone an examination before the Magistrates of Watford; she is only fifteen years of age, and circumstances of so strong a nature appeared against her in evidence that she has been fully committed to the County Jail for trial. She had again attempted to set the premises on fire on Sunday last, which led to her apprehension; her name is Dorcas Philipotts. Four labourers have also been committed, charged with riotously assembling &c., at Yardle Parish.

DIABOLICAL ASSAULT.—A few nights since eight men, armed with guns and bludgeons, attacked the two night-keepers of the *Rev. Robert Ashe*, of Langley Parrell; they commenced their attack by throwing a quantity of quick lime in the eyes of the keepers, by which their sight was nearly destroyed, and they still remain in a dangerous state.—*Bath Herald*.

For some time past a considerable feeling of dissatisfaction has existed among the colliers in the neighbourhood of Bath, in consequence of a regulation which prevails at the pits; by which they are paid only for the large or round coal which is hauled up, and are allowed nothing for the small, which is necessarily mixed in a very considerable quantity with the other. Last week they struck for wages on this sort of coal at several pits in Paulton, Farnbury, Camerton, Radstock, &c., but a proper representation of their grievances being made to the proprietors and Magistrates, an arrangement was entered into, and the men

have now, we believe, almost without exception, returned to their work.

About seven o'clock, on Sunday evening last, some miscreant set fire to a stump of hay standing with several ricks in St. Giles's Field, near Oxford. A number of persons were on the spot soon after the fire was discovered, and the two University engines, with one belonging to the New Printing Office, were promptly brought, and worked with praiseworthy exertions by the assembled multitude. Another rick soon caught fire, and with the one above mentioned was entirely destroyed before the flames could be subdued. Providentially the wind blew in a favourable direction, or the whole of the property must have fallen a prey to the flames. The ricks belonged to Mr. Peake, of the Mike Inn, and were insured in the County Fire Office. The company have offered a reward of 500*l*. for the discovery of the incendiary. We regret to state that during the confusion at the fire some villain cut the pipe of one of the University engines, and escaped detection.—*Oxford Journal*.

George Barrow, John Tickem, and George Beale, tried and convicted of machine-breaking at Hawkhurst, in Kent, were ordered to be transported for seven years.

George Moore, James Duak, James Pointer, and George Hollands, who were also convicted of breaking open the barn of Mr. George Hannam, at Alland-court, Minster, Isle of Thanet, and breaking a thrashing-machine, his property, were sentenced to be transported for seven years. Several other prisoners, who had been convicted for riotously assembling, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Reports are current, that emissaries from England have been endeavouring to stimulate the labourers of this country to adopt the lawless courses of which we have had such deplorable examples in that country, but I feel assured that they will not succeed. The labourers of Scotland have neither endured the same wrongs, nor have they the same ignorance to plead in excuse for their errors. If they want the parish-rates of England, they are unacquainted with the slavery, and the miserable wages of six-pence and eight-pence a day, which so often accompany them; they suffer little from the curse of the Game-laws; and they have almost all had the inestimable benefit of education. Having fewer provocations to crime, and many restraining motives which their English brethren want, our labourers will prove themselves to the world to be a more depraved race, if they indulge in the same outrages. The boast of Scotland has long been the superior morality and intelligence of her labouring population; and I cannot believe that this honour is to be forfeited at the present day, when so much has been done for their improvement, by cheap publications, and mechanics' institutions, and all the other means of disseminating useful knowledge.—*Scotsman*.

TIRES.—The farmers and poor of the

parish of Great Ellingham, in Norfolk, went last week to the Rev. Mr. Coleby, their Rector, insisting upon his reducing his tithes, and after keeping him in his yard about six hours, it was agreed that the Meeting should be adjourned till Monday. The parties again met on the day appointed, and Mr. Coleby, after a considerable time, agreed to reduce his tithes 20 per cent. The rev. Gentleman, fearing that a riot might take place, had procured the attendance of fifteen soldiers; he was accompanied by a Magistrate and several special constables, but no riot took place. The labourers were armed with cudgels, hooks, and other weapons. The Rev. J. Maul (whose tithes were always reasonable) held his audit at Gately on Wednesday last, and made a reduction for the time, and gave general satisfaction.—*Norwich Mercury*.

We, gave, some time ago, the copy of a placard issued in Sussex, recommending constables to apprehend persons of "gentlemanly appearance" driving through the country; and it would appear, by the following article from *The Doncaster Gazette*, that it has been already acted on in Yorkshire. A day or two ago a person, seated in an elegant carriage, attended by a servant, and of a most "gentlemanly appearance," was noticed in the neighbourhood of Doncaster. This suspicious character, in passing through Skellow, directed his servant to stop the vehicle and inquire who resided at a handsome house there, and made an observation on the number of corn-stacks. This remark, joined to others made during his progress through the neighbourhood, attracted the notice of the new-made special constables, who, armed with a little brief authority, succeeded in overtaking the carriage. It was then ascertained that its inmate was a highly respected Alderman of the Corporation of Doncaster, and late Captain of a troop of the West-riding Yeomanry Cavalry!

At a Vestry Meeting, held on the 13th day of Dec. 1830, in the Parish of Stoke Holy Cross, in the county of Norfolk, it was unanimously agreed that the following petition be signed and published in the provincial papers, and that R. H. GUNNEY, Esq. be requested to present it to the House of Commons, and that Lord King be requested to present the same to the House of Lords, and to support the prayer of the petitioners,

To the Honourable the House of Commons,
The Petition of the Inhabitants of Stoke Holy Cross, in the county of Norfolk

Sheweth,

That your petitioners venerate and admire the form of Government established by our law, and have no other wish than to see it flourish, restored to its original and healthy state, by being freed from those innovations which have been produced by the exercise of undue influence.

That your petitioners are, and always have been, loyal subjects, and still feel the proper respect due to Majesty, but they beg, with all submission, to inform your honourable House, that there is a state of suffering when endurance becomes a crime, and that oppression and want may make well-intentioned men reckless.

That your petitioners deeply deplore the state of misery and wretchedness to which the labouring population of this once happy and free country are reduced, and with sorrow are obliged to confess that the yeomanry and farmers from the causes hereafter mentioned, are fast sinking into a state of pauperism.

That your petitioners cannot but consider the wearing in of special constables as a measure fraught with evil.—setting brother against brother, and father against son: that in our opinion, food for the hungry, and clothing for the naked, would sooner and more effectually restore peace, than coercive measures, believing as we do that starvation is the cause of all the tumults that have happened. At the same time we beg to assure your honourable House, that no persons in His Majesty's dominions more sincerely regret the riotous proceedings of the peasantry, or more cordially detest the system of incendiarism which unhappily has spread throughout the land, than your petitioners.

That your petitioners feel certain that this almost universal distress is mainly occasioned by the nonrepresentation of the great body of the people in your honourable House, which is falsely called the House of Commons; by an excessive and unjust taxation, imposed by a corrupt and self-elected Parliament, by the demoralization produced by the detestable game laws, and by the arbitrary conduct and gross exactions of a selfish and avaricious clergy, many of whom, regardless of the tenets of the Christian religion, and of the example of the Founder of their faith, have, from the love of worldly power, accepted the Magistracy, and thereby become unable to devote their whole time to the duties of their sacred calling; neglecting the spiritual wants of those whose souls are committed to their care, making that part of their duty, which is done by them, like task-work, and destroying the good effects which might follow their precepts, by omitting to practise those virtues which they inculcate.

That your petitioners entreat your honourable House, before any other or less urgent business be attended to, to abolish the tax on malt, hops, soap, candles, coals, sugar, and windows, and on all other articles necessary for the use of the middle and working classes of the community. To repeal the game-laws. To commute the tithes. To apply the superabundant wealth of the church to the exigencies of the State. To place manorial rights on an equitable basis. To remove all clergymen from the office of justices of the peace. And lastly, to adopt such measures as will ensure, to the devoted inhabitants of these realms, such a Common House of Parliament as the

laws of this country declare to be the rights of Britons.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Robert Burrows	Charles Mann
Jacob S. Minns	William Smith
James Minns	Jeremiah More
William Burrows	Robert Wright
John Bond	Joseph Wilson
Robert Purday	James Stone
Thomas Dix	John Garrett
Fiddy Barnes	Thomas Smith
William Huggins	John Moore
William Taylor	James Smith
Walter S. Minns	John Wickham
William Broadwaters	P. Payne
Jonas Waters	Francis King
Robert Lincoln	John Bennett
Robert Tice	James Taylor
Robert Broadwaters	Daniel Gunn
Thomas Broadwaters	William Blazey
James Edwards	Robert Beckett
Edward Bolton	James Taylor, jun.
John Harris	Jeremiah Spalding
John Thurston	Jeremiah Colman

The petition, which was only agreed to this morning, has already received the foregoing names, and is now in circulation for signatures by the rest of the inhabitants of the parish.

DADDY COKE.

(From the Norfolk Anglian.)

DUNGENESS LIGHTHOUSE.

To the Editor of the East Anglian.

SIR,—Doubts having been expressed by many as to the correctness of a report in circulation, that Thomas Wm. Coke, Esq., M. P. for the county of Norfolk, has for many years past been in receipt of a large annual income as the owner of Dungeness Lighthouse, which income is payable by a tonnage "from all merchants, masters, or owners of all ships, boys, and barks, passing by the said lighthouse, outward bound, and the same inward bound, and the same for strangers as often as they should pass by the lighthouse"—to remove such doubts, I beg to refer you and your readers to the subjoined case, determined by the court of King's Bench, in the 7th year of George the Fourth (1826), and reported in *Barnwell and Cresswell*, vol. 5, p. 797.

"*The King against Thomas Wm. Coke, Esq.*"

"Upon an appeal by T. W. Coke, Esq., against a rate for the relief of the poor of the parish of Lydd, the sessions confirmed the rate subject to the opinion of this court, upon the following case.

"By Letters Patent, dated the 28th June, 13 George II. (1739), that King granted to Thomas Lord Lovell, his executors, &c., all that the lighthouse at or near Dungeness, in the county of Kent, and free leave, license, power and authority, to maintain, continue, and renew the same with lights, to be continually burning therein in the night season, from time to time, and (if need were) to alter, remove, and change the same, and to rebuild,

another at any place near the same by the advice or direction of the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Trinity-house of Deptford Strand, for the time being; and such lighthouse so rebuilt, to maintain, continue, and renew with lights, to be continually burning therein in the night season, in such manner as might be for the safety and direction of the traders that way: and for defraying the necessary charges in maintaining, continuing, altering, renewing, removing, and changing or rebuilding the same, the King did thereby grant, that during the term of years therein-after granted, the said Thomas Lord Lovell, his executors, &c., should, and might collect and receive to his and their own proper use, towards the charges aforesaid, *ld.* by the ton from all merchants, masters, or owners of all ships, boys, and barks, passing by the said lighthouse outward bound, and the same inward bound, and the same for strangers, as often as they should pass by the lighthouse, for sixty years, from the 24th June, 1768, subject to the yearly rent of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* payable to the Crown half-yearly. The letters patent then provided for the collection of the tolls, and that no other person should erect any lighthouse within five miles of Dungeness. All the estate and interest under the said letters patent, are, and have for many years past been, vested in the appellant, Mr. Coke. The lighthouse and lights are kept up at his expense, and a person, paid and employed by him, resides in the lighthouse for the purpose of attending, and attends the lights. The duties or contribution money are collected at the various ports of arrival and departure of ships passing the lighthouse by persons paid and employed by Mr. Coke. There is not any port nor any custom-house within the town, liberty, or parish of Lydd, nor have any duties or contribution-money ever been collected within the said town, liberty or parish, nor do any of the ships in respect of which the duties or contribution-money are paid come within the said town, liberty, or parish, but the same pass up and down channel in front of the said parish and lighthouse in the open sea at different distances from the shore along which the said parish extends eight miles and upwards; the lighthouse standing on the sea-shore above high water-mark, and within the said parish. The annual value of the lighthouse, independently of the duties or contribution-money, would be 4*l.* Mr. Coke does not reside or inhabit within the town, liberty, or parish of Lydd, nor occupy or possess any property within the town liberty, or parish, in any manner whatever, except as aforesaid. Personal property, stock in trade, or the profits of manufacturers, never have been rated in the parish of Lydd, nor are assessed by the rate in question up to the time of making which the lighthouse had been rated as a cottage only, at the sum of forty shillings, and the duties or contribution-money had never been rated or taken into account in making the rate. The rate in question was made on the 2nd of April, 1825, and Mr. Coke

ated herein as the occupier of the light-house with the duties of contribution-money of eight pence on every boat and barge passing by same. The annual value of the same being stated to be TWO THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY POUNDS. The duties or contribution-money yearly collected for Mr. Coke under the above-mentioned letters patent amount to the sum assessed in the rate (namely 2250*l.*), over and above the expense of keeping up the lighthouse and lights."

This case on the part of the inhabitants of Lydd was argued by Boteler, Darby and Burton; on the part of Mr. Coke by Nolan and Tindal. The judges who decided it were Bayley, Holroyd, and Littledale, and they determined "that this rate in its full extent cannot be supported. It must therefore be amended."

"Rate to be amended by striking out the sum of 2250*l.* at which the defendant was assessed, and inserting 4*l.*"

Thus it will be seen that although Mr. Coke was in the clear annual receipt of 2250*l.* derived from a direct tax upon the commerce of the country, over and above all charges, he successfully evaded the payment of his quota to the exigencies of the necessitous poor of Lydd, and pays only upon an assessment of 4*l.*

The patent expired on the 6th. of June, 1828, at a period when Mr. Coke was raising his voice the loudest for economy and retrenchment. What a splendid opportunity was then afforded him of evincing to the public his sincerity in advocating the abolition of all sinecures; what an opportunity of displaying his antipathy to all taxes by giving up this most odious tax upon the commerce of the country. He, consistent man, never voted for a tax during his whole parliamentary career; but he did in 1828 memorialise the crown for, and did obtain, a renewal of this very patent; and is now in the actual enjoyment of the profits derivable from it, still paying only upon an assessment of 4*l.* per annum towards the relief of the poor. Never let Mr. Coke, after this, talk about the American war—the expenses that grew out of it—the continental war and its miseries—the profuseness of ministers, and the consequent exigencies of the people; above all, let him never again insult the feelings of those who respect the memory of one who was good both as a monarch and a man, by coupling the revolting epithet of "bloody" with the justly venerated name of KING GEORGE THE THIRD—without first remembering that he himself is, and has been for years, a *sinecure Pensioner of the Crown*, and that his pension is derived from the worst of all possible taxes, a tax upon commerce, consequently a tax upon the skill, capital, and industry of those employed in the trade from which the impost is exacted.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

EDMUND NEWTON.

Surrey Street, Norwich,
20th Nov. 1830.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE AT ENFIELD.—We regret to learn that the acts of the incendiaries are still continued in the County of Middlesex. About nine o'clock on Sunday night a fire was discovered to have broken out in the wheat-yard of a farmer at Potter's Bar, near the Barnet-road, in the parish of Enfield, and not far from the spot where the recent fire of Mr. Byng's took place. The instant the fire was discovered expresses were sent off to town for the fire-engines, which were speedily in attendance; but they were unable to save any of the property, which was burning furiously up to three o'clock yesterday morning. The market carriers coming to town state that the flames were so vivid, that at a distance of two miles one might thread a needle. *Twelve stacks of wheat, and two of hay*, were wholly consumed. The owner was not insured; and as he is a SMALL farmer, it is probable his loss will prove destructive.

GRANTHAM, Dec. 19.—We have had another fire in this neighbourhood. Last night, a large out-stack in the stack-yard of Mr. Win. Mareks, at Belton, about three miles from this town, was fired by an incendiary, and totally consumed. Other valuable stacks, in the same yard, by great exertions were saved. Mr. Otter, a Director of the County Fire-Office, residing here, in a few hours had bills posted offering 500*l.* from the County Fire-Office, and 200*l.* from the Gentlemen in the neighbourhood, for the apprehension of the incendiary; and great hopes are entertained that he will be discovered and brought to justice.

SPALDING, Dec. 19.—We have been perfectly quiet in this neighbourhood since I mentioned the fire at Long Sutton (for which two men are committed to Lincoln Castle, one having impeached against them), until last night, when a destructive fire took place in Deeping Fen, about 10 miles from hence. About 16 quarters of corn, with the straw, 14 beasts, 4 horses, and a pig, were consumed.

CANABING, Dec. 20.—The spirit of incendiarism has not altogether fled from this neighbourhood. A barn and a quantity of oats, belonging to Mr. Mule, of Calderot, were burnt on Thursday night, and a large barley stack, belonging to the Rev. Dr. Webb, Vicar of Lillington, on the following night.

STAMFORD, MONDAY NIGHT, Dec. 20.—It is with the most painful feelings we have to record some details of the most terrific and destructive fire which has been lighted in our neighbourhood in these days—or rather nights—of horrible incendiarism. Between twelve and one on Sunday morning the premises occupied by Mr. Clark, a celebrated Scotch farmer, situate in a place called Stowgate, about midway between James Deeping and Crowland, were discovered to be igniting by the persons upon watch, and before assistance could arrive were enveloped in flames. Crowland, the Deepings, and their neighbourhood, poured out their population to stop the progress of the devouring element, but alas! with but little effect. A barn more than 70 feet long by 50

wide, in which were 60 quarters of wheat and other valuable property, an adjoining building containing a fixed threshing and dressing machine, a stack the produce of 70 acres of beans, three stacks of wheat, stalls large enough for feeding 50 beasts, and the stables, were entirely consumed; and with them, we are sorry to add, many valuable animals. We know not, nor perhaps does any one, the precise number destroyed, but we believe the following enumeration to be near the truth:—12 fat beasts, intended for Smithfield market in a few days, 2 milch cows, 4 horses, and a quantity of pigs! The cries of the poor inoffensive animals for relief, when no relief could be afforded them, were, we understand, painful in the extreme, and the wreck, when the Sabbath daylight came, was more horrible than can well be conceived. The loss sustained is estimated at from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.* A dwelling-house, about fifty yards from the barn, was saved. We have not heard whether Mr. Clark was or was not insured.—*Stamford Champion.*

FIRE AT DYKE, NEAR BOURN.—A straw stack and a stack of hay were completely consumed on Friday night, the 10th instant, near a crew-yard belonging to W. Hardwicke, of Dyke, situate near the Dyke Outgang. It was first observed at Bourn about half-past twelve o'clock, when one of the Superintendents immediately mounted his horse and repaired to the scene of conflagration. All hopes of saving the stacks were at an end, as they exhibited a complete mass of fire. Tidings were immediately conveyed to Mr. H., whose residence was about half a mile from the spot. The incendiaries had carefully turned out of the crew-yard all the stock contained therein, evidently displaying discipline and calmness in their wicked and diabolical proceedings. Rewards of 1,000*l.* and 40 guineas are offered for the apprehension of the incendiary. The property was insured.

A great number of threatening letters, signed "Swing," have been sent to the farmers of Glamorganshire who use machinery, and we are sorry to state that, in some instances, they have been followed by more diabolical acts of incendiarism. Last week, Mrs. Watson, of Hampston Farm, Duffryn, near Cardiff, had a large hay-rick burnt; and the Hon. Mr. Grey, of Duffryn, had a rick of wheat destroyed; there were also two mows burnt at Llanwit Major, near Cowbridge.—*Bristol Mercury.*

PARSONS AND TITHES.

A meeting of the landholders of the parish of Chiddingfold, in Surrey, was appointed for the 25th of Nov. last, for the purpose of paying the composition for the tithes to the Dean of Salisbury's agent, Mr. Cole of Godalming, solicitor. A large assemblage of the labouring poor met, as was said, for the purpose of remonstrating against the payment thereof. In consequence of which it was thought unsafe for the farmers to pay, or for Mr. Cole to receive the composition then due. With this

understanding, Mr. Cole retired apparently satisfied, and promised to deduct the expense of the dinner then provided, when the tithes were paid. Several of the tithe-payers have since been sworn in special constables, as well for the protection of the tithes as other property; and, having done this, they have, as a natural consequence, been favoured with the enclosed friendly Circular:—

(Circular.)

Sir,—I am requested by the Dean of Salisbury to inform you, that although he is surprised and sorry that the tithe-payers at Chiddingfold should have acted so unreasonably as not to pay their tithes at the time appointed, he is willing to attribute it to the excitement of the moment, and he trusts, that upon reflection, they will regret such conduct, and pay their tithes without further delay.

I have therefore to request that the amount of your composition may be paid at my office in this town within a week from the date of this communication, and have but to add, that in case of non-compliance, it will become my painful duty to recommend the Dean to have recourse to legal proceedings to compel payment.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. F. COLE.

Godalming, 15th Dec. 1830.

From a Farmer who lives in the neighbourhood of Andover, in Hampshire.

December 19th, 1830.

"I AM fearful there will be dreadful work at Winchester, and other places, among the poor deluded and ill-used labourers. Only think of the way in which they have been treated of late years! The wages, for a long time past, have been *eight shillings* a week with us. Suppose a man with a wife and six young children; his parish relief has been this, to add just so much to his wages as to enable him to buy
2 gallon loaves for himself,
1 gallon loaf for his wife, and
6 gallon loaves for his six children.
9 gallon loaves, at 17*d.* each, the price we have lately had the bread at, would be 12*s.* 9*d.*

Deduct the man's wages 8 0

The Parish will have to pay 4*s.* 9*d.*

And that allows for each of the poor man's family (himself included,) *not quite so much as*

2 farthings for breakfast.

1 penny for dinner and

1 penny for supper.

2½ each person per day :

without considering the cost of *clothes, shoes, or fuel*. And the greater part of the labourers are obliged, besides, to pay their own *house rents*, say from 2*l.* to 6*l.* a year each. Can you imagine any human condition much more dreadful than this ?

I know the writer of this well ; and I know that he, who has always paid and kept his people well, was, a few years ago, most *foully abused by a magistrate* " for setting an example, *so injurious to his neighb.* " How happy would it have been if his neighbours had *followed that example !* WM. COBBETT.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER VII.

Paris, 13th Dec., 1830.

SIR,

BENJAMIN-CONSTANT was buried yesterday, and I mention this circumstance before alluding to any other matter, not merely from respect to the man, but as the mode of the burial is a striking proof of the great degree of feeling amongst the people. Monsieur Benjamin-Constant was the reverse of rich ; but his talents, I believe, were universally admired ; at any rate, during the restoration, he was always one of the foremost opponents of the measures of the government, and on several occasions merited the admiration of his countrymen for his courage as well as his oratorical ability, and gained in a pre-eminent manner the veneration of the rising generation, and of the students at law, all students being, in Paris, politicians. Since the Revolution, if he were an honest man, he must have been fairly crucified in his mind, in attempting to continue to maintain the people's rights, without breaking with this shameful popular government. You will have remarked the striking paucity of his influence in the Chamber, which becomes still more remarkable to every

one who beheld the honours paid to his memory yesterday. All the world appeared to be at the funeral, but, especially of the classes pointing downwards. The coffin was drawn by about an hundred men, of a *mixture of ranks*, and some of them *working men*. The deputies themselves attended, and their attendance had been previously debated, immediately on the news of his death ; and, also, the formal interment of his remains at the Pantheon, (with those of three other patriotic men), on the first anniversary of the Revolution, had been the subject of a motion of the Minister of the Interior. And yet *no votes* could he lately ever obtain for the liberty of the press : neither the abolition of cautionnement, abolition of postage nor of stamp, nor even the delay of three months for furnishing the cautionnement : and, with respect to *himself*, none but *subordinate places* in the government have been *offered him* by the King, or councils ; and in the Chamber, at the proposition of him for President, *he had only eight votes !*

2. The trials of the Bourbon-Ministers are to come on on the 15th. It is calculated that they will be concluded on Christmas-day. These Ministers were removed suddenly and unexpectedly on Friday morning, in the midst of a heavy rain, and escorted, not by the National Guard, as had all along been given out, but by *officers* of the National Guard, to the number of fifty, and officers of the line to the number of eighty. It is remarkable, that this fact is not discoverable by the newspapers, which indulge in no comments on the *manner* of the removal, though the people do, as I understand. The journals are backward in calling for justice, but on the contrary, all without exception desire to blunt or mystify the sentiment of the people. One observation is, however, I think very just, which I perceive in the *Revolution* of to-day, and which is, that the people direct their attention to these trials as to a *point* upon which they cannot be deceived, because they have been disappointed in the general result of the Revolution : in two words, *that if they were represented with uni-*

versal suffrage, these men might be let go about their business. But the deputies, who are still the deputies elected by the double vote; these deputies, be it remembered, will prefer *blood to universal suffrage*; and, to avoid the latter, if they find the people much bent on SOMETHING, the peers, who are the something, in effect, will throw *two or three heads to the people*. So that the *mild character*, which really belongs to this magnanimous people (and, indeed to every people, I believe), must suffer, in order for them to be *choused out of their rights, liberty, and property!*

3. While news pours in every day of the imminent danger, of the very near approach of the end, of all the old systems of autocrat and aristocrat in the north and the east, this good "republic" seems to take upon itself the especial protection of that double-distilled and double-jointed, half monarchical and half pontifical concern, which is again multiplied by two, on the other side of the Pyrenees. Yesterday, some of the papers contained a protest, if men in so destitute and deserted a situation can be supposed to protest, from the *Spanish patriots*, who have been removed by force from Bayonne, and obliged to "take up their position" at Bourges, a town in the interior of France, receiving *one sou for about every English mile* of the journey. They remonstrate with the King of the French, and ask *if the charter be a truth?* They are in reality prisoners at Bourges; for they are obliged to *present themselves*, in the middle of every day, at the police! These poor fellows must wait, I suppose, till the old Lady in Threadneedle Street gives up the ghost, which will be soon after her *daughter here has resigned her breath, breath that seems to be departing*. The funds keep falling. It is not the fear of war that brings them down, but the fear of the people recovering their rights, and their consequent *refusal to pay the taxes!*

4. Thus it is that the Revolution will be completed: it is only begun, begun in name only: changed the thing has been in name, but not in nature. It is still the same *taxing government*; and

its political principles signify just nothing at all. Even you yourself must be an enemy to freedom, if compelled to cause such a mass of taxes to be collected. However, this government will not succeed in this for any length of time. In the Departments the taxes are not only reluctantly paid, but there no prospect of the thing mending. Paris suffers accordingly. Like the labour in England, the Departments will keep more of the meat and bread in the villages. The *belly* seems, all over the world, to be rising up against the tax-gatherer.

19th Dec.

5. Paris, the wen of France, suffers for this revolution, little as it is. The food and clothing and fuel are kept amongst those who raise them, *more than they were six months ago*. This is very curious: in proportion that Paris suffers, the country is recovering from its depression: the tax-gatherer *draws less from it*. He does not demand less, but he gets less; the bonds of compulsion are loosened; in short, the people refuse to give up what they were compelled to give up before: and thus they, by their acts, supply the place of a repeal of taxes. This is the matter of real interest; all the political intrigues are nothing; it is not a question of political principles, but of *frances and centimes*. Thus it was in Belgium, thus in Poland, thus in Brunswick, and thus even in Switzerland. It is not a question of *monarchy or republic*, but a question of heavy or light taxes; or, in other words, a question of empty bellies and bare backs, or full bellies and covered backs.

6. I am full of anxiety about the English labourers, whose hard lives and cruel treatment neither time nor distance can ever make me forget! How laborious, how skilful, how kind to their children, how good, how much better than any other body of persons in the world; and how much worse treated! Thank God! this treatment *must now cease*. I rejoice that, for the honour of England, for your sake, but a thousand times more for their own, that they have *not lain down and died quietly*. You al-

ways said they *would* not, and, God be praised! they *have* not. Their conduct has excited, in this country, admiration the just, terror in the unjust, and surprise in all. You always said that they were all that was left of England *worth saving*; and they have made good your words. With the most anxious hope that they will finally obtain the due reward of their unparalleled toils,

I remain, &c. &c.

Wm. CONNERT, Jun.

P. S. Your first letter to the editor of the "Revolution," was published on the 12th inst [See Register of 4th Dec.] The others will follow, I suppose; and they will do great good here, where, until lately, not a thousandth part of the people knew any thing at all about the state either of the government or the people of England. These letters from you are like torches suddenly brought in amongst people in a dark room. They furnish the friends of freedom with arguments not to be answered. The Duke of Wellington is now become an endless subject of jest and hon-mots in the capital, where he was once the lord paramount, and in which he saw Marshal Ney executed. Those who know little about the matter, congratulate the world that England has, at last, a *liberal* Ministry. Those who see beneath the surface, shrug up their shoulders, and say *Nous verrons!* They will see nothing, I am afraid, done for the real relief of the people. The Duke of Wellington, I see, says, that France has *lost by the late Revolution*, and this assertion is a great favourite with the Bourbonites. Why, a man may be said to lose, *for the moment*, when his leg is cut off, to prevent death by a mortification at the ankle. To be sure, the fall of the court and of all its squanderings, has made *Paris* less rich and to afford less employment; but what has the Revolution done for *France*? That is the question; and it has done a great deal for *France*. If the palace at Pall-Mall had not been pulled down and another built at Piccadilly, *London* would not have been so rich as it is; but the money which those palaces have cost would be now in the pockets of the creating classes all

over *England*. The people who talk like the Duke are of the school of Mr. Canning, who said, in defending the palace-building, that it was *good*, because it *gave employment*, forgetting that it took from farmers and traders and manufacturers the means of giving employment to *creative* pursuits. When we hear opinions like these from *legislators*, can we be surprised at the sufferings of the people for whom they make laws? People do not flock to *Paris* as they did. "Tant mieux pour la France," said a very sensible man to me, the other day; and it is "so much the better for *France*;" and it never will be well for *England*, till people cease to flock to *London*. Every body is for war, except the *fund-holders* and loan-jobbers. Contempt not to be conceived is felt and expressed here towards the shameless fools who ascribe the fires in *England* to *Frenchmen*. People are fairly astounded at this: they cannot account for it; they can discover no object for so *absurd* a falsehood. If they knew the parties and their motives as well as we do, they would not be astounded.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REGISTER.

Paris, Dec. 21st, 1830.

SIR,—I send you herewith a short article which I have translated from the *Revolution*, relative to the new civil-list. You will please to observe, that the law was proposed by the Minister of Finance on Wednesday the 15th instant, and that immediately M. de CONCELLES protested against it, declaring that it was a violation of the new charter that any civil-list should be granted but by a chamber assembled subsequent to the elevation of the King to the throne. This deputy read the article 19, which says "The civil-list is fixed for the duration of the reign, by the first legislature assembled after the accession of the King;" or, in the original, "*La liste civile est fixée pour toute la durée du règne, par la première législature assemblée depuis l'avènement du roi.*" The scene in the Chamber became tempestuous, upon the determination of M. de CONCELLES to pro-

test in this manner, as the regular order of proceeding did not admit of any discussion upon the single introduction of proposition; which order was endeavoured to be maintained by M. DUBIN, who occupied the place of the President; but, on the other hand, the deputy I have mentioned, and several others of the extreme left who coincided with him, thought that the violation of the charter which they perceived in the whole of the minister's proceeding, authorized them to protest, which they did sturdily. M. LAFITTE replied, that the ministers were aware of the article which had been cited, and that, if it had restrained their right to present a law for the civil-list, they would have taken care not to present a law which should violate the charter. I do not know whether it be here meant to draw a distinction between *fixing by the Chamber, and presenting by the government*, and it is certainly too ridiculous to presume; for why should a matter be prepared which cannot be entertained? It is clearly, therefore, a violation of the charter which was contemplated.

But the items of the proposition are much worse than even the direct violation of the constitution by the bare proposition itself. These items you will find fully explained in the observations which I have taken from the *Revolution*, and by which you will perceive that they must be truly shocking to the nation. One would think that these ministers had the vanity to try with how high a hand they could follow the steps of their predecessors under Charles X. This proposition is undoubtedly odious, and it is very possible that it will be withdrawn; at least this is talked of amongst the people; with what reason I cannot say, unless it be probable that the ministers will withdraw themselves also.

It is odd that this very striking proposition should have been made on the very first day of the trials, and when the public were all looking to the proceedings of the peers and not of the deputies. M. Lafitte himself had been that very day also assisting at those

trials as a witness, and the chairman of the deputies was absent on the same account, when M. Lafitte drove to the Chamber to make his proposition. The two Chambers are (unlike the Honourable and Right Honourable Houses) nearly two miles apart. So that it must be supposing an extraordinary degree of industry in the President of the council, if this alone could have hurried him through such a variety of scenes of action in one day. At noon he was giving evidence of the violation of the constitution against one set of ministers at the Chamber of Peers, and in two hours afterwards he goes in his capacity of minister, and does something very much of the same kind, and towards a constitution of his own making!

The trials are now assuming a serious appearance, in which I am not surprised; for, having been on the spot since the disturbances in October, I have always thought, from what I saw, that they must end seriously, in some way or other. However, up to Sunday night, the trials had gone on without, apparently, exciting any thing of a disturbed feeling. Hardly ever above a hundred or two of people assembled near the Luxembourg. But yesterday morning the people were put fairly on the *qui vive*, by three long addresses placarded on all the walls; one, an order of the day of General Lafayette, and the other two, exhortations to keep the peace, from the Prefect of the Seine, and the Prefect of Police. All this without any disturbance, or scheme of disturbance, having been heard of; but, as these placards speak distinctly of *plots* to sacrifice the ministers under trial, or their judges, and of the determination to suppress them, to punish offenders, and so on, you may suppose that the people were rendered curious at any rate. In this mood, it appears that great multitudes assembled yesterday, as if invited by this famous General, "of the two worlds," and by these wise prefects. These multitudes were kept off from the palace (in which the Peers were proceeding with the trials) by means of very strong bodies of guards, of, I believe, all sorts; and all last night and now,

the guards were and are redoubling, the drum going incessantly to collect the National Guard from their houses.

Altogether, I cannot describe the effects of these impudent placards; but this will be sufficiently done by relating a few facts, even as they appear in the newspapers to have taken place immediately in consequence.

In the Chamber of Peers there were, during the afternoon, distinctly heard, cries and murmurs from the people without. Notes were received and passed about in the tribunes, signifying that the people would break in, that they meant to stop the judges as they went out, and other rumours. The noise sometimes diverted the peers from attending to the advocates, which happened especially during the close of M. CREMIEUX's address, and that of M. BERANGER. Finally, after M. Berenger had concluded, when it past four, a strange circumstance took place. The officer second in command of the National Guard was speaking upon the state of the people without to some persons in the court, and, advancing towards the President, said that which the president interpreted to mean that *it was desirable that the court should adjourn before it were night*; the President stated this, and the court accordingly rose immediately, and separated in considerable confusion. This was an awful cause for a court to adjourn; for the peers of France, during the reign of Louis-Philippe, to adjourn, in prosecuting the trials of the ministers of Charles X. ! It appears by the papers, this morning, that the officer, who has written a circular to this effect, was totally misunderstood by the President, and that he had said *there was nothing to apprehend*. As he represents the matter, he was casually applied to by some of the peers, to know how matters were without, and he gave them the answer I have stated; and the President, perceiving him in conversation with those peers, seemed to look as if for information, and he then advanced to him. Such a misrepresentation as he attributes to the President is extremely astonishing, and one would think impossible, unless the

President had been so possessed with apprehension that his ears were incapacitated from conveying to his understanding any thing but what corresponded with his state of fear. If we were not obliged to take the officer's explanation as strictly correct, we must choose between two possibilities. One, that the officer had suggested the early adjournment, as certainly rendering the duty of himself and his comrades less onerous; another, that the President had already in his own wisdom determined the prudence of going home by day-light, and that this measure was so fervidly in his heart that the expression of it was on the tip of his tongue; but, in this case, he made the great mistake of putting it also into the mouth of the officer of the guard. The latter supposition is strengthened by the impatience just before testified by the President, when he asked M. MADIER DE MONTJAN *how long his speech would occupy*, and when the latter answering an hour, he replied that he could not be heard till the next day. M. DE MARTIGNAC, who was to answer the advocate just mentioned, complaining of this adjournment, the President then catches the eye of the officer, who was conversing with some peers, as before stated, and, in the manner already described, abruptly broke up the court.

Thus, it must be very evident to you, the state of alarm in which this affair is carried on. There is no doubt that this arises correspondingly with the settled intention to acquit the prisoners, as to capital punishment. Diverse programmes have got out in common conversation; but the people generally are prepared for the escape from "*brutal justice*" being managed, somehow or other. I heard that the prisoners were to be remanded to Vincennes, before the judgment was pronounced; that it was to be pronounced to them there, and, in the meantime, *the peers to be adjourned and gone off to their country houses to spend Christmas!*

Another curious scene took place in the Chamber of Deputies. A rumour reached the Chamber that the workmen in the faubourgs of St. Antoine and St

Marceau had demanded the advance of a fortnight's wages from their employers to buy powder. Thus there was a great agitation in this assembly, which occasioned several speeches upon the subject. The speech of M. Lafitte upon this occasion was remarkable for his saying, that the King, government, peers, and deputies were all equally in danger; but, that it was not on account of the punishment or non-punishment of the prisoner-ministers; that it was not their blood which was wanted, but the destruction of public order. I suppose he meant that the nation wants universal suffrage, hoping and knowing that they would then pay not above one sixth of the taxes which they now pay. The fact is this, and it requires neither foresight nor presumption to predict that it will all end in this before long.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT, JUN.

TREVOR AND POTATOES.

To the Readers of the Register for the last twenty years.

Kensington, 10th December, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

You have, perhaps, read in the newspapers the report of a speech (as they call it), or rather of a parcel of words, of one TREVOR, who is called "the Honourable," being, as I am told, the son of an Irish lord, who is called DUNOONON. Scores of people have asked *who* this TREVOR is; and I had to hunt about a good while before I could make him out: it was like trailing for a hare two hours after sun-rise. I found out, however, in the course of my trail, several of the tracks, and I found out his *form*, which is situated at that snug place, New Romney, in Kent. After all, however, I may still be on a wrong scent; for some say that it is a *Welshman*, the son of a Lord, called DYMOVEN, and a member for some place in *Wales*. But this is, in fact, a matter of no earthly importance. Whether the words in question were really uttered by this man, I cannot say. They are, however, published as his; I take them as a publica-

tion, and, as such, I will comment on them. If uttered by him, they were, according to the report, poured out on the 16th instant, and were as follows:

"Mr. TREVOR wished to put a question to an hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (his Majesty's Attorney General) respecting a well-known periodical publication, which contained some paragraphs of a very dangerous character, alluding to the disgraceful scenes now going forward in some parts of the country, and calculated to aggravate the present lawless state of some counties. The publication to which he referred was one that was circulated very extensively, and that laboured incessantly in efforts of excitation—efforts that, if not arrested in their progress, would, sooner or later, destroy that and the other House of Parliament. The circulation of that diabolical publication—he could find no milder term—had, he would repeat it, a circulation dangerously extensive. It was a compilation which he could not but regard with the utmost regret and alarm. (Cries of read, read! name, name!)"

"The SPEAKER wished to learn whether the question which the hon. Member intended to put had any thing at all to do with the present motion, which was, that a certain Petition be brought up? However unwilling to intercept any question, the House must feel that the observations of the hon. Member must conclude with a motion, and surely no other motion could with any regularity be allowed to interrupt that then before the House."

"Mr. TREVOR would reduce his question to a few words. He wished to know if the publication referred to had come under the notice of the hon. and learned gentleman, the Attorney General, and whether he intended to do any thing relative to it. (Cries of name, name, name!) The publication was *Cobbett's Register*."

"The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he had to thank the hon. Member for his courtesy in sending him a note, inti-

"making his intention of putting the question which the House had just then heard; but since the receipt of that note, he had not had time to read the publication referred to.

"Mr. TREVOR then gave notice, that to-morrow he would bring the matter under the consideration of the House."

Well, "to-morrow" came; but no motion from TREVOR! What did he do, or say, then? You shall hear.

"Lord PALMERSTON expressed a hope that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Trevor) would postpone the motion of which he had given notice to another day. The ground on which he asked for

has evinced so much wisdom in the war waged against the French republicans; in borrowing a thousand millions of pounds; in doubling the amount of the interest by Peel's Bill; in repealing that bill in effect; in re-enacting it; making a dead-weight of 6,000,000*l.* cost for a year! in hardening the game-laws; in making penitentiaries and new palaces; in making, in short the state, of the country what it now is; but as a proof indisputable of its fitness for all things, however minute, protecting the "constitution," which is the "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world," by prescribing how many square

ARTHUR had that afternoon received intelligence of a distressing family misfortune, which rendered it impossible for him to attend in his place that evening, and he was sure that under these circumstances he should not be making a fruitless appeal to the hon. Gentleman's courtesy.

"Mr. TREVOR expressed his readiness to accede to the suggestions of the noble Lord. He, however, wished to take that opportunity of stating the motives that had induced him to bring this subject before the House.

"The SPEAKER suggested that it would be better to make that statement when the motion came on in a regular shape.

"The motion was then postponed till Thursday next."

I am writing on Sunday, and my arrangements will prevent me from noticing in this Register that which will take place on Thursday, on which day the House of all Houses, the "omnipotent" House, will adjourn! However, let us take a view of this proceeding; and, if possible, a sober view. It is very difficult to do this; but, let us try.

The House in which this man sits, has called itself "omnipotent," and he (if he really did utter the stuff imputed to him) would seem to have taken the meaning to be literal. To be sure the House has worked so well; it has shown so much skill in all its proceedings; it

be sure, a House capable of all these things is capable of *any-thing*; and, therefore, I do not join those who laugh at TREVOR for supposing it to be proper for the House to interfere with my Register. But, still, what is it to do? That is the thing. Is it to pass an Act to punish me? Is it to pass an act to put down the Register, as, or something like it, old TREASURY suggested in 1804? Is it to assume the office of Attorney General, or that of Jury, or Judge, or all three together? or that of King, and order the Attorney General to prosecute? We shall see what it will do this time. We shall see what it will attempt, at any rate.

But, TREVOR, why put the matter off; why not go on, man? What had LORD ARTHUR's losing a relation to do with my Register? What had this Lord to do with the matter? His brother (they say it is) dying in the Mediterranean could have no effect in the case one way or the other. His brother was a post-Captain, promoted over the heads of thousands of naval Officers, and had, of course, extraordinary merit and prowess, and would have been, I dare say, an Admiral in a very short time; but though this was, doubtless, a matter for deep lamentation with the great and mighty and clever House, which is always so indulgent and compassionate, still it had nothing to do with my Register of the *eleventh of December*. We know,

indeed, that our aristocracy have feelings much finer than common mortals, and we have seen that Lord MILTON, who resigned his seat for Yorkshire out of tender affection for his father, who voted for the dun con and gagging bills of 1817, while Lord Milton himself voted only for the gagging bills; we have seen that this Lord, who thus abandoned the honours of Yorkshire out of affection for his father, has now given up the seat for Peterborough, in order, as the newspapers tells us, to obey the wishes of his dying wife, who desired *that he would stay at home and educate his children*; we have seen this, and we know what a sacrifice the surrender of the seats must have been, when we remember that, in 1816, he expressed his wish to "*come to close quarters with the reformers*," who are now giving him a fair opportunity, or very soon will do it, to gratify his wish. When they were coming to close quarters with him, in 1817, he did, indeed, vote and speak for gagging them, while his father voted for putting them into dungeons. But, still, the *fine feeling* of the ORDER is notorious; witness their tenderness towards those timid and powerless animals called *game*! The *fine feeling* of the ORDER is, indeed, notorious to all the world; but again, I say, what had the death of Lord Althorp's brother to do with my Register?

In the mean while, however, what right had Trevor (if he did it) to furnish grounds for the base *reporters* to call my publication *diabolical*, and thereby accuse me of a *diabolical act*? What right had he to do this? His place in the pure House gave him no such right. And, what was this "*diabolical publication*!" What was it, that it called for denunciation in the House of Commons? What was its nature, and what its tendency, that one of the "*representatives of the people*" should call it diabolical?

It was an effort, on my part, to dissuade the Ministers and the King from causing the blood of the labourers to be shed; or, rather, it was an effort to confirm them in the merciful intention, which I presumed that they entertain-

ed; and this was called for, too, by the howlings for blood which had been set up by that vile tool of the loan-mongers, the *Bloody Old Times* newspaper. To effect my object, I naturally used fact and argument; I stated, for the five hundredth time, the hard case of this portion of our countrymen; I referred to legal authorities; I pleaded the cause of the poor and needy and friendless. The Holy Scriptures say, that "*the righteous considereth the cause of the poor*"; but the wicked regardeth not to know it." I do know their cause; I have always considered it; it has been a considerable part of the business of my life to endeavour to better their lot, and better *I will*, or I will die still making the attempt, if mind and body enable me to do it to my last hour. I have written more than a *hundred* closely-printed octavo volumes; and I verily believe, that *ten* out of the hundred are filled with matter the object of which is to cause the working people of England, and particularly the labourers in husbandry, to be as well fed and clothed as they were when I was born. And, am I to be called "*diabolical*" by this Trevor?

I hope that the reader before he has come thus far, has read the extracts from *Potter Macqueen* and those from the *Hampshire Parson*. If he have, let me ask him if it be possible to *exaggerate* in stating the case of these our oppressed countrymen; whether it be possible to read the close of the extracts from Macqueen without cursing the very ground on which such things took place. It signifies not to hope, to plead, or to pray: the country in which such things as Macqueen describes can take place, *must suffer*, must experience some *signal mark of the Almighty's displeasure*; not to believe this is to be an *atheist*. I pray you, reader, look at that part of Macqueen's pamphlet; then look at the *bloodless course of the labourers*; and then think of the infamy of those who call aloud for *their blood*!

"Thus may their wives and thus their children fall."

But particularly *themselves*; and may

they perish by all the pangs of body and of mind united! Look at the letter of the *Hampshire Farmer*; look at it, reader, and then find in your heart, if you can, to call for the blood of these men, and leave TAEVOR to stigmatize as "*diabolical*" an effort to save their lives.

For many years there has existed the *fashion* of looking on the working people, and particularly the labourers in husbandry, as an *inferior race* of human beings, and to treat them as such. They are the *contrary* of this; they are the superior race, and they always have been. They are laborious, willingly so; they are content as to their station in life; they are unpresuming; they are honest, they are sincere; they are obedient servants, faithful husbands and tender parents and loving children; they are, as my son says in the close of a letter (inserted before), *the very best body of people in the whole world*; and he who says the contrary is a base and infamous slanderer. It has been amongst the greatest delights of my life to see them happy, and amongst my most ardent desires to contribute towards that happiness. I have admired their character and their conduct ever since I was able to estimate them, and especially since I had the means of comparing them with those of the labourers of other countries; and I could willingly strike dead at my feet the insolent brutes who speak contemptuously of them, and who fatten at the same time on their toil; who live in luxury on the fruit of their sweat and blood.

In order to enable my readers to judge of the cruelties that the farm-labourers have experienced, let me show what *they ought to have had* in the shape of wages, or of keep; let me show *how all these violences and these fires might have been prevented*. There is no man living who knows the English labourers so well as I do. I not only know all their wants, but their dispositions, their tempers; and I always said, that, when it came to be a question whether they should *see their children starve, or run the risk of death,*

they would choose the latter. We have seen the *face* of PORTER MACQUEEN's county of Bedford; we know that Dorsetshire fare was 2s. 7d. a week for a working man, when the quarterly loaf was at 10s. We have seen that, according to BENNETT's evidence, the Wiltshire fare was a pound and a quarter of bread and a halfpenny a day for food and clothing? Now let us see what it *ought to have been*; and, indeed, what labourers had *from me*, during my three years of farming at Burn-Elm.

In the first place, I, as was *my duty*, kept my labourers chiefly in the house. I had, on an average, always, *four men and four boys*, and always a maid servant. If every hundred acres of land, aye, or every *four hundred*, had kept house a number of young men or boys equal to what I kept on my 84 acres (20 of them meadows), we should never have heard of "*Swiss*." And let me, before I forget it, give a proof of the *character* of the English labourers. Mine all came from the country, and one of my conditions was, that they never should have lived one week at a time, within forty miles of London, another was, that they should lived in farmer's service, or be the sons of farm-labourers; and the last condition was, that they should come in smock-frocks and nailed shoes. So that they were all clod hoppers, and I deemed this necessary to my *security in person* as well as in *property*. The farm-house is as *solitary* a one as any that I know in England; assailable from the Thames, as I at nearly half a mile from any house (except the *manston*, which added to the danger). Just after I began, and while I had in the house men of the neighbourhood, there was an attempt to rob my dairy. But there I was, for the rest of the three years, with numerous pigs of all ages, poultry of all sorts, sheep, lambs, and never any part of under lock and key, a granary full of meal and corn and seeds of various sorts, and that, very often, not locked up for a week at a time; a smoke-house full of bacon, a pantry with cheeses and meat, some fresh and some

salt, to which men as well as maid had, or might have, access at all times. And I am convinced that an act of theft never was committed on me by any one of these chopsticks in the course of the whole time. Who *else* could have kept, under such circumstances, such a collection of things? Is there any *body else* that can keep a *hen-house* within four miles of London? I really thought myself as safe at Barn-Elm as I did in Long Island. We carried our confidence to that extent, that the garden-hedge was frequently covered with sheets, table-cloths, and other linen, not only all day but *all night too!* I used to tell my wife, who, when she was there, had this carried on rather more than usual, being a great person for *bleack-ing*, that I was very much obliged to her for thus proving the *unconquerable honesty* of my native county of Surrey. But, it was the clod-hoppers that she relied on: not for watching, not for their vigilance, not for any one thing but their natural sense of justice. Dogs and locks are of no use, if robbers have a mind to come. Guns are good, but there must be *somebody to use them*. It comes, at last, to the *person*; and, if you have no security there, you have in reality none. The fact of our having *eight young country fellows in the house* every night was soon well known; and that fact was enough. That bare fact, and that alone, preserved the poultry, the pigs, and the linen on the hedge. When I was about to set off to the North, last winter, a difficulty arose about leaving the farm without some one to have *authority*. I used to be there the greater part of my time, in the week, and, on Sunday; and Saturday night, at Kensington. This did pretty well; but, to go away for *months*, and to leave a young woman and these young men and boys to *carry on* by themselves would not do. My wife volunteered her services, and there she staid the whole winter, and has not been so hearty and perfectly well any winter for the last ten years of her life. She, who is as timid about robbers as anybody, thought herself quite safe with these chopsticks in the house, and that house too without window-shutters, and into which any

man might *step* from the yard by only opening the casement. She took the precaution to make *two* of the men sleep down stairs, and then she thought herself perfectly safe. She had to scold these fellows often enough, every one must know; but she feared no danger from that: reason, common sense, told her that she was safe, though men, maid and boys were all utter strangers to us.

But, now, how did these fellows *fare*? Let us see, and then we shall see, in its true light, all the real cause of the riots and the fires. I kept them as cheaply as I could consistently with what I deemed sufficient food and raiment. I gave the men 3s. a week *in money*, the boys 2s. or 1s. 6d. according to their size and ability. Their food was, as nearly as possible, as follow:—

	For a Week
Meat 7lb. at 4d.	2s. 4d.
Flour in some shape or other 10½ lb.	1
Cheese 1½ lb.	1 0
Small Beer	1 0

I bought my mutton by the carcase, my beef by the large lot, my pork by the barrel, my bacon I killed, my cheese I got by the hundred, my meal and flour I ground by my men, they brewed the beer, and the maid baked the bread, and to this maid, who had had *four pounds* a year in the country, I gave *ten pounds*, and quite little enough, considering the work she had to perform; for, besides all the rest, she had a cow to milk and butter to make. The men, then, cost me 8s. 6d. a week, and the boys 7s. 6d. exclusive of good warm lodging, a good fire to sit by, and candle-light. Not one morsel *too much*, and not one drop *too much* had they. The pound of bacon and pork sometimes beat them. They always had just what they pleased of *cabbage* and *turnips*, and, in summer, beans and peas, and always what onions they chose. The pound of pork and bacon beat them frequently; but the mutton and beef

I *tried* them many times;

weighed them out the eight pounds of beef without bone; and they *always cleared the dish*, though they had the same fare *every day*. To be sure; and this is the way that they ought to be kept, and then you can, with a good conscience, scold them, if they be idle; you can send them out in the cold; you can make them run and jump at your call, and you can punish them for grave misconduct, and *sleep quietly afterwards*. Some of these fellows behaved, while I was absent, very ill. I punished them for it; but, I feared no consequences, because, upon reflection, their consciences would restrain them from any malicious act. You are not to expect *sentiment*, nor even *much care*, from such persons; you do not *pay* for these: you merely pay for the *labour* they perform; and, if you want sentiment and care, you must *pay for them too*.

Now let us see what *share* they had of the *produce* of this farm. This last year, the produce, the grass produce, will amount to about 1,000*l.*, the meadows having kept the oxen which worked on the farm. I gave an account of my *crops* in the last Register. Now let us see the *out-gangs*.

Rent	£
Tithes	41
Church-rates	6
Highway-rates	6
County-rates	8
Assessed Taxes	10
Smith, wheelwright, collar-maker, wear and tear	50
Poor-rates	99
Labour	198

£ 925

Observe how small a portion, comparatively, the *labour* forms of all this! And here were four young men, four stout boys and a young woman. Oh! how I have hated to hear people exclaim, "*What an expense* you must be at here, Cobbett." "Why do you think so?" "You have so *many people* to keep!" Such folks do not consider, indeed, they do not, and cannot know any thing at all about the

matter. These "*people*," many as they were, were not one too many. The butter, milk, eggs, poultry, to Kensington, carting to town, errands backward and forward, the being always at hand to run here or run there, for any of us; all these things my friends, who used to talk of my *expenses*, overlooked. Indeed they knew nothing about the matter. They did not reflect, too, on the *security* that I have mentioned above. But mine was, besides, a singular case: 't was not a common farming. The object of it was not merely to get a living. However, even on my "*extravagant*" scale, and with such good living, how small is the *share* which the labourers got! Add the poor-rates, and the whole nine of them, poor and all, got but 227*l.* out of the 1000*l.*, when their fair share was, at least, 400*l.*, and the labourers in America get even a larger share than that. For, what is the *land* without the labour? It is no more than the air or the water. It is the labour, and that alone, that makes the land worth any-thing; and, as the good Hampshire parson says, the "*labourers have a property in the land*." I have lived to see this from the pen of a *parson*; but, I never saw it till now, and I should not have seen it now, *if the labourers had remained silent under their sufferings*. Let Trevor ally at this parson and at Potter Macquern; for their statements are "*inflammatory*" indeed, unless their readers' hearts be made of Scotch burs.

But, if my men and boys had *not too much* food and money, and not an ounce or a farthing had they too much, what must have been the life of Bennett's poor souls, who had a *pound and a quarter of bread and a half-penny a day for food, clothing, bedding, and fire and candle*? If a pound of meat, a pound and a half of bread, a quarter of a pound of cheese and two quarts of small beer a day were not too much for one of my boys, or men; and they were not a particle too much; what was the life of the labouring men and boys, who had a pound and a quarter of bread a day, nothing else! Talk, indeed, of things to *alarm*! Talk of *horrible acts*! Talk of

infernal deeds! What deeds so infernal as to endeavour to keep men in this state, and that, too, in a land of abundance?

What, I ask, is so horrid, so damnable, as this? The three great scourges of God are *the sword, pestilence, and famine*; the last always considered the *greatest of the three*. But God has not sent famine; he has sent abundance; and, what, then, must be the feelings of the honest, hard-working man, when he sees himself in a state of famine, in the midst of this abundance, and when his weary limbs have so often told him, that, under God, he and his fellow labourers are the cause of that abundance! Talk of violence, indeed! Talk of mischief! Talk of *Frenchmen coming here to set fires!*

The short and long of the matter is this: the tax-eating and loan-mongering crew wanted to reduce the English to the state of the Irish and the Scotch; that is, to live on potatoes, or burgoo, and to that state they were *nearly* brought. But, in that infamous state I always said they would never remain long; and I thank God that my saying is verified. I always loved my country with great ardour; if one can be said to love classes of persons, I have always loved this class beyond all measure more than any other; I have more than half my life laboured to obtain them justice, and to get them back to meat and bread, instead of the soul-degrading potatoes. Talk of punishing them, indeed! What punishment is equal to that which they have endured for years? And yet there are ruffians base enough to call for *their blood!* May these ruffian writers perish, and may dogs lick up their blood, as they did that of the she tyrant Jezebel. For twenty years and more have I been pleading their cause, beseeching the men in power to better their lot, and foretelling precisely that which is now taking place, if that lot was not bettered in time. And now, when the prediction is fulfilled, there are wretches base enough to accuse me of having *been the cause of what has taken place!* I hold a pen, indeed; but that pen has no such triumphs to boast. No, those have been the cause

of this who *wanted to reduce English labourers to potatoes*. I thank God and their own native spirit, that these tyrants have not succeeded. Hanging! what is hanging, when life cannot be preserved without such infamous slavery! So help me God, rather than see them silently submit to it, I would see them all hanged and would be hanged along with them, and should not desire a more honourable inscription on my tomb than this: "Here lie the remains of William Cobbett, who was hanged, because he urged his countrymen, the husbandry labourers of England, not to live upon the damned root called *the potatoe.*"

And now, TREVOR, whoever and whatever and whomsoever you be, do what you like, or, rather, what you can; for I am resolved to do my utmost, in every way in which I can act, to aid all the just claims of this class of my countrymen; and I discharge this duty the more zealously, because all the world knows that they have not the power to reward me, nor even to express their thanks to me, nay, and that the far greater part of them will *never hear of* my exertions in their behalf. May God Almighty strengthen them and preserve them is the prayer of

WM. COBBETT.

FRIDAY MORNING.—I see that TREVOR had his *motion* last night, after which he will, I hope, be a little more at his ease; though the *withdrawing* of it must have been rather painful work.—I shall have room to give the Parliamentary proceedings next week, and then I will endeavour to put him out of his misery.—In the meanwhile I have published a NEW EDITION of the Register that excited his sapient dislike: it is No. 24, Vol. 70, dated Dec. 11th, 1830.

TRIALS AT WINCHESTER.

VERY interesting! Facts which this gulled London will never hear, except through me. The judges are VAUGHAN, PARKER, and ALDERSON. The pleaders against the poor fellows are, the Attorney-General DENMAN, and SERJEANT

WILDE. But what is *curious enough* is, that **TALENT'S**, the Duke of **NEWCASTLE'S** FAMOUS AGENT AT **NEWARK**, is the **ATTORNEY**, employed by this famous government, to conduct, or manage the business of the prosecutions!!!—Let this be kept in our memories.—**YOUNG GEORGE ROSE** (who has a sinecure of 3,578*l.* a year for life, and whose father had it before him) is **FOREMAN OF THE GRAND JURY**. **SIR THOMAS BARING** is one of the *Grand Jury*. **WELLINGTON** and **STURGES BOURNE** were sitting on the Bench with the Judges. I have no time to give any more details at present; but, what is to be the end of all this? Did any-body ever yet hear of punishment producing any good effect upon Englishmen, unless they were satisfied of the necessity as well as the justice of it? The fires never would have been at all, if my advice had been followed. If followed at a later period, they would have been extinguished long ago. And now they blaze more furiously than ever. They have recommenced in **Sussex** under the very noses of the Judges; and in **Middlesex** and **Lincolnshire**, they blaze away night after night. They have begun in **WALES**, and, if something effectual be not done, they will reach the fertile parts of **Scotland**, where the beggarly "Scot-man" says that the "*English incendiaries*" have already appeared! Thus the ruffian tyrants of every country shove it off their own shoulders; in **England** **SWINE** comes from **NORMANDY**; in **Scotland** he comes from **England**! Good God! Is this madness that calls for a strait-waistcoat; or is it hypocrisy that deserves a halter? One word from the King would put all to rights and make all quiet and safe. He has only to say, either in **MESSAGE** or **PROCLAMATION**, that which I, the moment he was on the throne, advised him to say; and not another fire would be heard of. The law has no terrors for men who see starvation before them. Their sufferings from want are so great, that they think nothing of the mere chance of death from efforts to get rid of those

sufferings. The Government mistakes the matter: they think, with **BACON**, that the "sufferings have been greatly exaggerated, for the base purpose of urging the labourers on to mischief." This is a *mis*take, and a very fatal one too. The suffering cannot be exaggerated. It is such as no people ever endured before. Nothing, therefore, is to be effected by *terror*. Death has no terror for such men. The wise way, therefore, is to *speak comfort to them*; to *promise them better days*. And this, I do hope, will be done at last. Nothing can be gained by causing a death which draws a tear from every humane man in the kingdom.

THE next Number of **TWO PLEAS** TRASH, to be published on the first of January, will contain an essay to *prove* that the whole of the tithes and other church-property ought to be taken by law and applied to other purposes.

No. 4, of History of the **MILD REIGN OF GEORGE IV.** will be published at the same time.

Those who may want odd Numbers to complete sets of the **ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN**, will please to apply for them before the 15th of January, as it will not be convenient to supply them after that time.

I request friends to collect and send me information about the **TRIALS**, Judges, Juries, Witnesses, all ought to be put on record.

PRESTON ELECTION.

In another part of the Register will be found an account of the close of this memorable election. The reader will see that a *scrutiny* has been demanded. It must have been for the purpose of annoyance, and perhaps solely to keep Mr. Hunt out of his seat till after the recess, and till the country shall have been made quiet by the special commissions! It never can have been undertaken with a hope of success.—The following address from the Electors of **Preston** I recommend to the attention of my readers. I shall be glad to receive subscriptions, at my shop, however small. What other mode

of aiding them I shall adopt, it requires time to consider; and the demands in *other quarters* are great, and in behalf of men, women, and children, *that cry to heaven and earth for aid!* My heart bleeds for them, and I can think of little else. However, I shall do what I can, when I can withdraw my mind from objects that fill it with greater anxiety *than I ever before experienced in the whole course of my life.*

THE APPEAL

Of the Electors of Preston, to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Fellow Countrymen and Brothers,

"The time is come" when we want your aid; we crave your powerful co-operation; we call upon you to assist us to secure the fruit of that victory which we have attained by an unexampled struggle, during the last eight days. The blow is struck! 3730 brave, honest, and patriotic men, who live by the toil of their hands and the sweat of their brows, electors of this Borough, have, by their unbought votes, chosen HENRY HUNT, Esq., as their Representative; we know him as the long-tried friend and fearless Advocate of the just rights of the people, and we believe him to be the very best man in the kingdom to convey, within the walls of Parliament, the sentiments, the wishes, and the wants of all those who, like ourselves, live upon, and who are anxious to live upon, the honest fruits of their labour.

The enemies of our rights and liberties also sincerely believe Mr. HUNT to be the man we have described him to be; therefore they are naturally as anxious to keep him out of Parliament, as we are to get him in: they have spent hundreds of thousands of pounds of the public money to carry their point, and up to this period they have succeeded. *But we have at last overpowered them, when they least expected it.* Twice before we made the attempt, and on each occasion we should have succeeded, had we received *fair p'ay*, but we were defeated by the exercise of the most foul and barefaced injustice. *Wealth—Power—Unjust Influence—Bribery—Perjury—and Aristocratical Domina-*

tion, prevailed over the honest wishes of the people of Preston; and might have ridden triumphant over right; all these abominations have been exercised with double force during this election. But this infamous state of things has now passed away, and if we have your support, we pledge the last drop of blood that flows in our veins, that they shall never prevail again at Preston. Tyranny is loath to let go its hold—it relinquishes its ill-gotten pelf with reluctance; it will struggle even in its dying moments to gloat on the heart's-blood of its victims. Therefore it is that a most impudent and barefaced attempt is about to be made, under the pretence of law and justice, to rob us (at least for a time) of the fruit of our glorious struggle. *Our right hon. opponent Mr. Stanley, a Whig Minister, has demanded a Scrutiny!!!*

MEN OF ENGLAND, there is not the slightest pretence in this—There never was a fairer Election on the part of the people than this. Mr. STANLEY knows that we are poor; he has felt that we are honest; he knows that we have made unexampled sacrifices—and that we have endured even the most heart-rending privations during this glorious struggle for freedom; and therefore it was, when he fled from Preston night, that he with a satanic smile, urged his *myrmidons of the law* to harass, to oppress, and to weary us out procrastination, and by every species of low cunning and fraud, to bear us down with such heavy expenses, as he believes, we are not able to sustain. Countrymen and Brothers, will you stand silently by with your arms folded, and not lend a hand to save the country from this everlasting disgrace? We do not ask you to take your cudgels in your hands, and march into Preston to drive this hoard of locusts out of the town, because we are able and willing to do this ourselves, if we were not cautioned by Mr. HUNT not to commit any act of violence, which he says is the last, the *forlorn hope* of STANLEY. But as we are men who have nothing but what we work hard for, we do earnestly and confidently appeal to you as brothers, to

give us—and give us *promptly* too—your pecuniary assistance. Nelson said, before going into battle, “England expects every man to his duty.” This exclamation will apply with treble force on the present occasion. A SCRUTINY, (ROBBD!) “List, oh list,” countrymen and brothers; a scrutiny is called for by STANLEY, and why you shall hear. There were ten poll clerks employed, nine out of the ten voted for STANLEY, contrary to every principle of justice, or even of common decency; STANLEY had ten check clerks, and twenty Inspectors, all paid and all voted; and he had nine-tenths of the Attorneys in Preston, and every-body knows that an Attorney never works without being paid—they all voted for STANLEY—he had the Parish Officer with their books ready to send back any pauper who came to poll for us, and there never was a body of Electors under any circumstances, that had to encounter so strict and so vigilant a scrutiny as those electors had, who tendered their votes for Mr. Hunt. In addition to these, all the public-houses were open, and *treating, drinking, and biberney*, were as unblushingly and as openly practised as at the late contest for the borough of Evesham, or any other borough in existence. And to the large purse of Earl Peel enabled Stanley, a Minister of the Crown, to hire and pay upwards of fifty attorneys, who canvassed the town for a month. All these we had to contend with; while on the other hand, we were all volunteers, not one man paid amongst us, not one man canvassed; but, with the honest hearts and votes of the Electors, backed up by the enthusiastic support of the Women of Preston, we accomplished, even before Mr. Hunt’s arrival amongst us, one of the most arduous undertakings, and one of the most signal victories ever obtained over one of the haughtiest of the haughty aristocratical families in the kingdom; a family which has made the populous town of Preston a rotten borough for the last 150 years. We have, by one mighty effort, rescued ourselves from the grasp of this haughty family, and restored the bo-

rough to its native purity. We have thus begun that *real Reform* of Parliament ourselves, which has been so long prayed for by the people, and which has at length been promised them by the ministers. We have thought it better to rely upon our own exertions, than trust to the *promises* of Kings or of Princes, or of Ministers, or of Parliaments.

May you, countrymen and brothers, by your liberal aid, promptly administered, encourage others to follow our example, is the earnest prayer of the gallant men of Preston. Finally, we are bound to say, that we place little reliance upon the *promises* of those ministers who, with *professions* of economy and retrenchment, are *actually* increasing the national burdens, by adding 10,000 men to the standing army in time of peace, under the pretence of quelling the riots of our half-starved countrymen in the South, instead of ministering to their wants, and relieving their sufferings by taking off the taxes upon soap, candles and particularly the tax upon the necessary article of the poor man’s existence, “BREAD,” which tax, by means of the *corn bill*, enables the aristocracy, annually, to take more money out of the earnings of the labouring poor, than the whole of that aristocracy pay in taxes in seven years.

We cannot place much confidence in that ministry, which has, by one of their body, *The Right Honourable Mr. Stanley*, declared *against* the repeal of Corn Laws, and *against* the Vote by Ballot, for which declaration he has been kicked out of Preston, notwithstanding the most open and wanton bribery has been daily and hourly practised by his agents, for which acts of bribery, we pledge ourselves to petition Parliament, should he attain his seat for this Borough, by means of *brute force*, which has been hinted at, by a *threat* to call in the military for that purpose.

To aid and assist us in defending our just rights, we call on you, fellow countrymen and brothers, with the full con-



viction that this appeal will be answered in a way that it deserves.

Signed,

JOHN JOHNSON, JOHN IRVIN,
JOS. TOWNSEND, J. FEATHERSTONE,
JOHN WHITE, WILLIAM GRIME,
JOHN FOSTER, JOHN TAILOR,
JOHN TAYLOR, PETER FOSTER.
J. MITCHELL, JOHN TAYLOR,
Treasurer, Secretary.

Preston, 16th December, 1830.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1830.

BANKRUPTS.

RAYES, W. Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, iron-founder.
BEDFORD, T., Wantage, Berkshire, post-horse-master.
BELL, M., Great Surry-street, Blackfriars-road, victualler.
BRAY, W. F., Liverpool-street, New-road, Pancras, builder.
CROSS, R., Manchester, publican.
HAYDEN, W., Oxford-street, silk-mercier.
LEWIS, J., Tenby, Pembrokehire, draper.
PRICE, J., Manchester, paper-dealer.
PRIOR, W., Charlotte-street, Bedford-square, and Tottenham-court road, brewer.
PRONCHERT, C. P., Jewry-street, Aldgate, iron-founder.
SHAW, J., and J. Wood, Dukinfield, Cheshire, cotton-spinners.
THOMPSON, R., Leeds, grocer.
WEBB, S., Reading, builder.
WERNHAM, G., Wallingford, Berkshire, victualler.
WILKINSON, G. C., Bristol, confectioner.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

Dec. 20. — MOUTRAM, W., St. John's-street, Clerkenwell, victualler.

Dec. 21. — RAGLESS, T., Piccadilly, cook.
BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LOCKE, W., Bury St. Edmund's, innkeeper.
BANKRUPTS.

BRAGG, J., Harrington, Lancashire, ship-owner.

CANDELL, W., Bishopsgate-street-within, auctioneer.

CHAPMAN, R., Strachan-terrace, Islington, builder.

EARL, J., Church-street, Hackney, cheese-monger.

HALL, H. B., Little Vine-street, Minories, and Coborn-street, Bow, merchant.

HENDERSON, J., Reany, South Sea-chambers, Breadneville street, merchant.

JOHNSON, L., York, woollen-draper.

MAY, J., Fenchurch-street, tavern-keeper.

OWEN, W. Speke, Lancashire, farmer.

SCHOLLES, J., 1. Brington, and R. Scholes, Saddleshworth, Yorkshire, calico-printers.

TILMAN, J., Exmouth, glazier.

UPTON, G., Queen-street, Cheapside, oil-man.

WALTERS, J., Worcester, shoe-maker

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, DEC. 20.—The supply of English Grain is better than it has been any week since the harvest, and fine English Wheat meets ready sale at a slight advance in price, but all other qualities remain without any alteration from our last quotations. Free foreign Wheat meets tolerably good demand, but we can quote no alteration in the price of this Grain from our former report. There is a good deal of inquiry after Bonded Wheat, and 1s. to 2s. per quarter advance is given. The Barley trade continues steady and without any variation in price.

Wheat	64s. to 75s.
Rye	30s. to 4s.
Barley	3s. to 38s.
— fine	40s. to 41s.
Peas, White	42s. to 48s.
— Boilers	48s. to 50s.
— Grey ..	40s. to 42s.
Beans, Small ..	42s. to 41s.
— Tick ..	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Potatoes ..	28s. to 30s.
— Poland ..	24s. to 27s.
Flour, per sack ..	55s. to 60s.

HOP INTELLIGENCE.

BOROTON, Monday.—The supply this morning was small, and prices remain the same as this day week.

SMITHFIELD—Dec. 20.

The quality of Beef having become inferior, the price is lower; the best offered in the market not being worth more than 4s. to 4s. 4d. per stone. Mutton, for the prime young Down, fetches 4s. 6d. to 4s. 8d. per stone. Prime young Calves reach 5s. to 5s. 4d. per stone; and Pork, for dairy-fed meat, is 1s. 8d. to 4s. 10d. per stone. Beasts, 3,230; Calves, 169; Sheep, 18,520; Pigs, 110.

THURSDAY, DEC. 23.—A limited supply, but the carcass markets being glutted with meat, Beef and Mutton sold at 2d. and Veal at 4d. per stone lower than Mondays prices; Pork nearly the same. There were very few buyers. Beasts, 435; Sheep, 2270; Calves, 127; Pigs, 108.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 21.

The supplies are small and the prices fall as high as on Monday.

English arrivals.		Foreign.	Dish.
Flour . . .	7,500		
Wheat . . .	2,550	1,150	
Barley . . .	9,550	1,450	150
Oats . . .	7,500	350	1,200

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thurs.						
	82	81½	81½	81½	81½	81½	82

